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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

October, 1923-July, 1924

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI

VOLUME XVIII

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, *Secretary-Editor*
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
1924

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-17, bound, $67.00; unbound, $33.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under act of Congress, Oct. 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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THE MISSOURI PACIFIC RAILROAD TO 1879

BY R. E. RIEGEL.

The conclusion of the treaty of July 3, 1844 with China[1] may well constitute the beginning of the first well-marked period of trans-Mississippi railroad agitation and construction. Earlier ideas for both local and transcontinental lines were numerous,[2] but it was not until the middle of the forties that these early speculative dreams of the railroad enthusiasts began to take any definite form. The treaty with China gave a new and more solid basis for railroad dreams, and was shortly followed by the acquisition of Oregon and California, the discovery of gold, and the rapid settling of the far west. These and other factors had an immediate and vital effect on the growth of sentiment favoring a railroad to the Pacific,[3] but they also had a very important secondary result in the ever increasing agitation for local railroad lines.

Very early plans for local railroads were almost always in the form of suggestions for short lines to supplement the system of water transportation, and to connect the large inland towns. Of such a nature were the proposals made at the St. Louis internal improvements convention of 1836;[4] in order to please everyone present eighteen short lines were planned, and these roads were chartered by the next legislature.[5] No

[1] *Compilation of Treaties in Force* (Washington, 1898), pp. 93-95.

[2] Numerous accounts of early railroad ideas exist, and among these may be mentioned F. S. Young, "The History of Railroad Transportation in the Pacific Northwest," in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. 12 (1911), pp. 186-8; L. H. Haney, *Congressional History of Railroads in the United States*, Madison (1910), pp. 402 ff.; J. King, "John Plumbe, Originator of the Pacific Railroad," in *The Annals of Iowa*, Vol. 6 (1903-5), pp. 289-296.

[3] R. S. Cotterill, "Early Agitation for a Pacific Railroad 1845-50," in *Missouri Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 4 (1918), pp. 396-404.

[4] J. T. Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, (2 Vols. Philadelphia, 1882), p. 1140; E. M. Violette, *A History of Missouri* (New York, 1918), p. 78; J. W. Million, *State Aid to Railways in Missouri* (Chicago, 1896), pp. 3-6; S. B. Harding, *Life of George R. Smith, Founder of Sedalia, Mo.* (Sedalia, 1904), p. 154.

[5] Million, p. 6; *The Commonwealth of Missouri A Centennial Record* (St. Louis, 1878), p. 289.

tangible results occurred, and the convention is only important as showing the early prevalence of the desire for railroads, and also to show the very radical difference between the plans of this time and of fifteen years later.

The western railroad enthusiasm of the thirties, which was not at all confined to Missouri,[6] continued to grow during the thirties and forties in direct proportion to the size of the population. From the viewpoint of idealistic enthusiasm the movement culminated in a series of large internal improvements conventions, the first of which was held at Memphis in 1845.[7] Other notable gatherings were held at Chicago in 1847,[8] at St. Louis[9] and Memphis[10] in 1849, and at Philadelphia in 1850.[11] With the primary purpose of these conventions we have nothing to do, but indirectly they furnished one of the great means of increasing and crystalizing sentiment in favor of all kinds of railroad construction, and because of this fact the St. Louis convention of 1849 becomes of some importance in the study of the Missouri Pacific railroad.

At the time of the assembling of this convention Benton, who was an ardent advocate of Pacific railroad ideas, was in the midst of a state conflict in which he finally lost his Senatorship. As a result of this internal conflict the Douglas men secured control of the convention, but tried to compromise in their resolutions concerning the route of the proposed railroad, and suggested the central route, with branches to

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[6]The enthusiasm in Texas was particularly notable.

[7]St. G. L. Sioussat, "Memphis a Gateway to the West," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3 (1917-8), pp. 84-97; *De Bow's Review*, Vol. 1 (1846), p. 15.

[8]*Chicago River and Harbor Convention, July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1847*, (Chicago 1882).

[9]See later footnotes.

[10]R. S. Cotterill, "Memphis Railroad Convention, 1849," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. 4 (1918), pp. 83-94; *DeBow's Review*, Dec. 1849, pp. 550-2; *Arkansas Gazette and Democrat* (Little Rock), Mch. 4, 1853; *Report of the Committee on Naval Affairs on a Railroad to the Pacific*, in 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Rpt. 439.

[11]*Proceedings of the Convention in favor of a National Railroad to the Pacific Ocean* (Philadelphia, 1850).

Chicago, St. Louis and Memphis.[12] While the direct results of the convention are negligible, it proved a great boon to the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, which had been chartered by the state, and was projected to run over the eastern part of one of the routes advocated by the convention. This line was therefore able to secure the benefits of both the advocacy of local internal improvements, and of the desire for a transcontinental road, and to secure the support of all public spirited citizens.

The enthusiasm of the forties translated itself into attempts at action during the early fifties. A great proportion of the western population thought of railroads as a panacea for all economic ills. If only railroads could be built everyone would be happy and prosperous. Unfortunately certain practical difficulties made this happy consummation very hard to obtain. Probably the fundamental obstruction was a lack of capital; almost no surplus funds existed in the west, and consequently it was necessary to rely in most part on the slightly more skeptical east. [13]The chief financial dependence of most western railroads was on western securities sold in the east. These securities of course included the stocks and bonds of the company concerned, but also were made up in part of the proceeds of various kinds of government aid—federal, state and local; such aid was generally in the form of subscriptions paid for by bonds, which were then sold in the east for whatever they would bring. In the case of a federal land grant, the land was sold to eastern settlers, who either brought or borrowed money from the east.

A corollary to the financial difficulties of construction was the ever-continuing problem of securing the funds to keep the road in operation after it was built. Even in the

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[12]For accounts of the St. Louis Convention see R. S. Cotterill, "The National Railroad Convention in St. Louis 1849," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 12 (1918), pp. 203-215; Scharf, *St. Louis*, Vol. 2, pp. 1143 ff.; *Western Eagle* (Cape Girardeau), June 8, 1849, and Oct. 26, 1849; J. Loughborough, *The Pacific Railroad and Telegraph*, (St. Louis, 1849).

[13]Probably the best brief statement of the financial difficulties of western railroad construction, and the ways in which they were met occurs in F. H. Stow, *Capitalists' Guide and Railway Annual for 1859*, pp. 9-10.

most populous parts of the most thickly settled of the western states, there was considerable doubt as to whether or not a railroad would be able to meet its current operating expenses in any reasonable length of time. While these considerations did not appreciably dampen western ardor, they considerably lessened the possibility of borrowing money in the east on favorable terms for western railroad construction.

A third type of difficulty was purely natural and mechanical. No eastern railroad reached the Mississippi until the middle of the fifties,[14] which meant that an awkward break would have to occur in any eastern shipments,—either the goods would have to be carried overland to the nearest eastern road, or they would have to be shipped down the river and through the Gulf of Mexico. The first of these plans meant at least three re-shipments and much loss of time, while the second alternative was just about as bad. The Mississippi River itself seemed to stand as a permanent barrier to any hope of direct communication with the east. No bridge was built south of St. Paul until 1858, and the first Missouri bridge was not built until after the Civil War.[15] Numerous other practical difficulties existed, among which might be mentioned the difficulty of securing materials, and the problem of gauge, which was particularly difficult of solution in Missouri. At least seven different widths of track were in common use in the United States about 1850, while the most common width in the north differed from that of the south.[16] As a matter of fact, the Missouri Pacific guessed wrongly in the matter of gauge, and after the Civil War had to change their 5′ 6″ track to the standard width 4′ 8½″.[17]

Railroad matters reached a crisis about 1849. Early in that year Benton introduced into Congress a resolution favor-

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[14]The Chicago and Rock Island (later C. R. I and P.) reached the Mississippi in 1854, the Galena and Chicago Union (later C. and N. W.) and the Chicago and Alton in 1855, the C. B. & Q. and the I. C. in 1856, the Milwaukee and Mississippi and the Ohio and Mississippi in 1857, and the La Crosse and Milwaukee (later C. M. and St. P.) in 1858.

[15]The first bridge was built by the Rock Island company in Iowa, while the second one was at St. Louis.

[16]*American Railroad Journal*, Vol. 9, p. 405.

[17]*Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Vol. 9 (1869), pp. 17, 112.

ing a Pacific railroad along the central route; a month later (March 12) the state legislature of Missouri acted in favor of the same idea by chartering the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, a corporation which was to have the right of building a railroad from St. Louis west to the boundary of the state, there to meet any line which should be built east from the Pacific coast.[18]

During the spring and summer of 1849 numerous local meetings were held in order to secure enthusiasm for, and to elect delegates to, the St. Louis convention.[19] The action of the convention had little direct effect on the outlook of the Pacific Railroad, as has already been pointed out, but indirectly it encouraged this and similar local projects. In January 1850 the incorporators met in St. Louis and completed their organization.[20] At this time the whole affair was almost an object of philanthropy—the people who were connected with the enterprise were in the main public-spirited citizens who felt that they were doing a public service; possibly today they would give a park to the city in the same spirit. Probably the outstanding figure of the enterprise was that of Colonel John O'Fallon, who had won his title in Harrison's Indian campaigns, was noted as one of the leading public-spirited citizens of St. Louis, and had served in both the state Senate and Assembly.[21] Second in importance was Thomas Allen, who at this time was a prominent figure in the state legislature. O'Fallon was chosen as the first president of the company, but was shortly succeeded by Allen, who served his first year without pay.[22]

The biggest problem which the new company had to face was that of finance, and the first place to which it looked for aid was the government. Almost as soon as the corporation was chartered the state legislature petitioned Congress for

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[18]*Laws of Missouri 1848-9*, p. 219.

[19]For example see *Western Eagle* of June 8, 1849 and Oct. 26, 1849.

[20]Scharf, *St. Louis*, Vol. 2, p. 1149; *American Railroad Journal*, Vol. 23 (1850), p. 103; G. E. Broadhead, "Early Railroads in Missouri," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 7, p. 149; *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat* (Little Rock), Feb. 15, 1850.

[21]*Edward's Great West*, pp. 80-82.

[22]Broadhead, p. 149.

federal aid, and during its succeeding meeting Thomas Allen, in his double position of president of the railroad company and chairman of the Senate committee on internal improvements, presented a report favoring state assistance.[23] While great reliance was placed in the looked-for federal and state aid, local and individual subscriptions were not forgotten; immediately upon the organization of the company books were opened and such subscriptions solicited.[24] Individual stock purchases were begun auspiciously by O'Fallon, Allen and Page, who subscribed $100,000 between themselves;[25] it must be admitted, however, that many of the individual promises were made on an excessively optimistic basis, and were easier to secure than to collect. County subscriptions were opened by the $500,000 purchase of St.Louis County in 1850,which was carried by a vote of 4248 to 467.[26] Other cities and counties soon fell into line so that in a short time practically every county along the proposed line of the road had voted some kind of assistance.[27] As in the case of individual subscriptions, these were frequently very difficult to collect; often the county concerned had obligated itself to pay a sum that was totally out of proportion to the amount of taxable property, and in such cases the people felt greatly aggrieved when they were called upon to redeem the securities that they had so blithely issued. There were numerous attempts to avoid payment; many cases were in litigation for a long period of time, and the payment of the amounts due on the bonds so issued was frequently compromised in order to secure at least partial payments without the delay and expense necessary to take the matter to court.

While subscriptions were being secured as fast as possible, actual work upon the road was started. Surveys were begun in May of 1850 under the direction of Kirkwood, formerly of

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[23] *American Railroad Journal*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

[24] *Gazette and Democrat*, May 31, 1850.

[25] Scharf, Vol. 2, p. 1151.

[26] *American Railroad Journal*, Vol. 23, p. 328; W. B. Stevens, *St. Louis the Fourth City*, (2 vols., St. Louis, 1911), Vol. 2, p. 343; *DeBow's Review*, Vol. 9 (1850), p. 554.

[27] Million gives a list of the counties giving such aid in the appendix of his volume.

the New York and Erie, who had been hired as general manager of the new road.[28] Three possible routes were surveyed between St. Louis and Jefferson City, five or six near the latter place, and two from Jefferson City west to the boundary of the state.[29] The route finally adopted followed the river rather closely as far as Jefferson City, and from that point struck straight across the country toward Kansas City. While this exploration for the path of the road was intended primarily to furnish a basis for construction, it also was the means of engendering additional railroad enthusiasm. People could see that the work was actually under way, and would thus be willing to give more active support. Furthermore the surveying of several routes left the final location in doubt, and the enterprising local communities were thus encouraged to increase the amount of aid to be offered the road in order to be sure that the track would pass through their locality.

By the summer of 1851 the surveys had progressed far enough so that actual construction could be begun. On July 4, 1851 the first ground was broken at St. Louis by Mayor Kennett, and the event was duly celebrated as the most important indication of economic progress that had been exhibited during recent years.[30]

Even before the first ground was broken the state legislature had acted upon the proposal for state assistance and had embarked upon its stormy carrer of financial aid.[31] The first bill of this nature, which was passed March 22, 1851 provided for a loan of $2,000,000 to the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, and one of $1,500,000 to the line from Hannibal to St. Joseph. The loan was made in the form of state bonds, and was to constitute a first mortgage on the properties of the companies concerned. It was passed without encountering any serious opposition, because the legislators were thoroughly imbued

[28] *Gazette and Democrat*, May 31, 1850; Broadhead, p. 149; Scharf, Vol. 2, p. 1151.

[29] *American Railroad Journal*, Vol. 23 (1850), p. 584.

[30] *Ibid.* Vol. 24 (1851), p. 451; Stevens, pp. 344-5; Violette, p. 85; L. Carr, *Missouri a Bone of Contention*, (New York, 1888), p. 233.

[31] The whole question of state aid is so completely treated by Million, who in every case has given his references, that it has seemed needless to repeat any part of his work here.

with the idea of the necessity and desirability of railroad construction.

In spite of the great enthusiasm that was engendered, and the many promises of aid, the work progressed but slowly. The first iron arrived in the spring of 1852 by the way of the Mississippi river, and during the same year the first engine arrived from Stanton, Massachusetts.[32] The first five miles were finally completed, and the opening celebration and excursion took place December 23, 1852, on the same day as the legislature voted another $1,000,000 in aid of the project. Tremendous enthusiasm was engendered by this opening of the first railroad west of the Mississippi river.[33]

The railroad enthusiasm which made the foregoing construction possible attained its greatest momentum in the west, but was by no means confined to that section. It could also be shown in various other parts of the union, and this widely diffused feeling was reflected in a continually increasing sentiment in Congress for national aid to various railroad projects. This feeling reached the point of action in the Illinois Central grant of 1850, which in turn was based on very definite Congressional precedent. From this time on Congress maintained a fairly definite policy of aiding local western railroad schemes by grants of land to each of the states for that purpose. Missouri was one of the older of the western states and consequently received her donation very early, and on June 10, 1852 was given a land grant embracing all the even numbered sections within six miles to the proposed road from St. Louis to the western boundary of the state, and from Hannibal to St. Joseph.[34] The only drawback of such aid was that the land depended in large part on the completion of the road for its value, and consequently was of little assistance during the period of construction—just the time when it was most needed. The land was withdrawn from sale by the land office the day

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[32]Scharf, Vol. 2, p. 1158; *Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 25, p. 805.

[33]*Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 11, p. 115; Stevens, Vol. 2, p. 345; *Commonwealth of Missouri*, p. 291; Violette, p. 85; Broadhead, p. 150.

[34]*United States Session Laws*, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., Chap. 45, pp. 8-10.

after the grant was made, was located during the following year, and the indemnity lands restored in September 1854.[35]

The construction of the road continued slowly but steadily after 1852; almost every succeeding year saw additional mileage opened for use, with 44 miles as the highest amount built in any single year prior to 1865. The table of main line construction through the year 1865 follows—[36]

				—Mileage—	
Year.	*Original Terminus.*	*Old Terminus.*	*New Terminus.*	*Whole Line.*	*New for Year.*
1852	St. Louis		Cheltenham	5	5
1853	St. Louis	Cheltenham	Pacific	37	32
1855	St. Louis	Pacific	Hermann	81	44
1856	St. Louis	Hermann	Jefferson City	125	44
1858	St. Louis	Jefferson City	Tipton	163	38
1859	St. Louis	Tipton	Syracuse	168	5
1860	St. Louis	Syracuse	Smithton	181	13
1861	St. Louis	Smithton	Sedalia	188	7
1863	St. Louis	Sedalia	Dresden	195	7
1864	St. Louis	Dresden	Warrensburg	218	23
1865	St. Louis	Warrensburg	Kansas City	283	65

As might have been expected the final cost greatly exceeded the original estimates, and the road was continually in financial difficulties. The first division, which extended as far as Pacific, a distance of 37 miles, cost $1,769,874, or about $47,000 per mile, which was practically twice the original estimate, and gave room for considerable thought.[37] The land grant, as has before been mentioned, was more of a future than a present asset, while all kinds of local subscriptions were based more on an optimistic enthusiasm than on any ability to furnish the money. Local subscriptions were furthermore in the form of bonds and had to be sold in the east at a ruinous discount, while individual subscriptions were frequently impossible to collect.

State aid has been treated satisfactorily elsewhere, so that there is no need of going into it in detail in this paper.

[35] *Statement Showing Land Grants*, etc. (Washington, 1914), p. 2.

[36] This table has been compiled by compiling and comparing all the material that can be found on the subject. It is probably fairly accurate.

[37] Million, p. 83.

The money thus acquired was spent as fast as it became available; the grants of 1851 and 1852, as well as all other available assets, were pretty well exhausted by the fall of 1855, and construction had come almost to a halt. Under these circumstances the company again appealed to the legislature, and in December of 1855 received a new loan of $2,000,000 which made further progress again possible.[38]

Again in 1856 the funds began to give out, and again the road appealed to the legislature for aid.[39] By this time the state policy was beginning to receive rather severe criticism, and a considerable amount of opposition to any further loan was developed. The critics pointed to the great amount of support that the road had been given, and the large amount of capital secured, which included $5,000,000 from the state alone, and then they pointed to the small amount of work that had been done under these very favorable circumstances; the road had been built only as far as Jefferson City, while the available assets of the company had been so exhausted that further progress seemed to be hopeless for an indefinite length of time. In spite of this continually increasing opposition another loan of $1,000,000 was made in March, 1857. Then came the panic, and all construction necessarily stopped. Missouri bonds fell to such a figure that their sale was impossible even to the most optimistic, and the state legislature forbade any further issues until the price should have risen at least to 90. Under these conditions there was a complete cessation of work.[40]

As soon as the worst effects of the panic had somewhat abated work was resumed (in 1858), but financial difficulties continued to increase rather than diminish, so that during the next two years the work was only nominal. Undoubtedly the stopping of any further state aid was an important factor in this connection. The final crash was averted until 1860, but during that year the road found itself unable to make any further interest payments on the state loans.[41] Three pos-

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[38]Million, p. 85; *Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 12, p. 465.
[39]*Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 14, p. 233.
[40]Stow, *Capitalist's Guide for 1858*, p. 203; Million, pp. 108-9.
[41]Violette, p. 89.

sible solutions presented themselves—more money might be loaned with the hope of tiding over the depression, the state might retire its lien to the position of a second mortgage and thus give the company an opportunity to make further loans, or a receiver might be appointed and the road foreclosed. A vigorous attempt was made to carry out the first of these plans, and to secure an additional loan from the state; a bill for this purpose was introduced in the legislature and passed both houses, but was vetoed by the governor.[42] No further attempt was made to meet the situation, and as a result the road remained in a condition of insolvency during the greater part of the war. Efforts at construction were continued throughout the war period, but the value of the property depreciated, both because of neglect and because of the destructive effects of raids by the armies on both sides; consequently the project seemed to be at a stand-still, with the current income failing to meet current expenses. On the whole it would seem that the bad condition of the road up to this time was a result of natural factors rather than mismanagement; financial difficulties were inevitable in the case of any road built prior to the actual need, and on a speculative basis.

1864 saw a revival in the interest in the Pacific Railroad.[43] During this year conditions in Missouri were at least beginning to assume their normal aspect, and the state legislature began to find time for the consideration of non-war matters. Instead of adopting the ordinary process of foreclosure and sale, the state decided to retire its lien to the position of a second mortgage, and thus allow the road to secure additional capital on the basis of its first mortgage.[44] Under the influence of this extraordinary measure the road was restored to life sufficiently to enable it by the end of 1865 to complete its line to the Missouri river at Kansas City.[45] At about the same time a bridge was built across the Mississippi river at St. Louis, furnishing a direct connection with the east when-

[42] *Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 16, p. 254; Million, p. 114.
[43] *Am. R. R. Jour.*, Vol. 20 (1864), p. 300.
[44] Million, p. 129.
[45] Scharf, Vol. 2, p. 1162; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Vol. 1 (1865), p. 441; *Poore's Railroad Manual*, 1870-1, p. 398.

ever the Pacific Railroad would see fit to change its gauge from 5′ 6″ to the standard width—4′ 8½″; this change was finally made in 1869,[46] the same year that saw the completion of the Union Pacific. The completion of the Pacific Railroad to the Missouri river served to increase both its through and local freight enormously, and the completion of a branch to Leavenworth in 1866 helped still more toward putting the road on a paying basis.[47]

With the completion of the Pacific Railroad to the Missouri river and the bridging of the Mississippi, the road was in a rather favorable position. Connecting two important cities, and running through the most densely settled portion of the most populous western state, it could have every expectation that in time it would be able to pay a substantial return on the investment. The principal immediate drawback was the heavy over-capitalization—state and local bonds had been sold at a disastrous discount; a stock bonus had been paid for construction; the contracts for construction were probably greater than the work was worth. The immediate relief that was sought was the lifting of the debt due the state. The Missouri constitution of 1865 had provided for a sinking fund to meet the road's obligations, but the earnings had been so small that the provision was little more than a farce,[48] while the company's bonds could find no takers in New York at 80.[49] In view of these circumstances the state finally (1868) relinquished its lien on the company for the sum of $5,000,000, being a net loss of about $10,000,000.[50] This unfortunate outcome, while it might have been expected, was undoubtedly one of the great factors that led the people of the state to turn from a position of active co-operation with the road to a more or less active distrust and opposition. Not only did the people feel that they had been somehow cheated out of money

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[46]*Chronicle*, Vol. 9 (1869), pp. 17, 112.

[47]*Poor's Manual* 1868-9, p. 180; *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas*, (Chicago, 1890), p. 218; V. H. Hazelrigg, *A New History of Kansas* (Topeka, 1895), p. 161.

[48]*Chronicle*, Vol. 1 (1865), p. 153.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 411.

[50]Million, p. 184.

which was rightfully theirs, but they also lost any direct interest in the affairs of the company and came to view it as an unfriendly corporation rather than as a product of their own efforts.

With a removal of the state lien and the return of prosperous conditions throughout the country the Pacific Railroad began to show evidences of success, and by the end of the decade of the sixties was actually returning a profit on the capital invested. It continued construction, and prior to the panic of 1873 had built half a dozen branch lines.[51] The control of the road at this time was vested in H. E. Bridge of St. Louis, who among other things acquired a large amount of the stock held by various counties, who by this time had gotten tired of holding on to the investment for the hope of future profits and were willing to dispose of their holdings at a nominal price.[52]

During 1871 and 1872 there were numerous rumors that Bridge was disposing of his holdings—presumably to J. F. Joy of Detroit, who was building up a western system around the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy.[53] These rumors were proved partially correct when it was announced in 1872 that the Pacific Railroad had been leased to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company.[54] The Atlantic and Pacific had been chartered by Congress July 27, 1866, and been given a land grant from St. Louis to the Pacific coast via the southern route.[55] It had been consolidated with the South Pacific Railroad and with the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad, which roads were operating over the same route under Missouri charters and had gotten into insuperable financial difficulties.[56] With these consolidations and the lease of the Pacific Railroad the company had a practical monopoly of the

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[51]Construction figures for the years after 1870 are taken in the most part from the *Official Railway Guide.*

[52]*Chronicle,* Vol. 9 (1869), p. 698.

[53]*Ibid.,* Vol. 12 (1871), p. 211.

[54]*Annual Report of the Missouri Railroad Commission,* 1879 and 1880, p. 23; *Railroad Gazette,* Vol. 5 (1873), p. 29.

[55]*Statutes at Large,* Vol. 14, pp. 292-9.

[56]*Mo. R. R. Comm.* 1879 and 1880, p. 34; *Poor's Manual,* 1870-1, p. 285; *Chronicle,* Vol. 4, p. 89.

railroad lines in southern and western Missouri, with the possibility of constructing a road to the Pacific with a federal subsidy. The lease of the Pacific Railroad was for a term of 999 years, and guaranteed a 5% dividend for the first three years, 6% for the next two, and 7% for the remainder of the time.[57]

Very little new construction occurred during the time of the lease to the Atlantic and Pacific. The latter road was more interested in extending its own line, which it completed to Vinita, Indian Territory, than in pushing the Pacific Railroad.[58] During this period the validity of the state's release of the debt of the Pacific Railroad was tested in the courts and upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States.[59]

The panic of 1873 proved disastrous to the Pacific Railroad, which had just been getting on its feet during the preceding good times. In order to tide over the effects of the panic a new issue of bonds was made;[60] instead of producing the good effects anticipated this new issue only added another encumbrance to the road by increasing the capitalization that was already too large. Dividends had been a possibility only under exceptionally favorable circumstances, and now in a time of depression it was found impossible to pay even the interest on the bonds, and in consequence the interest on both the first and third mortgage bonds was defaulted on November 1, 1875.[61] The spectacular evidence of the loss in value of Pacific Railroad securities was the fall of its stock from 55 in April to 7½ in October;[62] this slump continued during the greater part of 1876, so that by September of that year Pacific Railroad stock was selling for 1½.[63] No doubt part of this decrease was due to speculation, but by far the greater part was due to an actual decrease in value. As soon as the bonds

[57] *Chronicle*, Vol. 16 (1873), p. 156.
[58] *Chronicle*, Vol. 12 (1871), p. 714; J. B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma*, (5 Vols., Chicago, 1916), Vol. 4, p. 435.
[59] *Chronicle*, Vol. 17 (1873), p. 156, p. 323, p. 387, and *Railroad Gazette*, Vol. 6 (1874), p. 458.
[60] *Chronicle*, Vol. 18 (1874), p. 7; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 7 (1875), pp. 289, 341.
[61] *Chronicle*, Vol. 21 (1875), p. 440.
[62] *Ibid.*, Vol. 22 (1876), p. 31.
[63] *Ibid.*, Vol. 24 (1877), p. 9.

were defaulted the whole system went into the hands of a receiver.[64] The third mortgage bondholders of the Pacific Railroad asked for a separate receiver and the foreclosure of that line on the basis of alleged extravagance and fraud on the part of the Atlantic and Pacific in the management of the property, but the petition was denied by the court.[65]

Immediately upon the refusal of the court to grant a separate receiver a committee of the bondholders was formed to investigate the charges of fraud and mismanagement.[66] The report was presented December 15, 1875, after a very brief investigation, and upheld the charges that had been made. It held that the board of directors of the Pacific Railroad was made up in most part of men who had practically no financial interest in the enterprise, and in support of this assertion gave the names of the members of the board, and the amount of stock held by each one. It also charged that the management of the road had been unduly extravagant, had run it only for the benefit of the Atlantic and Pacific, and had attempted to force down the value of the stock in order to secure a speculative return. In view of these circumstances the committee advocated the abrogation of the lease.[67] It seems probable that in their broad conception these charges were justified, and the Atlantic and Pacific had run the road for its own benefit; such a conclusion would have been reasonable even if not based on the investigation. On the other hand the Atlantic and Pacific had virtually guaranteed the interest on the bonds of the Pacific Railroad, and had bound themselves to a reasonably high dividend; consequently it would seem that the bondholders had greatly overstated their case and could hardly accuse the Atlantic and Pacific justly of an attempt to ruin the road.

Another action for the appointment of a separate receiver failed in January 1876,[68] but the point was finally gained in April of the same year. Separate receivers were appointed,

[64] *Poor's Manual* 1885, p. 803; *Official Railway Guide*, Jan. 1876, Mo. 416.
[65] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 7 (1875), pp. 461, 481, 504, 525.
[66] *Chronicle*, Vol. 21 (1875), p. 418, and Vol. 22 (1876), p. 10.
[67] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 7, (1875), p. 538.
[68] *Chronicle*, Vol. 22 (1876), p. 61.

the lease was cancelled, and decrees of foreclosure were made for both roads.[69] The Pacific Railroad was sold at public auction on September 6, 1876, to Andrew Pierce, Jr., of New York for $3,000,000,[70] while two days later the Atlantic and Pacific was sold, and conveyed to the newly organized St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, which continued its operation.[71]

Immediately upon the sale of the roads the question arose as to whether their relationship had really been changed by the transaction. The Atlantic and Pacific had been bought back by its old management, while the Pacific Railroad had been bought by Andrew Pierce, Jr., who for many years had been one of the leading figures in the Atlantic and Pacific company. Because of this condition the stockholders petitioned the court to set aside the sale on the basis of fraud and collusion.[72] The petition was not granted, the court holding that the sale had been legitimate, and that the purchaser of the road made no difference.[73] Whether or not because of the opposition that had developed, the Atlantic and Pacific people made no attempt to retain control, and Pierce disposed of his holdings to C. K. Garrison of St. Louis, who reorganized the system as the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company with a capital stock of $3,000,000, of which only a small proportion was issued because of the unfavorable condition of the market.[74] An independent management was announced, and future events seemed to bear out the assertion.

As soon as the new company was organized it was involved in lawsuits which threatened its very existence; suit was brought to set aside the sale, but was lost.[75] The company itself tried to get damages from the St. Louis and San

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 352; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), pp. 19, 30, 49, 156, 258, 269; *Poor's Manual* 1885, p. 803.

[70] *Chronicle*, Vol. 23 (1876), p. 256; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), p. 408.

[71] *Mo. R. R. Comm.*, 1879 and 1880, p. 35; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), p 408; *Chronicle*, Vol. 23 (1876), p. 278.

[72] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), p. 418.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 449.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 474.

[75] *Ibid.*, Vol. 9 (1877), p. 32.

Francisco for the breach of its 999-year contract, but failed.[76] In spite of the reorganization of the company its financial condition was still poor, probably largely because of the business depression throughout the country as much as through the fault of the company itself. An outstanding indication of this fact was in the default of the interest on the bonds of the Carondelet branch. Rumors of the complete abandonment of the line brought the bondholders to terms and led to a compromise of the whole matter.[77]

Another source of difficulty for the road was the St. Louis County bonds, which for some time had been in more or less constant litigation.[78] The county claimed that the road was obligated to retire the bonds at maturity, while the company claimed that its only obligation was to continue the payment of the interest as it came due. The Circuit Court upheld the claim of the county (April 26, 1877);[79] the case was appealed to the Supreme Court, where the ruling of the lower court was finally upheld.[80]

A final cause of trouble, and one which was to be continued into the future, was the labor situation. The strikes of 1877, which primarily affected the eastern roads, also extended to the west, and were of sufficient scope to stop the movements of through freight for several weeks.[81]

In spite of the various troubles in which the Missouri Pacific was involved in the latter seventies, several rays of light appeared. An agreement with the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, going into effect July 1, 1877,[82] proved advantageous to both lines, while the increasing prosperity of the country served to call attention to the advantageous geographical position in which the Missouri Pacific was situated. The result was that the Missouri Pacific was put on a

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[76] *Ibid.*, p. 57; *Chronicle*, Vol. 24 (1877), p. 112.
[77] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 10 (1878), p. 22.
[78] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), pp. 258, 269; *Chronicle*, Vol. 22 (1876), p. 568.
[79] *Chronicle*, Vol. 24, (1877), p. 421.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 421.
[81] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 9 (1877), pp. 342, 355.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

paying basis again, and had every hope that the future would be favorable to continued expansion and financial returns.

The seventies was a critical period in the internal history of many roads, and particularly those of the west, but it also showed several other highly important tendencies. It was the period in which occurred the beginnings of both governmental rate control and of effective railroad co-operation. Railroad control has been treated at considerable length elsewhere and needs no elaboration here.[83] Probably it was due in some degree in the west to the failure of the optimistic hopes which had been expressed twenty years earlier. The people began to realize that the railroads were not an economic panacea, and with true western feeling went from the extreme of enthusiastic co-operation to the other extreme of strict control.

Railroad supervision in Missouri went back as far as the Board of 1838, which was established to supervise all kinds of internal improvements, including railroads, but was abolished before it had any railroads to supervise.[84] Some attempt was made during the middle of the sixties to establish a control over the roads owing money to the state, but no important results were obtained, and this supervision automatically ceased when the debts were liquidated.[85]

The trouble that Missouri had with her railroads, and the rather unfortunate outcome of the efforts at state aid, made Missouri a very good field for Granger agitation during the depression of the seventies. A new state constitution was formed in 1875, just at the height of the anti-railroad movement, and the provisions in respect to the railroads were drawn up by the most radical element.[86] Railroads were made common carriers, discrimination was forbidden, passes to state officers were prohibited, combination of competing lines forbidden, joint control of transportation and manufacturing prohibited, while all further government aid was stopped.

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[83]S. J. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, (Cambridge, 1913), and *The Agrarian Crusade*, (New Haven, 1920) give good accounts of this phase, even though the movement in Missouri is not treated as fully as the movement elsewhere.

[84]Violette, p. 79.

[85]*Chronicle*, Vol. 1 (1865), p. 153.

[86]Buck, *Granger Movement*, p. 195.

Even more important than these provisions, the state legislature was given the power to establish maximum rates, and to pass further legislation to prevent discrimination and extortion.[87] Under these provisions a railroad commission was immediately formed (1875) by the passing of a law which was closely based on the similar Illinois and Wisconsin statutes.[88] This commission was given extensive powers, and allowed to classify the roads under a general maximum fare schedule that had been included as part of the original law.[89] This law coming as it did at a time of general depression, the normal opposition of the railroads was greatly increased, and many of them expressed doubts as to whether it would be possible any longer to continue the operation of their lines. The experience of the Missouri Pacific at this point is illuminating; although intensely opposed to what it considered hostile legislation, the road seemed to continue much on its usual course. Any investigation of the financial condition of the company seems to show that the state legislation had very little effect on its earnings, and when business again became better toward the end of the seventies the road again resumed making a profit. Of course it must also be considered that the commission never worked extremely well, and consequently never produced the results of effective regulation.

Developing at the same time as state regulation, was railroad co-operation. Apparently the only real connection between the two was the common conditions which gave rise to both. During the early history of the Pacific Railroad, as of any other early line, co-operation was needless because the road made practically no connections and had but very little competition. As time went on it became increasingly evident that unrestricted competition meant disaster to the roads concerned. For example, even in the question of time there was a needless conflict and loss. No standard time was in use, and in consequence no close connections were possible and numerous needless delays and losses of all kinds occurred. As

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[87]F. N. Thorpe (Ed.), *The Federal and State Constitutions*, etc., pp. 2264-7.
[88]Buck, p. 195.
[89]*Mo. R. R. Comm.*, 1886, p. 3.

early as 1872 a convention, in which the Pacific Railroad took part, was called for the purpose of securing some kind of unity of action both in the use of some kind of standard time and in scheduling trains so that the various lines would make connections.[90] This co-operation continued and eventually led to the adoption of a standard time in the early eighties.

Very naturally the question of rates was the most important matter on which the railroads found it necessary to come to some agreement. During the fifties and most of the sixties there was so little competition in the west that rate agreements would have been superfluous, but during the latter sixties and early seventies competition increased by rapid stages, and the unfortunate conditions that ensued were made further evident by the depression that followed the panic of 1873. The first important agreement was made in 1870 between the three lines that connected Omaha and Chicago, and remained in operation for fifteen years.[91] The first necessity that the Missouri Pacific faced to make some kind of a rate agreement was in the case of the Texas cattle business. In ordinary local traffic the road had but very little competition, but as the cattle trade kept increasing numerous lines put in a bid for this very profitable business, and potentially every line that crossed the trail at any point was a possible competitor. In order to get their share of the business the lines further west had to reduce their rates in order to meet the competition of the lines further east. The whole condition was very unsatisfactory to everyone concerned and in April 1871 representatives of the Pacific Railroad, the North Missouri, the Atlantic and Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the Illinois Central, the Chicago and Alton, the Hannibal and St. Jo.,the Kansas Pacific,the Missouri River, Ft.Scott and Gulf. the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and other interested roads met at St. Louis to try to come to some sort of an agreement. After considerable discussion it was agreed to give all points

[90] *Annual Report of the American Railway Master Mechanics' Association* (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 681.

[91] House of Rep. Doc. 380, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 333; *Annual Report of the Iowa Railroad Commission for 1878*, pp. 48-9; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 39.

in competition, such as Seneca, Baxter Springs, Chetopa and Abilene the same footing by a flat rate of $115 per car to Chicago.[92] This agreement was transferred to the eastern trunk lines in the "cattle evener's pool" of 1875,[93] and was finally superseded by various later pools. Minor evidences of increasing co-operation were the Railroad Land Commissioners Association formed in 1877 to exchange ideas concerning the sale of land,[94] and the Western Railroad Association, which was formed in the sixties by representatives of almost all of the inportant roads, and took up all questions of patent rights and claims.[95]

The formation of pools that is referred to above is the most outstanding evidence of increasing railroad co-operation during the seventies. The most important of these pools, from the viewpoint of the Missouri Pacific, was the Missouri river pool, known as the Southwestern Railway Rate Association, which was formed in September 1876. The lines which were first represented were the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, the Chicago and Alton, the Hannibal and St. Jo., the Missouri Pacific, the Atlantic and Pacific, the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, and the territory covered was from Chicago, Toledo and St. Louis to points on the Missouri River and in southern Missouri. Rates were fixed by an elected board of commissioners, and the traffic proceeds were split between the Chicago roads, the St. Louis roads and the Toledo roads on a basis of 45—45—10.[96]

As with every such voluntary organization, continual trouble arose. Particularly was this condition true in cases where the roads concerned were expanding rapidly, and in consequence each line soon felt that it was not securing its fair

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[92] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 3 (1871), p. 70.

[93] J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States*, (Phila., 1888), p. 273.

[94] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 9, p. 57 and Vol. 10, pp. 85, 362.

[95] *Ibid.*, Vol. 9 (1877), p. 18.

[96] H. of R. Doc. 380, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 333; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), p. 408.

share of the business. In the case of the Southwestern Railway Rate Association the first serious trouble occurred about a year and a half after the pool was formed. The Atlantic and Pacific and the Missouri Pacific withdrew early in 1878 because they felt that the existing traffic division was unfair to them.[97] To meet this situation and to be in a favorable position in the rate war that was bound to ensue the Chicago roads banded themselves into a separate union.[98] After a rate war of about two months the old association was renewed, with some concessions to the St. Louis roads; the Toledo rate was made 5c higher than the Chicago rate, which in turn was made 5c higher than the St. Louis rate, while provision was made for an actual division of the traffic instead of the old plan of a division of the proceeds.[99]

The next year (1879) witnessed another breakup of the association, because of the entrance of the Chicago and Alton into the competitive field.[100] The ensuing fight saw the emergence of several new factors, most important among which was the participation of the Wabash on the side of the St. Louis roads. This fight marks the beginning of a new order of affairs, and can best be treated at a later point.

No discussion of the Missouri Pacific in the latter seventies can ignore the figure of Jay Gould, who by 1879 had emerged as the most important single individual in the western railroad world. Gould was primarily a Wall Street operator, and combined both the good and bad qualities of such an individual. Powerful, daring, brilliant and resourceful, he was not greatly interested in the sound development of the properties which he controled, but was willing to use any means at hand in order to gain a speculative profit; only on this basis can his operations be understood.

Gould's first interest in the western railway world was a rather large holding of Union Pacific stock during the seventies. At that time the Union Pacific was in very poor financial

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[97] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 10 (1878), p. 84.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[99] *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4.
[100] *Ibid.*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 211.

condition and there could be little hope that the stock would yield any large profit for a considerable time to come, so Gould disposed of his holdings in 1878 and bought Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific stock.[101] Both of these roads were in the nature of speculative enterprises, and the Kansas Pacific in particular had a very unsound financial basis. The advantage of buying such stock did not lie in any possible increase of the value of the properties concerned, but rather in the hope that the Union Pacific would find it necessary to consolidate with these possible competitors and potential feeders, and thus bring up the value of the other stock. Gould began overtures in this direction, but the Union Pacific directors looked askance at burdening their already hard pressed line with further obligations.[102] Gould's next move was to make a personal trip to the west and buy up enough roads to make possible the construction of a line parallel and competing to the Union Pacific.[103] Among the roads which he bought for this purpose was the Missouri Pacific, which was a good purchase for several reasons. The road had great natural advantages and good terminal facilities, with the possibility of indefinite expansion; even more important, it could be bought for a comparatively small sum owing to the fact that in the reorganization of 1876 it had not been highly capitalized, and of even this small amount of capital stock authorized only a small proportion had been issued because of adverse market conditions.[104]

On the basis of the roads which he had bought, and the possibility of building a road parallel to the Union Pacific, Gould was able to dictate his own terms when he returned to New York, and secured the consolidation of the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific and the Denver Pacific on the basis of an equal exchange of securities.[105] This transaction enormously increased the value of his holdings, which he then quietly sold,

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[101]Sen. Exec. Doc. 51, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 53.

[102]*Ibid.*, pp. 55-61.

[103]*Chronicle*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 624.

[104]*R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 624, p. 627; *Chronicle*, Vol. 29 (1879), p. 538.

[105]T. W. Mitchell, "The Growth of the Union Pacific and its Financial Operations," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 21 (1907), p. 570; *Chronicle*, Vol. 30 (1880), p. 118.

although retaining some interest in the Union Pacific for a number of years. Just before his death he again started buying Union Pacific, but his purpose in so doing will probably never be disclosed.

The purchase of the Missouri Pacific by Gould launched that road on a wider sea of activities than any in which it had yet participated. Having accomplished his central purpose Gould found upon his hands several western railroad properties which if he sold at once would probably produce a net loss, and so instead of selling he decided to keep them for a while. With the rather disorganized state of railroad finance and business that existed at the time, Gould saw clearly that the only way to produce any large profit was to secure a monopoly of the field. In consequence he conceived the possibility of expanding the Wabash, which he controlled, and in buying roads competing and connecting with the Missouri Pacific in order to gain a control over the whole southwest, with terminal facilities in all the important cities of the middle west—Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati, St. Louis.

THE STORY OF THE BALD KNOBBERS

BY A. M. HASWELL.

The organization which has come down in history under the name of the "Bald Knobbers" differed wholly in the purpose for which it was formed from any other of those somewhat similar sporadic movements which have sprung up from time to time in the United States.

The so-called "Tobacco War," of Kentucky, had for its aim the reduction of the tobacco crop, so that the growers should receive a better price for their product. The Indiana "White Caps" apparently existed solely for the purpose of enabling their members to visit punishment upon their personal enemies. The Ku Klux Klan of reconstruction times was wholly a political movement, intended to accomplish just what it did, the restoration of the white people to political power.

None of these purposes animated the Bald Knobbers. Neither were they organized for plunder or bloodshed. But, unfortunately, the tragedy which finally put an end to the organization has stood all these years as typical of the aims of the founders, while the real purpose for which they first arose has been wholly lost sight of.

Now that more than thirty-five years have passed since the curtain fell on this backwoods drama, as the drop fell on the scaffold in Ozark, it seems but simple justice to the men who inaugurated the movement, that the reasons for that movement be recorded in permanent form, and their memories be cleared from the stain of the unlawful acts, finally culminating in murder, of those who seized upon the organization after it had done its work, and after its founders had almost to a man withdrawn from it.

The writer knew many of these men. During part of two years immediately following the collapse of the movement he was the manager of lead and zinc mines in eastern Christian

county, in the very heart of bald knob territory. Nearly every man on his pay rolls had been active in the movement from first to last. These men gave him their full confidence and told him much that, at that time at least, they would have given to no one not wholly in their trust. Knowing these men as he did, men not wise in the learning of the schools, but always and everywhere, honest, clean-handed, upstanding, men among men, it is a pleasure to tell the story as they told it to him, and which closest investigation at the time fully convinced him was the truth.

During the years 1883-4 there developed in some of the rougher Ozarks, what might be termed an epidemic of lawlessness. Almost as if by preconcerted agreement, not only did the small element of local evil doers, such as exists in all communities, suddenly spring into activity, but the old proverb proved true, and "birds of a feather flocked together," and offscourings from the outside flocked in to take part in the saturnalia of vice.

The eastern part of Christian County was especially afflicted by this state of affairs. This is a hilly region, broken by the narrow and tortuous valleys of Findley, Swan, and Bull creeks, and their numerous tributaries, and at that time was one of the most thinly settled parts of the Ozarks. South of Christian a large part of Taney county was involved, and east of Taney and Christian much of Douglas and Ozark counties, all being a part of the same rugged region, and with comparatively few inhabitants.

As in many lawless outbreaks in American history, the seed from which all this evil sprang was liquor. With that traffic were its all-time allies, the gambling den and the brothel. In some of the little towns, such as Chadwick, terminus of a branch of the St. Louis & San Francisco railway in Christian county, liquor flowed freely, and gambling flourished openly. Among the hills away from the railroad, "blind tigers" and gambling dens sprang up, and brothels that would put Chicago's old time "Hell's half acre" to shame. Nor were these dens of iniquity all, for with them, a part of them indeed, flourished such an outbreak of theft as those old

hills had never known. Thefts all the way from robbing a hen roost to horse stealing, and highway robbery.

Of course those engaged in all this crime formed but a small fraction of the community. Then as now, the great bulk of the people of the Ozarks were law abiding, God fearing folk. Such people would not patiently endure such a pestilence in their midst, and they called urgently upon the lawful authorities to put an end to the unbearable conditions. The officers, to their credit be it said, responded nobly to the appeal. Some drinking places were raided and closed. Some gambling dens were put out of business; many arrests were made, and the grand jury brought in many indictments; but evidently there were spies who watched every movement of the officers, and many times, when a raid was made on some den, the place would be found swept and garnished, and peacefully following some legitimate business. Then as soon as the danger was passed the red lights would flare again, and the evil work would go on more defiantly than ever. Even when cases were brought to trial the prosecution discovered that the evil element stood solidly together, and any number of witnesses stepped forward ready to swear to anything necessary to clear the accused; thus most of the criminals went unwhipped, and laughed at the attempts to bring them to justice.

At length a few of the best men in the region met and decided that as the law had failed to protect them, they would attempt to protect themselves. Notice was quietly circulated calling on all law abiding citizens to meet on a certain day, on Bald Jess, one of those bald topped hills characteristic of that part of the Ozarks, and such a hill as "Dewey Bal'," immortalized in Harold Bell Wright's story of "The Shepherd of the Hills." This hill was close to the point where Christian, Taney, Douglas, and Ozark counties unite, and was practically in the center of the disturbed district.

Here gathered a strong representation of the best element of the community. In orderly American fashion they chose a chairman and secretary, and proceeded to discuss ways and means of ridding the region of the horde that had invaded it.

Of course the very nature of the case demanded that they should act in strictest secrecy, and every man present pledged himself to that end.

Let me emphasize again, that there was no atom of politics or self seeking in the proposed action. Men of all politics were there. Merchants from the little towns and cross roads stores, preachers of the gospel, country doctors, school teachers, rich farmers and stock growers, poor homesteaders and tie choppers, standing together as one man. Just as men of Anglo Saxon blood have done a thousand times in history, so these, as pure Anglo Saxon stock as ever lived, joined to the end that, the law having failed them, they would make a law that should not fail.

Before that meeting adjourned it divided the district into several parts, and to each part appointed a leader and a strong committee, whose duty it was to rally the decent element to work as one man against the gang that afflicted them. The place of this first meeting, and of several that followed, suggested the name of "Bald Knobbers," which was instantly adopted, and soon became a word of fear to the rascals infesting the Ozark hills.

The organization spread rapidly, until, even in that sparsely settled region, it numbered several hundred grimly determined men. As a part of the plan to strike terror into the evil doers, it was decided that their work should be done at night, with every man on horse back, and wearing a mask. This mask was usually simply a pillow case with holes cut for the eyes. Seen on a hundred mounted and silent men, by dim starlight, it was a sufficiently terrifying adjunct to their work.

Then one dark night the bald knobbers struck their first blow. Struck at the same hour, and at widely separated points. Whiskey barrels and beer kegs were stove in, bottles were smashed and all contents were poured onto the ground. Proprietors were tied up to trees and given a sound flogging with hickory rods, laid on the bare back by stalwart and indignant hands. Gambling paraphanalia was piled up and burned, and the gamblers received a like dose of hickory.

The evil dens were either reduced to kindling wood, or burned to the ground, while the inmates fled in the darkness, and the proprietors added, with good cause, their wails to those of their associates in crime. In every case, whether of liquor seller, gambler, or brothel keeper, each was solemnly warned that if they were ever caught in that region again, after twenty-four hours, they would be strung up to the first tree.

Probably no gang of evil doers was ever taken more completely by surprise, and certainly none ever took their warning more wholly to heart, for they fled, nor tarried on the order of their fleeing! Night after night the white masked horsemen swept down on the dens of the blind tigers, and all their partnership of guilt. There was weeping and wailing among the hills in those nights, and those of the gang who were lucky enough to escape the hickories, joined the panic stricken exodus, and departed for some clime where the bald knobbers should not molest or make them afraid.

So the rough country was ridden of its unwelcome tenants, and peace and quiet settled down upon the hills. The organization was maintained for some time, in case any of the gang should return, but none of them was unwise enough to attempt it. Gradually all the prominent leaders and many of the rank and file dropped out, and congratulated themselves on the swift success that had crowned their administration of rough and ready backwoods justice.

But time was to prove that it was no easy matter to disband the organization. Some of the younger and wilder spirits, having had a taste of adventure, longed for more of the same sort. Some who held enmity against certain people, hoped to use the organization to work their vengeance. Some of the older and shrewder, dreamed that, if rightly handled, the bald knobbers might be used to raise them to public office. So for one reason or another a large body still held together, and the originators of the movement were disgusted to find that the organization which they had formed to drive out law breakers, had itself become a worse law breaker than those it had suppressed, and was rapidly leading to a far worse condition than existed in the beginning. The debauch-

ery and thievery which had been driven out did not return, it is true, but hardly a night passed that did not see some man, even old men and weak women, dragged from their beds and cruelly whipped. And these outrages, perpetrated at night, and by silent bands of masked horsemen, gave no slightest chance for their victims to identify even one man among his tormentors.

The organization now had a much more complex system than at first. Its members were oath bound under death penalties, not to divulge any plans of the leadership, or to hesitate in instant obedience to orders. Thus little by little unscrupulous leaders forged a weapon ready to their hand, swift, terrible, and effective to execute any design they might form.

But no American community would long endure such a tyranny. Those who had at first laughed at the reorganization as the prank of a lot of silly boys, realized that it had developed into a peril ten fold worse than the evil that had been driven out. But these men realized too that it was a certainty that sooner or later these night riders would run against some men who would not tamely submit to be whipped like dogs, but would resist to the death if need be. Once any such men had bested the night prowlers the back bone of baldknobbery would be broken. And at length just that thing was what happened; but it cost, first and last five lives.

One night in March, 1887, a band of the masked horsemen gathered around a little log cabin on the road between Sparta and Chadwick, within a few paces of the railroad. The occupants of the place were an old couple, named Green, and their daughter and her husband, named Edens. They were homesteaders, eking out a bare subsistence by hewing railroad ties or chopping cord wood. They were of the poorest class, honest and hard working people. What they had done, if anything, to incur the enmity of the bald knobbers was never known. Perhaps some man among the night riders coveted their stony acres, and wished to drive them off that he might homestead the land for himself. But, whatever the cause of the visit, they had come. Several men dismounted and knocked loudly on the door, demanding

entrance. The inmates, roused from their sleep, ordered the men outside away, threatening to shoot, although as was afterwards learned, they had no fire arms in the place.

Then the frail door was burst open, and the intruders rushed in. Probably they expected that these men would realize the uselessness of resistance and submit as scores of others had done. But they reckoned without their host for they were sprung upon with such fury that they were literally being thrust out of the door by the unarmed men. Then some of the gang drew their revolvers and fired several shots. Resistance instantly ceased, for the two who had so bravely defended their home lay upon the floor dead, with the aged mother by their side, desperately wounded. At once terror struck to the hearts of the cowardly murderers and they fled at full speed to their homes, hoping to avoid being suspected of participation in the crime.

Then at last the good old county of Christian waked up, and such a man hunt ensued as was never known before or since in all the Ozarks. Led by Sheriff Andrew Johnson, a brave and resourceful man, posses scoured the hills in all directions, with the keenness and determination of Indians on the trail of their enemies. Some few of those wanted managed to slip through the quickly tightening net, but scores were arrested, and the jail at Ozark was full of prisoners. A grand jury was summoned, and quickly brought in indictments against more than thirty persons, four of them for murder in the first degree.

Few criminal trials in Missouri ever attracted such nation-wide attention as that of the four men charged with the capital crime. They did not lack for the best counsel the able bar of Southwest Missouri could furnish. From Springfield came Colonel Sempronius H. Boyd, a veteran of the Union army, ex-representative in Congress and one among the greatest criminal lawyers Missouri ever produced. With him was his son-in-law, Thomas J. Delaney, at the time at the height of his fame,—shrewd, eloquent, well read in the law, and a marvelous pleader before a jury. Associated with these two was Oliver H. Travers, for many years the most renowned

advocate in the southwest. Utterly fearless in his defence of a client, sparing neither himself nor his legal opponents, and he possessed a power of eloquence that earned for him the well deserved title of "The silver tongued orator."

With such defenders it is needless to say that nothing was left undone or unsaid to clear the prisoners. But the evidence, while wholly circumstantial, was very strong, and it was strongly handled by the prosecution. The verdict was, "Guilty." Four men, Walker, his twenty year old son, and the two Matthews brothers, were sentenced to hang.

Delaney, at his own expense, carried the case to the Supreme Court and argued strongly for his clients' lives, but the judgment of the lower court was affirmed. Then the tireless lawyer besieged the governor to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. That governor was David R. Francis, and Missouri never had a better or abler man in the executive mansion. But he was not a man to interfere with a just sentence. He listened to Delaney's impassioned plea for mercy; he examined the testimony carefully; and he refused to interfere. So Delaney had to telegraph to the three men in the jail at Ozark: "All three must hang!"

It will be noticed that the telegram speaks only of three men, while four had been sentenced. This was because, a few nights previously three of the prisoners had managed to escape; probably they had aid from outside, but if so it was never proven. The youngest of the four, young Walker, refused to take the chance for his life. He relied almost to the last on having his sentence commuted. The elder Walker, and one of the Matthews, were quickly recaptured and put back into their cells, but John Matthews made good his escape, and was seen no more in Christian county. For many years it was commonly supposed that he was drowned on the night of his escape, in attempting to cross a stream, but, strange to say, after more than thirty years had passed and his name was almost forgotten, the rumor has been repeatedly circulated that he escaped across the Pacific, and still lived, a very old man, in China.

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Whether that rumor be true or not, certain it is that the other three condemned men swung side by side on the same gallows, in Ozark, and outraged justice was satisfied at last. Since that day the terror of their taking off has proved sufficient to prevent any repetition of such deeds as brought them to the gallows. And that execution put the end to bald knob history.

One more item, to add that "touch of nature that makes the whole world kin," to this rather grim recital. The three lawyers who defended the men executed, had received as security for their pay, deeds to the farms of their clients. After they had done their best, and all was over, those men, of their own free will, deeded back the farms to the wives of the men they had defended in vain. They never received one cent for months of earnest service, and hundreds of dollars spent in behalf of their prisoners. They have all three passed over to the majority, but among all the good that they did, and it was much, and above all the fame they won, and it was great, there shines no kinder or more unselfish deed than when they gave back to those heart broken wives the homes that alone stood between them and their children and the poor house.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

By William G. Bek

THIRTEENTH ARTICLE

Hermann Garlichs—Theologian

Another representative man whom the flood tide of immigration brought to Missouri during the thirties of the past century was the Reverend Hermann Garlichs. Through the kindness of Mr. Frank Garlichs, a grandson of the Reverend Garlichs, at present treasurer of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, and as a direct result of the publication of the translation of Duden's "Report," the writer has come into possession of the facts concerning this interesting Missouri pioneer. The Reverend Garlichs has the unique distinction of being the first German Evangelical clergyman west of the Mississippi, and has the added distinction of being one of the founders of the great German Evangelical Synod of North America, the first session of which took place at Gravois Settlement, twelve miles from the St. Louis of that day.

Hermann Garlichs* was born on January 31, 1807, in Bremen, Germany, and died on June 24, 1865, in Brooklyn, New York. His father was Gerhard Christian Garlichs, born

*The sources concerning the Reverend Hermann Garlichs' life and work are the following:

[1]Frank Garlichs' letters concerning his grandfather.

[2]The Reverend Albert Muecks' "Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord Amerika," p. 52 ff.

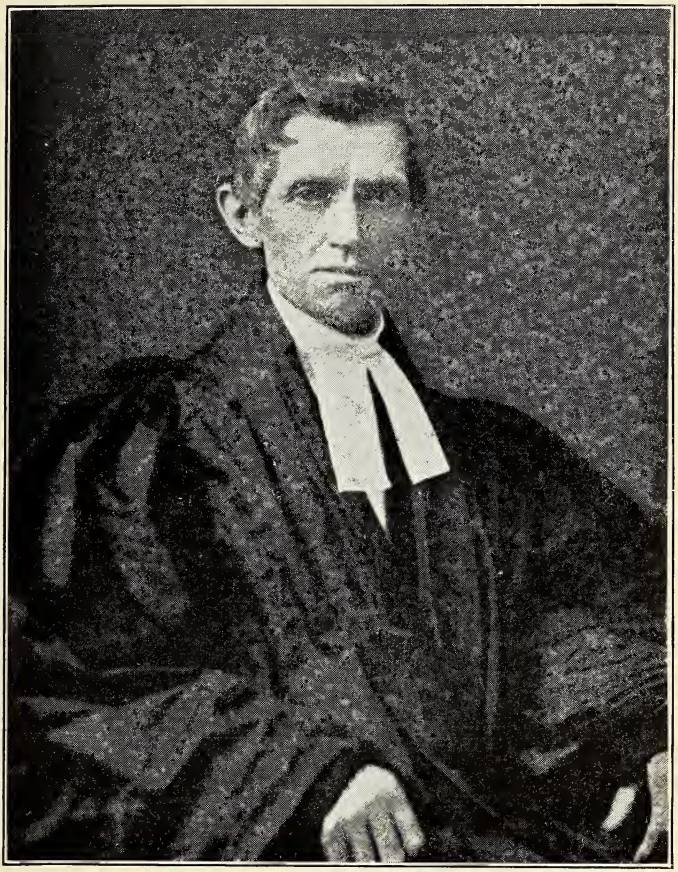
[3]A biographic sketch of Mr. Garlichs in "Amerikanischer Botschafter," Vol. 19, No. 10, October, 1865.

[4]A memorial pamphlet gotten out by the church at the time of Mr. Garlichs' death: "Erinnerungen an den ehrwuerdigen Herrn Pastor Garlichs."

[5]A diary kept by Mr. Garlichs during a sea journey.

[6]"Evangelical Tidings," Vol. I, Nos. 42 and 43.

In 1846 Garlichs wrote a sketch of his American experiences for his relatives in Germany. Such an account would be invaluable for our present purpose. Frank Garlichs says concerning it: "My grandfather's diary was sent to relatives in Germany, they died soon after and the papers were irretrievably lost."



REV. HERMAN GARLICHS

in Kniphausen, December 6, 1778, and died in Bremen, December 7, 1830. His mother was Insea Catherine Elise Garlichs, nee Lambertz, born in 1782 in Oldenburg, and died in 1816 in Bremen. Gerhard Christian Garlichs was a wealthy merchant, deeply religious, well versed in the classics, a lover of art, who had the finest art collection in Bremen.

Hermann Garlichs enjoyed every educational advantage that his parents could give him. He completed the secondary school in his native city and then spent four years in study at the universities of Goettingen, Leipzig, Bonn and Muenchen, devoting himself largely to philological studies. His contemporaries tell us that he knew seven languages, that he played the violin very well, and that he had some knowledge of medicine. As to his physical appearance, his friend C. Wossidlo describes him as tall and slender, neither unusually robust nor yet frail, who, excepting three cases of illness during his strenuous life enjoyed good health and was endowed with great vigor and endurance.

After completing the university work he held the position of private tutor in several wealthy families of north Germany, aspiring in time to obtain a University teaching position. About this time many of his friends and acquaintances were seized by the general restlessness and many set sail for America. The excitement also took hold of Mr. Garlichs. From his own pen we have the following: "It was in the spring of 1833, when I, induced by Gottfried Duden's charming depiction of country life in America, emigrated for Missouri and settled there fifty miles from St. Louis, in the southwestern part of St. Charles county, on the Femme Osage creek." He sailed from Bremen on April 5, 1833, (ship Phoenix, Captain Bultmann), and arrived in Baltimore on May 19. From Baltimore to Wheeling the journey was made on foot. From Wheeling to St. Louis by steam boat.

On August 5, 1834 Garlichs bought, six miles from Duden's farm, a small tract of land together with a log cabin on the Femme Osage creek. The deed tells us that John Petty and Mary, his wife, sold to Hermann Garlichs, in the county of St. Charles, for the consideration of $350 the North

East fractional Quarter of Section No. 14 of Township No. 45 north, in Range 1 east, containing 43 60/100 acres. Neither of the Pettys seemed to have been able to write and made their mark instead. The transaction is attested by Moses Biglow and James Boone. Moses Biglow was justice of peace and William Christy was clerk of the Circuit Court and ex-officio Recorder.

As to his success as a farmer we shall let Mr. Garlichs speak for himself. "Since I soon became convinced that I lacked almost every qualification that would insure my success as a farmer, my first thought was to return to my fatherland. With me had immigrated a large number of countrymen from Westphalia. Some of them had settled in the same region with me, while others had chosen land thirty miles east of me in the neighborhood of St. Charles. There was no German clergyman or teacher in these parts, so my countrymen requested me to assume these functions." Tho not prepared for the work of a minister, and tho possessing ample means for the return journey to his home country, Mr. Garlichs considered this call as an opportunity to do his countrymen a service in their backwood environment, accepted their earnest invitation, and with energy and rare tenacity set to work to equip himself for the new task. There was indeed a great lack of everything spiritual on the frontier. All that these pioneers had to remind them of the regular service which they had enjoyed at home was their Bible, Stark's prayerbook and their hymnals.

Mr. Garlichs was an unusually energetic and active man. His new field of service was immensely large. Sometimes he rode forty miles on horseback to minister to the sick or dying. There were no roads thru the primeval forest, the climate was new and trying, yet he worked ceaselessly to bring spiritual and material aid, comfort and advice to his people. The treacherous ague attacked him, as it did most of the new settlers, and it prostrated him. His advisors recommended a change, and if possible a sea journey.

Following this advice Mr. Garlichs returned to Germany in the fall of 1835. While abroad he passed his theological

examination in Bielefeld, and was ordained a minister of the gospel. On September 10, 1835, he married Miss Adelheid von Borries on the estate Steinlacke near Herford. The bride was of aristocratic descent. Her parents were C. L. Philipp von Borries, Landrath,* born 1778 in Stade, died 1838 at Steinlacke near Herford, and Louise von Borries nee von Buelow, born 1778 in Essenrode near Braunschweig, died 1861 at Herford. Adelheid von Borries ** was born on June 12, 1815, at Steinlacke, Westphalia, and died on April 10, 1871, in Hannover, Germany, while on a visit to her native land.

Mr. Garlichs' diary kept during their return journey to America contains some facts of interest. They left Bremen on November 2, 1835, on the ship Weser. Their time was industriously employed in reading many of the classic works of Goethe and Schiller. The serious discussions which arose during these readings are reflected in the diaries. They also read Schleiermacher's sermons, Hahmann's "Treatise on Homeopathic Medicine," A. W. Schlegel's criticism of Schiller's works, Gellert's poems and "Undine." They devoted a part of each day to the study of English, in which a fellow traveler, another clergyman, was of great service to them. Frequently Mr. Garlichs offered his services as a musician for the entertainment of his fellow travelers. Mrs. Garlichs describes with youthful enthusiasm and charm a series of puppet plays which were given by a number of gypsies, for the amusement of the travelers.

On Christmas day 1835 they entered the waters of the Mississippi, while yet many miles out in the Gulf. A tug boat took them in tow and piloted them to New Orleans, for

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*A Landrath was a high functionary in Prussia, charged with the administration of justice and the maintenance of public security in his district.

**The Reverend Garlichs and his wife were blessed with eleven children: Charles, Franz, Fanny, Louise, Georg, Annette, Philipp, Gerhard, Bertha, Emma, Hermann. The first six were born at Femme Osage, Missouri, the remaining five in Brooklyn, New York.

Fanny died in 1858 at the age of 18 years.
Louise died in 1854 at the age of 12 years.
Gerhard died in 1854 at the age of 3 years.
Georg died in 1844 at the age of a few weeks.
Emma died in 1871 at the age of 15 years.

which service a charge of $300 was demanded of the ship owners. On December 27 they arrived at New Orleans, where the enormous number of sail boats, lying four and five rows deep, forming a perfect forest of masts, met their astonished eyes. On January 1, 1836 they started on the boat Iowa up the Mississippi for St. Louis.

When they arrived in Missouri they found the Missouri river full of floating ice, so that they had to wait ten days before they could cross. Quoting Mr. Garlichs own words: "We arrived in the midst of the unusually severe winter of 1835 to 36, and moved into the log house which was on the land which I had previously purchased. This proved to be but poor protection against the cold, to such a degree that on some days, in spite of continuous heating, I could not raise the temperature to the zero point of a Reaumur thermometer. Our first letter to Germany could not be finished because the snowflakes fell thru the roof onto the paper. We had in every respect a hard beginning, especially on account of sickness, which, after the death of my brother, who had accompanied us on our return trip from Germany, prostrated my young wife and brought her and our first born child to the edge of the grave."

The wretched hut just mentioned, was destined to be the first German Evangelical parsonage in Missouri, in fact in the United States.

Continuing Mr. Garlichs own words: "In the summer of 1837 I bought another place, five miles from my old home, settling then in the midst of the German settlement on the Femme Osage. Here the people had erected a small log hut, which served as church and at the same time as school house, for there being no public schools at this time, I instructed the children of the pioneers in the elements of education. My spare time I devoted to the study of theological subjects and to a mastery of the Hebrew language."

The log house just spoken of was the first German Evangelical church building in Missouri.

"Since my return from Germany I had served not only the people along the Femme Osage, but had organized a

branch of my church which was located near St. Charles. This I continued to do until this congregation was strong enough to secure its own pastor. When this preacher was enstalled in the work near St. Charles, I accepted the call of two other settlements and served them in addition to my original charge. One of these groups was fifteen miles from my home, in Charette township in Warren county, the other was in the town of Washington, on the other side of the Missouri river, in Franklin county. The latter was much nearer than the former, but so inconvenient of access on account of the uncertainty and irregularity of the ferry boat service, that I was obliged to give it up after two years."

The pastor's young and resolute wife, without complaint, tried to adjust herself to the primitive conditions, so totally different from those she was accustomed to on her parents' handsome estate. At times when the pastor was obliged to make professional calls at some distance from home, timidity got the best of the brave little woman, an uncontrollable fear of being left alone in the near-wilderness took possession of her, and the parishoners might chance to see their pastor together with his young wife and their two babes, all on the back of an old family horse, picking their way over forest paths.

Up to 1839 the congregation on the Femme Osage had been without any written agreement between itself and its pastor. In this year Mr. Garlichs succeeded in having them adopt a constitution. This document contained among other things a statement, that in time this church would ask for affiliation with one or the other church bodies or synods. Yet it was expressly stated that this congregation would always retain the right of choosing its own pastor, no matter with what larger organization it might be affiliated. This was done, no doubt, because of the fact that so many men who found the life of the pioneer too irksome, sought an easier way of making a living, had pronounced themselves preachers or teachers, tho they were entirely unfitted for these callings by either temperament, conviction or training, and thus had done the cause of religion and their charges the greatest sort of harm. Moreover, many of the immigrants of that day had

decidedly rationalistic tendencies, tendencies which they brought with them from Europe where that sort of thought was rife at that time.

Mr. Garlich's enthusiasm for his work is shown, moreover, by the fact that he not only bought the land on which the parsonage was erected, but that he built the parsonage, cleared land for the garden and a small field, caused a well to be dug at his own expense, with the unwritten understanding that in time the congregation should purchase it at cost. When the time came for such disposition, he let his people have it at a discount.

Soon after the closer organization of the church at Femme Osage it was decided to build a new church, the old one having become entirely inadequate. The cornerstone of this new structure was laid on October 4, 1840. This was so much the more a triumph for the Reverend Garlichs, since there was more or less dissention among the members, and the most violent and unfair attacks on the part of the free thinking editors in the newspapers of Hermann and St. Louis. On October 3, 1841 this new structure was dedicated.

In Vol. I, No. 43, of "Evangelical Tidings," under the date of October 24, 1915, the Reverend Henry Bode* gives an interesting account of the above mentioned church. We read: "The new church, commonly known as the Rock Church, was a massive structure 45 by 50 feet in dimention. The walls were nearly two and a half feet thick. The rafters were heavy oak beams, one foot thick at the lower end. The roof was made of clapboards, hewn by the members of the church themselves. The entire roof was so heavy, that its weight threatened to spread the walls apart, so that the structure had to be anchored with heavy iron rods. The ceiling was made of heavy oak boards, almost an inch thick, smoothed by hand planes, and was painted blue, to resemble the sky. The congregation was its own architect, mason and carpenter.

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*The Reverend Henry Bode grew up on the Femme Osage. His father was the Reverend Casper Henry Bode, who succeeded Mr. Garlichs at Femme Osage. Mr. Bode's statements are therefore founded on personal observation.

"Ten years later a steeple was raised against the outer wall. It was a curious specimen of frontier home architecture. Four massive logs, forty feet long and two feet thick were smoothed slightly with the ax, raised on end and made to sit on a square rock foundation. The sides, covered with grooved pine weatherboarding, tapered somewhat. In the belfry hung a rather large bell of sonorous sound. When in 1888 the old structure was deemed unsafe, a rope was tied to the top, and it took the combined strength of the whole male membership to pull down this landmark of pioneer times, which so fittingly represented the sturdy strength of the pioneers.

"The pulpit was made by a local cabinet maker. It was octagonal in shape and spacious. It was made of solid walnut. It rested on a pedestal which had the shape of an X. Over the pulpit was a soundingboard of octagonal shape. The stairway leading to the pulpit was narrow, a severe test for a nervous minister."

To return to Mr. Garlichs. The disturbing elements having been excluded from the congregation, that body enjoyed a healthful growth. Tho greatly gratified by the results of his labor, the Reverend Garlichs felt himself in urgent need of rest. This he took in 1846. He left his charge in the hands of the Reverend C. H. Bode,* who, in part at least, had been trained by Mr. Garlichs for the ministry, and had been ordained by him. The Reverend C. H. Bode served the church at Femme Osage from 1846 to 1889. It was his first and only charge.

In addition to having founded the church at Femme Osage, the Reverend Garlichs founded and served a number of other churches in his neighborhood, namely those near St. Charles, in Washington, in Charette township the one on the upper Charette creek, which was thirteen miles from his main charge, the one in Mount Pleasant (Augusta) six miles distant, and finally the one in New Melle, also six miles distant.

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*The Reverend Caspar Henry Bode was born March 14, 1814 in Schledehausen, Hannover and died March 11, 1892 in Belleville, Illinois.

"The large number of charges was, of course, a severe drain on me. Naturally most of the sick calls had to be made when the weather was the worst and the season most unpleasant. Moreover, during the festival seasons I had to preach as many times as there were days in the week, since I had to go from one congregation to the other. On every Sunday of the year I had to preach two sermons, in different localities, so that I had to spend half of the day on horseback, which was especially trying in the heat of the summer."

The reasons why Mr. Garlichs left the scene so endeared to him by thirteen years of tireless activity and organization, he states himself as follows: "There were two main reasons why I left my place in Missouri. The first was a lack of sufficient income, the second my health which was very much impaired. To begin with the latter first. The frightful flood of 1844 had left all the regions adjacent to the great river and its tributaries most unhealthful. My physical resistance had been so much undermined by the hardship and unpleasantness of my service in the congregation, that I was too weak to resist these outside influences. Pulmonary troubles set in, which for a while seemed to threaten me with tuberculosis. To this was added intermittent fever, from which I suffered for weeks even after I had gotten to Pennsylvania.

"To speak of financial matters. During the first years of my work on the Femme Osage I received practically no salary at all. Even during the last years the combined income from all the congregations did not amount to the equivalent of $200, which I was, for the most part, obliged to take in produce. My family having now increased to five children, and certain demands made upon me in consequence of my position, I was compelled to expend each year a considerable part of my own savings. To be sure, I was largely to blame for this condition myself, for fearing that I might impose even the slightest hindrance to the growth of the gospel I was more willing to give than to take."

"When I left the Femme Osage valley, I planned to seek a suitable position in the eastern states in a more healthful locality. To this end I purposed to apply to the Evangelical

Lutheran Synod of eastern Pennsylvania, which held its annual conference in June at Orwigsburg, Pennsylvania. Just as I prepared to go thither, being already in Pennsylvania, the obstinate fever returned and prostrated me for several weeks. My physicians advised a trip to Germany and rest."

On July 31, Mr. Garlichs and family sailed for Bremen. After recovery he preached in a number of the leading churches in Germany. Efforts were made to retain him permanently. But having obtained the main purpose of his trip, the recovery of his health, and having been greatly enriched and inspired by association with brilliant clergymen and scholars of Germany, he could finally not resist the call of the new country. On October 3 he sailed again for the west, leaving his family with their kin for a longer visit. He planned to go back to the western part of the country again, where he knew he was so much needed.

Having landed in New York he accepted the invitation to make the hospitable home of a merchant named Brahe his temporary home. It so happened that Mrs. Brahe had been a student of Mr. Garlichs in the little school on the Femme Osage. He was asked to preach in the only German Evangelical church of Brooklyn at that time. So well was the congregation pleased with him that he was offered the position permanently. What he had intended to be but a stay of a few weeks became a residence in Brooklyn to the end of his life. He continued to preach in this same church until his death which occurred on June 24, 1865.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA.

One of the great accomplishments of the Reverend Garlichs was his share in the founding of the German Evangelical Synod of North America.

In a broad and steady and ever increasing stream G man immigrants poured into the Mississippi basin. M were entirely without the ministration of the clergy. n fact it is authoritatively stated that many did not hear a minister

preach in their own tongue for seventeen years. Garlichs' own extended service in Missouri shows that spiritual counsellors were very scarce. An urgent plea was sent by the Germans living in Illinois and other pioneer settlements to the Missionary Society in Basel, where young men were being trained for foreign fields, largely in Africa. In November of 1836 two young men were sent to Missouri by this society. They were George Wendelin Wall and Joseph Anton Rieger. In 1835 John Jakob Riesz had come over and settled in St. Clair county, Illinois. Philipp Jakob Heyer and Tilman Nies were sent out by the Rhenish Missionary Society late in 1836 to work among the Indians in the far west. The winter season delayed their trip west. Due to exposure Nies soon died and Heyer obtained permission to work among the German settlements near St. Louis. In 1837 Louis Eduard Nollau was sent out by the Missionary Board at Barmen and he settled among the Germans as Gravois Settlement, near St. Louis. Karl Ludwig Daubert came in 1840 and settled in Quincy, Illinois. John Gerber had been sent out in 1834 and settled first in Ohio but presently came to the German settlers near St. Louis.

So urgent was the need of the German pioneers felt to be in Germany that in 1837 there was organized in Barmen "The Evangelical Society for the Protestant Germans in North America."

Lonely and alone the few clergymen, who had come to the wilds of the Missouri country, longed for a closer affiliation with one another in their arduous, most important work. In the fall of 1840 the following letter was issued and sent to all the German Evangelical clergymen who were known to work in the west.

Gravois Settlement, Missouri.
September 28, 1840.

"Dear Colleague:

"For some time a number of German Evangelical brethren who are in charge of United Evangelical congregations, have felt in their solitude and isolation the need of fellowship and fraternal co-operation. This feeling has become stronger of

late on account of opposition of the English Lutheran Synods, and, (for those living in the neighborhood of St. Louis), of the Ultra Lutherans.

"In order to establish and foster such fellowship, we purpose, if God wills, to hold a fraternal gathering on Wednesday, the 14th day of October, 1840, in Gravois Settlement. It is not intended at this time that this meeting shall be a gathering of a 'synod,' but for the time being shall simply afford an opportunity to become mutually acquainted. Some important matters will be deliberated upon, and a covenant of fraternal fellowship will be made.

"The venerable Reverend Mister Wall of St. Louis joins me in the cordial and fraternal wish that you honor us on that day with your presence. Should this, however, be impossible, we request you to send us in writing, on or before said date, your proposals and wishes concerning a closer alliance of the Evangelical clergy.

With cordial greetings, your,

Louis Eduard Nollau."

On the appointed day six clergymen responded in person to the above invitation. They were: Karl Ludwig Daubert of Quincy, Illinois, Louis Eduard Nollau, Gravois Settlement, Missouri, Johann Jacob Riesz, Centerville, Illinois, Hermann Garlichs, Femme Osage, Missouri, Philipp Jakob Heyer of near St. Charles, Missouri, George Wendelin Wall, St. Louis.

On Thursday, October 15, 1840 these six men sat in a session, which laid the foundation for the German Evangelical Synod of North America. This day is regarded by this church body as its birthday.

The Reverend Daubert was chosen presiding officer and the Reverend Nollau was made secretary. The minutes of this memorable gathering are here given in toto or in substance as the case merits.

"1. On motion of the Reverend Garlichs it was resolved, after long and careful deliberation, that the assembled clergymen should constitute an organization, which should bear the

name, 'Association of German Evangelical Churches of the West.' "*

2. "Upon motion by the Reverend Nollau and after careful discussion it was unanimously voted, that we, from our whole heart, confess belief in the symbolic writings of our Evangelical mother church in Germany."

3. It was agreed that the Association should consist of ordained ministers of the gospel, that the clergymen should invite their congregations to select delegates, who should be entitled to a seat and a vote in the sessions, the same as their pastors, provided, however, that in the case where a clergyman supplies more than one congregation, such congregations shall be entitled to only one delegate from their entire number.

4. "Upon motion of the Reverend Nollau it was voted, That theological candidates, seeking admission to this Association, shall, after careful examination with reference to their character, be admitted as advisory, probationary members.

5. "Upon motion of the Reverend Garlichs it was unanimously resolved, That the ordination of candidates shall take place at the regular meetings of the Association, and that only in the most urgent cases the examining committee (which is to be chosen annually), with the consent of the president of the Association shall be empowered, after previous examination, to administer an ordination during the interim."

As the first examining committee the following were selected: the Reverends Garlichs, Wall and Nollau.

6. "Upon motion of the Reverend Heyer it was voted, That ordained ministers who seek admission into the Association may be admitted by the officers during the interim, on probation, till the next regular conference."

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*From 1840 to 1866 the German Evangelical church body was known by the above name. In 1866 the name was changed to German Evangelical Synod of the West, and continued to be so named till 1877. From 1877 on the name of German Evangelical Synod of North America has been used.

The Evangelical Synod is a direct offshoot of the Preuszische Landeskirche.

At the end of the first decade the Association formed at Gravois Settlement had grown from six to twenty-five clergymen; from four churches in Missouri and two in Illinois to thirteen in Missouri, six in Illinois, three in Iowa, two in Indiana, and one in Louisiana.

7. It was agreed that the officers of the Association should be a president, a secretary and a treasurer. It was further agreed that no officer should hold the same office two years in succession. The duties of these officers were those ordinarily expected of such servants.

8. "Upon motion by the Reverend Heyer it was resolved to appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to provide a suitable Evangelical Catechism."

The committee consisted of the Reverends Wall, Garlichs, and Nollau.

9. "Upon motion by the Reverend Wall it was voted, That a committee of three members of the Association be appointed to draft an Evangelical Agenda and to submit the same for adoption at the next session of the Association."

The committee consisted of the Reverends Daubert, Riesz and Nollau.

10. "Upon motion by the Reverend Garlichs it was resolved, That the Association declares it to be its duty to foster schools and encourage education. Moreover, that it shall cooperate, according to its strength, with such benevolent societies, which have for their purpose the advancement of the Kingdom of God."

11. The Association recommended that its members when performing official duties, should appear in the official vestment customarily in use in the Evangelical mother church.

12. It was agreed that the Association should convene at least once a year, the time and place of such meeting to be determined at the session immediately preceding.

13. The election of officers for the coming year resulted as follows:

KARL LUDWIG DAUBERT, President
LOUIS EDUARD NOLLAU, Secretary
JOHANN JAKOB RIESZ, Treasurer.

14. It was voted that each clergyman in the Association should submit at each conference a report of the work accomplished during the year. He should furnish the secretary with a statistical resume of the same.

15. Provision is made for the adoption of amendments to the constitution.

16. It was agreed, "that the inner and outer affairs of the individual congregation are not the business of the Association. However, any congregation shall have the right to seek the mediation of the Association in such matters."

17. The secretary was directed to advise such clergymen, who might be inclined to join the Association, concerning the above transactions, and invite them to the next session.

18. The Reverend Wall was requested to procure a suitable seal for the Association, prior to the next assembly.

19. By a majority vote it was decided to hold the next session of the Association on the first Sunday in May 1841 in the parsonage near St. Charles, Missouri.

Done at Gravois Settlement, October 15, A. D. 1840.

Signed:

KARL LUDWIG DAUBERT, President
LOUIS EDUARD NOLLAU, Secretary
JOHANN JAKOB RIESZ, Treasurer
HERMANN GARLICHS
PHILIPP JAKOB HEYER
GEORG WENDELIN WALL

Two others who had been invited to participate in the meeting, just described, were unavoidably absent: the Reverend Joseph Anton Rieger, who was then on his way back to Germany for a brief visit, and the Reverend John Gerber whom business detained. Both desired not only to join the Association but were keenly anxious to help found the organization. They signed the above document subsequently.

On the evening of October 15 a young farmer, named Crecelius, took the pioneers of the German Evangelical Synod of North America back to St. Louis. The conveyance was crude, the surroundings wild, the road overgrown and in places almost unpassable, yet their hearts were gay, their minds contented in the consciousness of having attempted something worth while.

In the city of St. Louis, with a population of about 20,000, the Reverend Wall was the only Evangelical clergyman. When the Germans in the east spoke of the spiritual condition of their countrymen in St. Louis they called it, "The German cemetery." In 1922 there were twenty-eight flourishing churches of this Evangelical denomination in this city. There are now 1,343 churches of this denomination distributed over the United States and Canada. It supports schools for the training of its clergy, orphan homes, hospitals, homes for the aged, and workers in foreign mission fields.

GARLICHS' OTHER ACTIVITIES

In the spring of 1849 Mr. Garlichs first became acquainted with the American Tract Society. This society not only issued tracts but also issued a monthly paper, known as Amerikanischer Botschafter (American Messenger). Mr. Garlichs was invited to participate in the publication of this paper in an editorial capacity. In later years he served indeed as editor-in-chief, for his connection with the paper extended over sixteen years. His peers comment upon the painstaking manner with which Mr. Garlichs prepared his sermons. They likewise state that he applied the same care to his contributions to the Botschafter. It seemed to him, and it was indeed, an unusual opportunity to teach and edify so many thousands of readers who were so sorely in need of instruction and upbuilding.

In addition to his work on the Botschafter, he issued the Christian Almanac of the American Tract Society, for a period of five years exclusively, and for another period of five years as the chief contributor.

Three tracts which were first printed in the Botschafter issued from his own pen: "The eldest Son," "They who Preach the Gospel, shall be fed by the Gospel," "The Trinity of God." From the English he translated into German: "The Village Maiden," "The Man who made his Neighbor Harmless," "Concerning the Reading of Novels," "The Power of the Bible," "A Story from the last Indian War," "The

Death of a Christian Soldier," "A Soldier of the Time of the Revolution." From the French he translated: "Communism and Christianity," "A Conversation in a Postchaise," "Evil, its Cause and its Cure," "The Bequest at the Barricade."

Another book which he translated is: Doddridge's "Beginning and Progress of Spiritual Life."

In this way his wonderful linguistic training was put to excellent use. His contemporaries comment upon the excellence of his translation, saying that it is difficult to detect any instance in which the reproduction is not as good as the original. Their superiority is indeed attested by the fact that publishing concerns abroad sought his work and produced it without any change whatsoever.

Surely Duden rendered America a great service, when he, by his writings, induced men like the Reverend Mister Garlichs to seek our shores.

The student of immigration is vitally interested in a fair and full evaluation of the contributions which the immigrants make to our institutions and to our life. We are equally interested in knowing about the attainments of the second and third and later generations of this stock. For this reason the following is here appended.

Charles Garlichs, the eldest son of the Reverend and Mrs. Garlichs, was born at Femme Osage, Missouri, September 4, 1836, and died in Brooklyn, New York, August 5, 1888. He attended the parochial school conducted by his father, and later enjoyed the benefits of one year's training in the Gymnasium in Bueckeburg, Germany. At the age of twelve he had to help support his father's large family. He must have been bright and alert, for at the age of twenty-one his employers sent him on an important business affair to St. Petersburg, Russia and to Paris. Upon his return from this mission he resolved to seek his fortune in St. Louis, where at first he met with disappointments because of slackness of business, but presently entered the crockery business of Thomas Field, and continued in this work till 1859. During these two years he had two delightful visits with his brother Frank and with other former friends at Femme Osage. In 1862 he entered the service of his country in the war of secession. In 1866 he was a member of the firm Cohn, Molter and Garlichs, gold and bullion brokers, Corner Broadway and Wall Street. Retired on account of his health and took a trip to Switzerland.

Upon his return he entered the partnership of Simmons, Foster and Garlichs, gold brokers, 47 Exchange Place. In 1868 the name of the firm was changed to Foster and Garlichs.

On October 24, 1867, he married Louise G. Stohlmann, daughter of F. August Stohlmann and Julie Stohlmann, nee Pfarre. The Stohlmann family had also been induced to come to America by Duden's writings. Their goal also had been Missouri, but strained financial conditions, but more still, reports of the dread cholera then raging in Missouri, had induced them to stay in the east.

On January 1, 1873, Charles Garlichs entered into partnership with his former St. Louis friend, Thomas Field, the firm of Charles Garlichs & Co., being members of the Gold Board, and did a general brokerage business, being a member of the New York Stock Exchange.

Charles Garlichs was a director of the Germania Savings Bank for years, and from 1874 to 1885 its Vice President. He was greatly interested in immigration. In 1877 and also in 1881 he took several extended trips to Nebraska in the interest of immigration. In 1884 he visited western North Carolina with reference to opening up that country to immigrants. During the administration of Seth Low he was Park Commissioner in Brooklyn from 1882 to 1885.

The later years of his life were saddened by financial difficulties. He, however, resumed business again in 1886. On August 5, 1888, he died of heart trouble.

All his life he was an active member of his father's church.

Hermann Gerhard Anton Hajo Garlichs, the youngest son of the Rev. Garlichs, was born on May 23, 1859, in Brooklyn and died on January 8, 1921, in that same city. He was educated at the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, from which he entered Columbia College, graduating from the School of Mines in 1880. Soon after his graduation he formed a partnership with his classmate Andrew M. C. Parker, went to Rico, Colorado, and there opened an office for surveying and assaying work. While there he was appointed Deputy United States Mineral Surveyor. From 1884 to about 1916 he was associated as metallurgist and mining expert with a number of the great smelting companies in the west and the east. He became one of the leading authorities of the country on the metallurgy of lead and associated metals.

During the World War, Garlichs served as a "Dollar-a-year Man," as advising metallurgist. He retired from active service and business a few years ago, and aside from his government

service during the war, practiced only as expert adviser in mining, smelting and refining ores.

He is survived by his wife, Minnie Zeidler Garlichs. Their only two children died in infancy.

His contemporaries speak of his high integrity and his jovial and genial disposition. He was a member of many learned societies and organizations which dealt with mining and metallurgy.

Franz Garlichs was born on April 14, 1838, at Femme Osage, Missouri, and died in November, 1892, in Washington, D. C. He was married on March 30, 1871, to Elise Unkart Bechtel, who with two children survives him. He was a very talented man, possessed a charming voice, sang and recited cleverly. For a time he was engaged in the sporting goods business. The name of his firm being Lau and Garlichs. Later he was in the altramarine (bluing) business, and subsequently associated with his brother Charles in the brokerage business. As a business man he did not attain great success.

Annette Garlichs (Mrs. Otto von Laer) was born on July 15, 1845, at Femme Osage, and died in 1890, Oberbehme, Westphalia. She married a German nobleman, Otto von Laer, went to Germany where she resided till her death.

Phillip Garlichs was born on June 10, 1849, in Brooklyn, died in San Francisco, California, on February 9, 1880. He was unmarried and engaged in business.

Bertha Garlichs (Mrs. Rudolph von Borries) was born on December 21, 1853, in Brooklyn and died on April —, 1889, in Steinlacke, Westphalia. Following her husband to Germany, she lived and died on the estate on which her own mother was born.

The other five children of the Reverend and Mrs. Garlichs died before they reached maturity.

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

THIRD ARTICLE

THE TEXAS BOYCOTT

The Texas boycott was one of the extraordinary incidents in the new journalism. It was started in the summer of 1879. It was carried on with much energy for months and was observed by Mr. McCullagh with many gleeful comments. Texas presented a fertile field for newspaper circulation efforts about that time. *The Globe-Democrat* took quick advantage of it. Under the liberal policy of taking special telegrams and paying for them at space rates, the paper secured active correspondents in all of the Texas cities and large towns. The Lone Star state was emerging from after-the-war conditions which had prompted General Phil. Sheridan to say, after living down there, that if he owned Hell and Texas he would "rent Texas and reside in the other place." A northern statesman had given on the floor of Congress the unsolicited advice that Texas "ought to raise more hominy and less Hell." *Globe-Democrat* correspondents were instructed to send all news of interest. They found the most prolific source in that class of occurrences which did not redound to the credit of the state. Texas papers began to protest. They called these news dispatches "malicious and unwarranted attacks" upon the commonwealth. *The St. Louis Republican* took up the defense of Texas, reprinted the complaints of the Texas papers and commented upon them. To this the *Globe-Democrat* replied:

> *The Republican* yesterday printed one of its periodical lectures on the proprieties and amenities of journalism, taking the *Globe-Democrat* and its Texas news for a text. We are always glad to receive advice, and we know of no newspaper in the country less fitted to give it in this case than the *Republican* which, at the end of seventy years' existence, exhibits all the infirmities of age and

none of the wisdom of experience. As to Texas news the difference between the *Globe-Democrat* and the *Republican* is just this. *The Globe-Democrat* keeps a corps of correspondents in Texas under instructions to report events as they occur. The dispatches are printed without comment or prejudice. *The Republican* prints all the Texas news it can get for nothing, or rather for its associated press membership. It has never omitted an "outrage" or any item of any kind that came to it in this alms-basket fashion. It draws the line not on the quality of the news, but on the expense of it. Nothing is too bad for its columns, except what it costs extra labor and expense to obtain. It is constantly printing the vilest of nastiness because it comes gratis and constantly omitting the most important news of the day because it is unwilling or unable to pay for it. It is not an unusual thing for the *Globe-Democrat* to pay ten times as much for a day's special telegram as is paid by the *Republican*. Its last appeal is to the people of Texas to take it on the ground that it prints no news from that state. This is a good scheme, and, applied to all other parts of the country, will assuredly give the *Republican* the largest circulation in the world. Wherever the minimum of news will bring the maximum of circulation the *Republican* is bound to boom.

Day after day the *Republican* reprinted the denunciations of the *Globe-Democrat's* Texas news, and as often the *Globe-Democrat* urged on the merry war with such thrusts as these:

It gives the *Republican* "the hydrostatics to such a degree" as Mrs. Malaprop says, to think that in the Democratic State of Texas the *Globe-Democrat* exceeds it in circulation about six to one. This is no worse than in the Democratic State of Missouri. Our Democratic brethren in both states are troubled on the newspaper question. If they buy the *Globe-Democrat* they swear at what is in it, and if they buy the *Republican* they swear because there's nothing in it.

Our correspondents in Texas are instructed just like our correspondents in other states, to send news that is of general or special interest. If, for instance, one of them should see a man reading the *St. Louis Republican* down there, he would be in duty bound to telegraph that fact because of its novelty. We should print it just to show that there was one man in Texas who was easily imposed upon in the matter of newspapers. That man hasn't been found yet, however.

A correspondent, in a note printed elsewhere, says that in his recent travels in Texas he actually saw a man reading the

Republican. We hope that he does not intend to question the intelligence of this individual in the remark that he read the paper upside down. The *Republican's* readers do that in the vain hope of finding an item of news and it may be said of the *Republican* that it is quite as interesting when read upside down as when perused in the ordinary way.

To those editors of Texas papers who joined in the misguided efforts to lessen the *Globe-Democrat's* circulation in their state, Mr. McCullagh offered this lesson from natural history.

The chawbacon editors of Texas who are just now engaged in the work of "killing" the *Globe-Democrat* in that state, should remember that there is only one case on record in which a jackass whipped a lion. It was a sick lion, too, and even at that the jackass died very soon after the fight. The Texas jackasses are kicking at a very lively lion, and the first thing they know they'll all be lame.

While the hoodlums and yahoos who edit a few of the Texas papers are denouncing the *Globe-Democrat*, the better class of people in that state are more than ever in its favor, as the more they study it, the more nearly they find it up to the highest requirements of modern journalism in that wonderful combination of religious and secular to be found in our columns. Indeed we understand there is a movement in Texas to invite some members of our staff to lecture before the Y. M. C. A.s in the different cities of Texas. It is an excellent idea, too. We can promise, if the contract is entered into, a series of most interesting discourses. No compensation will be asked except a trifle to cover life insurance.

The Galveston News deemed the controversy of such importance that it published an interview with one of the *Globe-Democrat's* Texas correspondents upon the subject of his instructions. That was long before Mr. Belo started the *Dallas News* and developed the handling of Texas news along the lines of the new journalism. *The Globe-Democrat* correspondent was asked by the *Galveston News* if he was instructed by Mr. McCullagh to make a specialty of criminal news. He said he was not so instructed. *The Globe-Democrat* commented on the interview:

"The delicate sensibilities of the *Galveston News* are roused to frenzy by the thought that the Globe-Democrat circulates

so largely in Texas, which the *News* has always regarded as its own particular province and vineyard. Indeed the *News* regards it as the highest sort of treason to the State of Texas for any citizen to read any other newspaper. Nor have we a word to say against the *News*. It is a good local paper, in which can always be found the latest news of the Galveston police court. It does not, however, fill the bill as a newspaper on a large scale, such as the *Globe-Democrat* may fairly claim to be, and hence we are not surprised that the circulation of the *Globe-Democrat* in the State of Texas, down to within a short distance of the city of Galveston, is about twice the circulation of the *News*. We can't help this but perhaps the *News* can."

It did not seem to occur to the papers which were denouncing the *Globe-Democrat* that they were doing exactly what they did not intend to do, although Mr. McCullagh gave them this hunch about their free advertising:

"*The Republican* is worrying itself intensely about the *Globe-Democrat's* Texas circulation. It publishes from a scrub journal of Texas a call upon the papers of the state to unite in denouncing the *Globe-Democrat*. All right. But remember that we do not pay for advertising unless we have previously made an agreement to do so. Let the choruses of jackasses begin, with the *Republican* in the lead. Let the shout be all along the line, 'Don't take the *Globe-Democrat*.' The only fear we have is that some day the *Republican* may be converted into a newspaper, and then we may be compelled to look to our Texas circulation. But at present there are no alarming symptoms in that direction."

That stage of public interest was reached which prompted one community in Texas to propose an ordinance prohibiting the sale of the *Globe-Democrat* within the corporate limits. The city of Marshall put into effect an old Sunday law found on the statute books and arrested David Jones, a train boy on the Texas and Pacific railroad, for selling *Globe-Democrats*. When the trial came off, the *Globe-Democrat* printed this:

"At Marshall, Texas, yesterday a newsboy was tried by a jury of his peers for selling the *Globe-Democrat* on Sunday, and

was fined $25 and costs. The boy sold a big bundle of *Globe-Democrats* and a single copy of the *Republican*. There was no prosecution as to the *Republican*. The specific offense being the sale of *newspapers*, there was no harm in selling the *Republican* except to the misguided Texan who paid his nickel for the copy."

The very natural reaction against the boycott set in after this exhibition at Marshall. Papers which had not engaged in the movement began to speak up for the other side. *The Christian Advocate*, of Galveston, said:

"Some of the Texas papers, loudly seconded by the *St. Louis Republican* are saying harsh things about the *Globe-Democrat's* misrepresentations of Texas. We do not greatly admire the *Globe-Democrat* but it is certainly a better newspaper than the *St. Louis Republican*, and fully as honest. *The Globe-Democrat* misrepresents Texas politically; the *Republican*, adopting the infidel hobbies of would-be scientists, misleads its readers religiously. We believe, of the two, we would be conscientious in giving preference to the *Globe-Democrat*. It is the least of two immense evils."

The Globe-Democrat did not let this opportunity pass. It quoted the *Christian Advocate* and commented:

"*The Advocate* is the organ of the M. E. Church South, which will sufficiently explain its hostility to the political course of the *Globe-Democrat*. We have often received complaints of the infidel tendencies of the *Republican*, and have endeavored to correct them. Especially in its Sunday issue that journal indulges in lengthy displays of Huxley and—dishwater, which are calculated to do great harm to the cause of religion, mainly through the inability of the writers to distinguish between the true and the false in science. A chapter from Huxley could do no harm, but Huxley, after passing through the alembic of the *Republican* editor's brain, is infidel nonsense—just the thing against which St. Paul warned Timothy when he wrote, 'O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so-called.' "

The proposed boycott failed, leaving the *Globe-Democrat* with largely increased Texas circulation and affording Mr. McCullagh much keen enjoyment, as was evident from a few last scattering shots like these:

"'Although they all cuss the *Globe-Democrat* down here,' writes a correspondent, 'they all take it. The boy on the Texas and Pacific, between Texarkana and Sherman, takes sixty *Globe-Democrats* and ten *Republicans* every day.' This is no doubt a truthful statement, but we would like to know what that boy does with ten *Republicans*."

"A gentleman who died in Texas Friday in an ineffectual attempt to touch the ground with his toes, testified to the great moral influence of the *Globe-Democrat*, and made a statement to our reporter which he had refused to all other persons. The trouble with him was that he commenced reading the *Globe-Democrat* too late to do him any good in this world."

THE GREAT RELIGIOUS DAILY

"The Great Controversy" had its beginning in December, 1877. Bishop P. J. Ryan, afterwards Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, at the time the most eloquent priest in St. Louis delivered a lecture in Mercantile Library Hall on "What Catholics believe." *The Globe-Democrat* next morning printed a verbatim report occupying five columns. Opportunity knocked at the editorial door of the *Globe-Democrat* and was promptly welcomed. The paper called upon the clergy generally to discuss the bishop's views. The columns of the paper were opened with this announcement:

"Bishop Ryan's Sunday Evening address was certainly very bold and very frank. It is not to be allowed to remain unanswered, however. Doctor Sonneschein has already been mustered into the service of the opposition, and will on Sunday evening, the 30th inst., point out what he considers the bishop's mistakes. Doctor Sonneschein is a learned and logical man, and he will, of course, command a large hearing. But the Protestant divines of this city, against whose faith rather than against the faith of Israel the bishop's argument was directed,

can hardly remain silent. We trust they will be heard in the important controversy inaugurated by the Catholic bishop. As the organ of all creeds and denominations, the *Globe-Democrat* is anxious for the fullest and freest discussion, and will do its duty as a religious daily newspaper by publishing both sides."

To warm up the public interest in the controversy, the *Globe-Democrat*, a week later than the bishop's lecture, printed interviews with thirty-two clergymen. The following week the *Globe-Democrat* contained interviews with twenty-one Protestant and fourteen Catholic clergymen, including two bishops. After that The Great Controversy went on without any reportorial stimulation. Laymen became interested and wrote letters to the paper. Mr. McCullagh did not permit the controversy to go beyond doctrinal bounds. *The Globe-Democrat* found it necessary to prescribe certain limitations.

"We have received, as a contribution to The Great Controversy, a long communication intended to show that the Roman Catholic religion is inimical to American institutions. This is not the point at issue, and we shall not print anything on the subject. The discussion is about religion in its relation to Christianity, and not in its relation to politics. Within its proper limits we have allowed it to assume the attitude of a free fight, so to speak, but it must be kept within these limits"

The Great Controversy ran three months. Hundreds of columns of sermons and letters were printed. The circulation of the *Globe-Democrat* increased by leaps and bounds. The paper gained a standing with clergy and churches it never lost. Not long after the close of The Great Controversy a church scandal of prurient character, one of the worst in the history of St. Louis, got into court. Publication of the testimony was legitimate, but the *Globe-Democrat* refused to admit the details into the local columns. The editorial announced:

"*The Globe-Democrat*, as the great religious daily and the organ of all the churches, would naturally be expected to publish reports of the Blank-Blank suit. But really the details have become so nasty of late that we are obliged to omit

them. We presume, however, that they will be found in all their luxuriant grossness in the columns of the *Republican*. *The Globe-Democrat's* patrons do not relish morbid sensationalism of this kind, even in the secular department. We hope, for the cause of morality and religion, that the Blank suit will be brought to an end as soon as possible. It is doing more mischief than an army of Ingersolls."

Thus again the unusual methods appealed to the *Globe-Democrat's* growing constituency. The editor had no church connection in later years. As a youth he had been regular in attendance at the Sunday School of the Methodist church on Fifth and Pine streets. There was a newspaper tradition that Mr. McCullagh began the study of shorthand under William T. Harris in order to be able to report sermons. *The Globe-Democrat* never scoffed or made light of the fundamental truths of religion. When Robert G. Ingersoll came to St. Louis his lectures were reported more fully in the *Globe-Democrat* than in any other paper. At the same time scepticism was treated with such paragraphs as these:

An ex-priest of the Catholic church, after having been mobbed a week ago, was allowed, by the presence of several companies of militia, to lecture in Toledo yesterday on why he left the Catholic church. In St. Louis Bob Ingersoll was allowed to tell why he left the Presbyterian church, and not only was he not disturbed, but he got $1,600 for telling it. We like the St. Louis plan best, although in a country where salvation is free it seems a little high to charge a dollar for reserved seats for damnation.

Bob Ingersoll is still pillaging in the garden of Christianity for flowers with which to decorate his infidel ideas. In a dispatch to a gentleman who had charge of the funeral of the late Charles R. Thorne he said "The tragedy has ended. The curtain has fallen. Applause cannot lift it again, but memory and hope remain." We can understand how Memory can remain to Mr. Ingersoll and those of his peculiar views, but where does Hope which is the twin sister of Christian Faith, come to their assistance? If, as Mr. Ingersoll asserts, death ends all, what part is there for Hope to play after death?

Bob Ingersoll's infidel convention in Cincinnati does not seem to have accomplished anything of note. There was a good deal of railing and cheap scoffing about religion and the Bible, but most of it was very old and stale to those familiar with the ribaldry of

Tom Paine and writers of his class. It is evident that the people of this country are not prepared to flock in large numbers to a political party which calls itself "Liberal" and which shows no liberality except that of abusing institutions and ceremonies which are held sacred by civilized people. When Mr. Ingersoll, with his pockets filled with the revenues of blasphemy, asks what this government owes to Christianity, we reply by asking him, what in the name of decency this or any other country owes to infidelity—except that France owes to it a long and terrible reign of vice and bloodshed. Thus far in his career as a peddler of paganism Mr. Ingersoll has injured no one but himself.

"The Great Religious Daily" was not a misnomer in those early days when Mr. McCullagh used it so freely. As a matter of fact there was no other paper in St. Louis, or the West, which gave so much space to religious news and discussion. One morning this appeared in the editorial columns:

"*The Globe-Democrat* maintains its position as the great religious daily in spite of the great religious libel suit which it has on hand. In our columns to day will be found a variety of interesting religious matter. In addition to Mr. Moody's sermon, there is a sermon by Dr. Snyder on the Atonement; a lecture by the Jesuit, Father Hughes, in which the *Globe-Democrat* is censured; some discussion by the Liberal League, in which the *Globe-Democrat* is praised by Christians and condemned by unbelievers; a description of the Catholic ceremonial called Forty Hours' Devotion, and the details of the dedication of a Congregational church."

Having printed a Beecher sermon in full, a sermon on the Pilgrims by Rev. Dr. Post, and Bob Ingersoll's lecture, all in one issue, Mr. McCullagh the next morning made this comment:

"Fourteen columns about the Knights of St. Patrick and scarcely a word about Beecher! How is that for modern journalism? And yet it is the kind of modern journalism which is constantly practised in the *Republican* office."

JAYHAWKERS IN MISSOURI, 1858-1863

BY HILDEGARDE ROSE HERKLOTZ

THIRD ARTICLE

CHAPTER IV

JAYHAWKING UNDER THE UNITED STATES FLAG, 1861-1862

With Lincoln's first call for volunteers on April 15, 1861, the martial activities of the greatest Jayhawking leader, James H. Lane, were begun. Lane had joined in the rush of settlers to Kansas to make it a free state and became the leader of the out-and-out free-state men. In the Mexican War, Lane had distinguished himself at Buena Vista, and it was on the strength of this reputation that he was made Major-General of the territorial troops of Kansas. When Kansas was admitted to the Union on January 28, 1861, he was elected to the Senate by the legislature, and it seemed that from that time on a desire for power seized him and he had visions of taking over both the civil and military functions of the State.[1]

As soon as the call for volunteers had been issued by Lincoln, Kansas put three regiments into the field. In spite of this fact, Lane was given authority to raise two additional regiments. These regiments were commanded by Colonel James Montgomery and Colonel William Weer.[2] Lincoln believed that the services of Lane were needed, and in a letter to the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, he signified his intention of appointing Lane a brigadier-general of volunteers.[3] Lane proceeded to gather about him a company of warriors who later formed the nucleus of his famous "Jayhawking Brigade," and Frèmont, Major-General of Volunteers in charge

[1]Spring, *Kansas*, 266; McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*, 274.

[2]Cameron to Lane, June 20, 1861, *War of the Rebellion Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III, Vol. I, 282. This will be referred to hereafter as *O. R.*

[3]Lincoln to Cameron, June 20, 1861, *ibid.*, 280-281.

of the Western Military District, assigned him to duty in Kansas.[4]

Now that war had begun, the Kansans saw a chance to get revenge for the acts which the "Border-Ruffians" of Missouri were alleged to have committed in Kansas in its early territorial days. Every Kansan looked upon every Missourian as an enemy of himself and the State, and the Missourians manifested the same attitude toward the Kansans. When the opportunity offered itself, the Kansas parties invaded Missouri in order to get even for past offences. Missouri was a doubtful State in the beginning of the War, and Lane, according to his declarations, entered the State for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the Constitution and suppressing the institution of slavery.[5]

Although Lane had been born in a slave state, he had lost any respect he may have had for the slave system as such. His creed was, "let slavery and slaves take care of themselves." If slavery could survive the shock of war, it should be permitted to live, but if "between the upper and nether millstones it was ground to powder" it was not Lane's purpose to "gather up the dust." He believed that the liberation of slaves would bring the Southerners to their knees more quickly than any victory of the Union Army.[6]

According to Lane's idea, it was better to weaken the enemy in the resources of sustenance than to kill him, and he explained his position by deducing a homely illustration: When he was a lad, he was very proficient in prize-fighting, and he had defeated all the boys at the country school which he attended with the exception of one Joe Darrah, a boy of his own age, whose skill and muscle were too great for him. But one night when the boys were in swimming, Joe hit his shin on a rock, and Lane "marked well the spot that was wounded." A week later he and Joe again competed for the championship, and this time Lane kicked Joe on his shin, and the latter

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[4]Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 37, 43.

[5]Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane*, 249-250; McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*, 272.

[6]*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 24, 1861.

"fled the field bellowing like a calf." To Lane, slavery was the "sore shin of the Confederacy," and he advised all his comrades and fellow-citizens to kick it whenever they could, for a blow properly directed against slavery would soon effectually destroy it. He believed that the War would never end as long as the shackles remained upon one slave.[7]

With this idea in mind, Lane proceeded to organize his famous "Jayhawking Brigade." He was going to defend Kansas against the Missourians at any cost, and the means of procuring that defense were his chief consideration. He saw that the Indians and the Indian Territory might easily strengthen the position of Kansas, and, in order to get an idea of the attitude of the various tribes toward the United States Government, he commissioned E. H. Carruth, a former educator among the Seminoles, to arrange for an interview between himself and representatives of the tribes at Fort Lincoln on the Osage, or at some other convenient point. Lane had hoped that he might secure the use of the Indians as soldiers. He, accordingly, authorized Special Agent Augustus Wattles to make the needful preparations for Indian enlistment.[8]

The defeat of the Federals at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861, had caused Lane to increase his efforts to organize a brigade which would protect Kansas adequately from all invasion. He gathered around him the men who made up the Third and Fourth Infantry and the Fifth and Sixth Cavalry regiments, and took up his position at Fort Scott in anticipation of an invasion of Kansas by General Sterling Price. Price had dispatched General Rains with a portion of mounted men to clear the counties bordering on Kansas of marauding bands which were devastating that section of the country. He was informed that the enemy was gathering in great force at Fort Scott, and Rains sent for re-enforcements. General Price left Springfield on August 25, and directed his march upon Fort Scott to drive the Jayhawkers from the border. He defeated the Kansas force in an engagement at Dry Wood

[7] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 7, 1861; Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane*, 250-251.

[8] Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, 242-243; Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 57.

Creek, Missouri, on September 2, but he did not invade Kansas. Colonel John T. Hughes of the First Infantry, Fourth Division, Missouri State Guard, claimed that Price did not invade Kansas with his army because he chose to respect and recognize the sovereignty of that State. Price himself said that he was unwilling to invade the State unless the citizens of Kansas should provoke him to do so by committing renewed outrages upon the citizens of Missouri.[9]

The Confederates did not follow up their advantage, but turned from the border and moved toward Independence. Lane followed in the rear of Price's Army, and on September 13, he "cleaned out Butler and Parkville with his cavalry."[10] His Kansas Brigade now occupied a portion of Western Missouri for a few days, and on September 19, 1861, Lane issued a proclamation from his headquarters at West Point, Missouri, to the people of that section of the State, in which he stated his reasons for coming into Missouri. He had learned that a portion of the citizens in that part of the State had gathered in armed bands to protect themselves against depredations which were being committed upon their property by persons belonging to the United States Army. He feared, however, that it was not for this reason that they had thus gathered, but that their real object was for the purpose of fighting against their own country and its Government. He stated that it was the existence of these armed bands that had brought the Kansans into Missouri, and he commanded all men in arms to return to their homes, run up the United States Flag before their doors and act the part of loyal, peaceful citizens. If they did this, he would protect them, but if they disregarded his advice, he would look upon them as traitors, and, as such, they would receive a traitor's doom.[11]

From his headquarters at West Point, Lane started out on an eighty mile march to Osceola for the purpose of capturing and destroying Price's ammunition train and other supplies

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[9]Price to Jackson, and Hughes to Miller, September 4, 1861, *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, September 13, 1861.

[10]Spring, *Kansas*, 275-276.

[11]*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 4, 1861.

which had been left at this point for his army. When Lane and his troops arrived at the town, a company of men under Captain J. M. Weidemeyer fired upon them from the brush. Colonels Montgomery and Weer drove these troops from their hiding places and marched into the town. After loading their wagons with goods from the stores in the town, General Lane gave orders to shell the place. In doing so, the town was burned to ashes, as were an immense amount of stores of all descriptions. Only a few houses in the outskirts escaped the blaze.[12] Lane admitted that more than one million dollars worth of property had been destroyed by his brigade at this place.[13] Governor Robinson of Kansas saw no reason why Lane should boast that he destroyed in one day property worth a million dollars because this property was not contraband of war, but the clothing, bedding, food, and shelter of hundreds of women and children.[14]

The town of Osceola stood at the head of navigation on the Osage, and was a wealthy place which contained about three thousand inhabitants, most of whom went south after the sacking and burning of the town. Some of the citizens of Osceola regretted the fact that Lane and his troops had been fired upon when they entered the town.[15] Defenders of Lane claimed that Osceola was destroyed because it was traitorous to the Union cause, and was a general rendezvous for the enemy who intended to fortify it and use it as a military depot and base of operations during the winter of 1861-1862.[16] Lane's friends praised him as a general who had the ability to adopt a prompt and hearty style of tactics which always resulted in unusual and startling effectiveness. However, all of his departures from propriety were not regarded by them as justifiable.[17]

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[12]Lane to Fremont, September 24, 1861, *O. R.* Series I, Vol. III, 196; *Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 1861, quoted in *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 6, 1861.

[13]*Daily Missouri Republican*, October 17, 1861.

[14]*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 18, 1861.

[15]*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1861.

[16]*Daily Missouri Democrat*, October 11, 1861.

[17]*Ibid.*, October 21, 1861.

On September 29, Lane reached Kansas City with the immense supply train which he has captured from Rains and Price. His brigade on its march to and from Osceola had virtually converted the Missouri border into a wilderness.[18] His troops were no better than an armed and organized banditti, and they had more power for evil than mere robbers and murderers, because their officers were acting under regular commissions from the Government which they used as a means of covering up their crimes. The destruction of Osceola was a case of wanton devastation.[19] In this town about one-third of the people were Unionists and many were in the Federal Army. When Lane destroyed and appropriated the property there, he made no distinction between the Unionists and the Secessionists, but destroyed everything which came into his way.[20]

Lane's principal lieutenants were Dr. Charles R. Jennison and Colonel James Montgomery, associates of "Old John Brown," who like the latter were violently opposed to slavery.[21] Jennison came from Munroe, Green county, Wisconsin, and in the spring of 1859 established himself at Mound City, Kansas, where be became affiliated with the Jayhawkers under Montgomery, and soon became one of their leaders.[22] If Montgomery and his company ever forgot or overlooked anything in the way of retaliation for pro-slavery outrages, Jennison and his followers were certain to recollect and attend to it, although between these two men there was little in common. Montgomery was honest and tender-hearted toward those in distress, and he sought earnestly to aid the free-state settlers in Kansas. Jennison, on the other hand, was cruel, heartless, and conscienceless, and was enthusiastic in his hatred of slavery. His name became a terror to the people in Bates and Vernon counties. He used to boast, and probably had the

[18]Spring, *Kansas*, 276.

[19]*Daily Missouri Republican*, October 16, 1861.

[20]Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, I, 147.

[21]McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*, 274.

[22]Lyman, "Origin of the Name 'Jayhawkers'," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, XIV, 203.

right to, that "Missouri mothers hush their children to sleep by whispering the name of 'Doc Jennison.' "[23]

On February 23, 1861, Jennison became Captain of the Mound City Sharps Rifles Guards, and on May 28 was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Regiment of Kansas Militia.[24] About August 1, Governor Robinson gave him authority to raise a regiment of cavalry, and he formed a regiment of "Independent Mounted Kansas Jayhawkers."[25] With these Kansas volunteers, Jennison entered Jackson and Cass counties in the autumn of 1861 and committed atrocious crimes there. Union men, as well as southern sympathizers, were handled roughly, families were abused, and property was confiscated by them under the pretense of protecting the people and property against the rebels. Colonel Henry Younger was one of the victims who was unjustly treated by the men from Kansas. Younger, a Union man, had been a resident of Jackson county, Missouri until 1858 when he moved near Harrisonville in Cass county. He was a wealthy and successful business man, and quite an extensive farmer. When Jennison made his first dash through Jackson and Cass counties, he sacked and burned the town of Harrisonville, then the home of Colonel Younger. Several thousand dollars worth of vehicles and forty horses were stolen from his extensive livery-stable, his loss on this occasion amounting to about twenty thousand dollars. Younger himself escaped, but from that time on, he was shadowed wherever he went because the Jayhawkers intended to rob and murder him. The Jayhawkers had learned that he possessed a considerable amount of money as a result of extensive trading which he had been carrying on in Independence, Missouri. He was bringing this money to Harrisonville when he was halted by about ten men, shot dead and robbed of four hundred dollars. This act gained for the Union the eternal hatred of the Younger family and they joined the Confederate Army, although they were pri-

[23]Botkins, "Among the Sovereign Squats," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, VII, 433.

[24]Fox, "Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, XI, 243.

[25]Lyman, "Origin of the Name 'Jayhawkers'," in *ibid.*, XIV, 206.

marily Union men. The country mansion of John Fristoe, who was a relative of the Younger family by marriage, was also burned at this time, and his stock was driven off, because it was presumed that he gave aid to the Younger family.[26]

Other stores and private houses were robbed in Harrisonville and Morristown, and in this wholesale robbery, Union men suffered with the rest. Horses, cattle, and household goods were all taken to Kansas as private booty. As a result of this action, a large number of men turned in favor of secession and were anxious to expel every invader from Missouri by force. They did not look upon the Jayhawkers from Kansas, marshaled under the Stars and Stripes, as an adequate protection for their lives and property.[27]

Jennison claimed that he had entered Missouri at this time at the request of Major Van Horn and Colonel Nugent of the Missouri Home Guards, who had been defeated by an overwhelming force of southerners, thereby losing their entire supply train. Having no means of attacking or repelling the foe, they held a council of war and asked Jennison to aid them in capturing the rebels and their supply train. This he did by an attack on Morristown, and he succeeded in capturing five wagons loaded with flour and two with bacon, and also fourteen kegs of powder. In this way he relieved the Home Guards, and protected the Union men from Confederate attacks. At Harrisonville, Jennison claimed that he likewise surprised the enemy by an attack in the rear, and succeeded in routing five hundred, thus for a second time coming to the rescue of the Missouri Home Guards.[28]

Jennison's next movement was his march to Kansas City to extirpate the Confederate Hays, who had received word from Major Bond to organize a force to repel the Jayhawkers and drive them from the country. Hays defeated the force which was sent against him, and in order to take revenge, Jennison, with four hundred and fifty men, including a number

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[26]Appler, *The Guerrillas of the West*, 5-7; *History of Jackson County*, 271.

[27]*Daily Missouri Republican*, August 13, 1861.

[28]Jennison to Bingham, May 16, 1862, in *Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 21, 1862.

of armed negroes, pounced down upon Independence, drove the male citizens into the public square, surrounded them with soldiers, and while they were thus surrounded, the remainder of the troops and the negroes raided the houses and stables, and stole horses, carriages, guns, furniture, jewelry, bedding, clothing, and other valuable property. Everything was appropriated without hesitation, and protests on the part of owners against this pillaging were silenced by the use of the sabre, or the pistol. Slaves were induced to desert their owners, and escorts were supplied to take them to Kansas.[29] About fifty negroes were confiscated, more than a dozen dwelling-houses and stores were burned, and a number of the citizens were killed because they sought to protect their property.[30]

Britton, in *The Civil War on the Border* claims that Jennison came to Missouri in response to the appeals of the Union men in Jackson county who were in the minority there and looked to Jennison to relieve them of outrages which were committed upon them by rebels. He also states that Jennison restored to the Union men the property which he had taken from them, but that the property of the Secessionists was taken back to Kansas when Jennison's troops returned to that place.[31]

Jennison issued a proclamation to the people of Jackson, Lafayette, Cass, Johnson, and Pettis counties on November 14, 1861, which showed the spirit with which he entered upon his career in Missouri. He claimed that his troops marched to sustain the government, enforce the laws, and protect all loyal men who made active efforts to protect the Union flag. He accused the people in these counties of feeding the rebel army and of acting as spies while they claimed to be loyal to the Union cause. It was his purpose to take the last dollar and the last slave of rebels and turn them over to the general government. On November 26, 1861, he issued another proclamation to the people in these counties commanding them

[29] *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 27, 1861, May 8, 1862; Miller, *Missouri's Memorable Decade*, 1860-1870, 75.

[30] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, November 16, 1861; *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 16, 1862.

[31] Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, I, 176-178.

to surrender their arms and deliver to him all government property in their possession and under their control. They were to sign a deed of forfeiture which would convey all real and personal property into the hands of the Government until the difficulties had subsided, at which time the property would be returned to the rightful owners. If the citizens refused to accept these propositions, they were to be regarded as traitors, and as such, they were to be slain wherever found, their homes were to be burned and their property was to be confiscated.[32]

When Jennison's troops returned from their first raid on Independence, they marched through Kansas City, and, according to a statement made by Captain H. E. Palmer of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, they were nearly all dressed up in women's clothes, old bonnets and outlandish hats, and all sorts of articles including such things as spinning wheels and even gravestones were attached to their horses' saddles. Their entire pathway was marked by household goods which had been scattered by them along the way, and their whole route was lighted by burning homes. Jennison's men had not only taken property which could be applied to military purposes, but had appropriated much personal property which they used for their own personal advantages. Even Union men and men who served as soldiers in Union regiments from Missouri united with the southern sympathizers in their complaints against the depredations which they charged had been committed by Jennison's men.[33]

Jennison's second great raid took place when he was ordered by General Hunter from Leavenworth to West Point, in Bates county. Instead of marching directly to that place, Jennison made a detour through Kansas City and Independence. Again property was taken by force, and the ruins of dwellings marked the route he had taken. It has been said that after a ten day campaign, Jennison's soldiers carried off

[32]Moore, *Rebellion Record*, III, 431; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, November 27, 1861.

[33]Palmer, "The Black-Flag Character of War on the Border," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Transactions*, IX, 460; Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, I, 343-344.

a train of stock and richly loaded wagons four to five miles long and valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Very little, if any, of this property was ever turned over to the Government. Much of it was subsequently sold by Jennison at his residence near Squiresville.[34]

The Reverend George Miller in his book, *Missouri's Memorable Decade, 1860-1870*, tells of the injury which his wife and her relatives suffered at the hands of Jennison during his second raid into Jackson county. Miller and his wife had been married on January 16, 1862. About February 1, Jennison and his men made their appearance in Jackson county and carried on a system of pillaging which reduced the wealthy people in that region to poverty. Handsome furniture, valuable household goods,bedding, and wearing apparel were loaded on wagons and hauled into Kansas where the less valuable part was sold at auction. The silverware and fine china with which Miller's bridal party had been served were carried across the line. Negroes, too, were marched off with the caravan, and cattle, horses, and mules were driven from Missouri into Kansas. The raiders got possession of Mrs. Miller's trunk containing her wedding trousseau, emptied its contents on the floor, and walked over them with their muddy boots. They had hoped to find money and jewelry in the trunk, but being unsuccessful in this, they proceeded to cram everything back into the trunk and were going to carry it away, but after a considerable amount of pleading on Mrs. Miller's part, they finally agreed to permit her to keep it.[35]

On the march from Independence to West Point over thirty houses were burned, and at least a dozen persons were killed because they were southern sympathizers.[36] The people had cause to complain of the outrages and crimes which Jennison committed in Missouri, and the course which he pursued there was not approved either by the National Govern-

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[34]*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 16, May 8, 1862; Hill, "Atrocities upon the Missouri Border," in *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri during the Sixties*, 216-217.

[35]Miller, *Missouri's Memorable Decade*, 1860-1870, 73-81.

[36]*Daily Missouri Republican*, January 16, 1862.

ment, or by any large number of the citizens of the State of Kansas.[37]

Jennison claimed, however, that he never entered Missouri with an armed force except by the order of regular officials of the United States Government, and only then to uphold loyal citizens and defeat rebels. He stated that all property which had been taken by him from southerners was turned over to the Government officials, and he denied the fact that he had abused a citizen of Missouri.[38]

While Jennison's men were committing all sorts of depredations in western Missouri, Lane was not idle. He pushed recruiting for his "Jayhawking Brigade" with such energy that the sober-minded people in Kansas took alarm, and his political opponents endeavored to put a stop to his efforts. Governor Robinson accused Lane of doing all in his power to prevent the raising of troops for United States service by State authorities unless he dictated the terms and the manner of raising them. Robinson also denounced the conduct of Lane's troops and states that Lane's Adjutant, M. J. Parrott, admitted that Lane's forces were highway robbers, and urged Robinson to prefer charges against them to General Frèmont so that they might be put down.[39] Lane claimed that his troops saved Kansas from invasion. Governor Robinson maintained that the only danger of invasion arose from the fact that the Government stores were deposited at Fort Scott, and that Lane's Brigade was stationed along the border. He wrote to Major-General Frèmont on September 1, 1861, and informed him that Kansas would be free from invasion if the Government stores were sent back to Leavenworth and Lane's Brigade removed from the border.[40]

Lane undertook to defend his Brigade before a meeting of citizens at Stockton's Hall in Leavenworth on October 8, 1861. He reviewed the past career of the Brigade, emphasizing the fact that it had never been whipped, and declaring that

[37]Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 209-210.

[38]Jennison to Bingham, May 16, 1862, in *Daily Missouri Democrat*, May 21, 1862.

[39]*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 18, 1861.

[40]Robinson to Fremont. September 1, 1861, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, 469.

if his troops were Jayhawkers as Governor Robinson and Captain Prince declared they were, they were doing their jayhawking for the benefit of the Government. His Brigade had adopted the rule that confiscated property must be handed over to the Government. To this audience Lane likewise gave his reasons why he believed a new department was necessary. He thought that the true interests of Kansas demanded that she be in a separate department with Fort Leavenworth as a base rather than continue in a department which had its headquarters at Saint Louis, because it was so very difficult to convey intelligence across Missouri and it was also impossible for one man to keep control over such a department. Lane also intimated that he would accept the command of such a department if it were created and would labor ceaselessly for the defense and protection of Kansas.[41]

After the meeting a committee was appointed to draft resolutions to the effect that a new military department ought to be created including Kansas, the Indian country, and Arkansas with Fort Leavenworth as its base, and that the Government should place ten thousand troops at the disposal of the commander of such a division. Lane was to visit Washington to represent to the Government the condition of things in the West and especially in Kansas.[42]

On October 9, Lane wrote to Lincoln and complained that while he was organizing his Brigade, Governor Robinson endeavored in every way to prevent the enlistment of men and that since the Brigade was in the field he accused Lane's men of being marauders and thieves. He charged Robinson with having conspired with Captain Prince, the commandant of Fort Leavenworth, to dissolve the Brigade by procuring an order for the removal of two regiments to New Mexico. Lane recommended to Lincoln the establishment of a new military district which should be composed of Kansas, the Indian country, and as much of Arkansas and the Territories as it might be expedient to include therein, and declared that he would

[41] *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 7, 1861; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, October 11, 1861.

[42] *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 13, 1861.

"cheerfully accept the command, resign his seat in the Senate, and devote all his energy to the prosecution of the war." If this were not done, Lane felt that he would be compelled to leave his command.[43]

The suggestion for a new department was adopted, and on November 9, 1861, General Order Number 97 was issued from the Army Headquarters at Washington, detaching from the old departments of the West, Cumberland, and Ohio, the new departments of Kansas, Missouri, and New Mexico. The Department of Kansas included the State of Kansas, the Indian Territory west of Arkansas, and the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado, and Dakota, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth. Major-General D. Hunter was placed in command. The Department of Missouri included the States of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and a portion of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River, and Major-General H. W. Halleck was placed in command. The Department of New Mexico was commanded by Colonel E. R. S. Canby.[44]

Hunter assumed command of the Department of Kansas on November 20, 1861.[45] The fact that Hunter was assigned to that Department was hailed with satisfaction by many people because he was looked upon as a true soldier who hated robbers and thieves. Governor Gamble of Missouri had received several communications in relation to depredations which had been committed by Lane's men, and he wrote to the President urging him not to appoint Lane as commander of the Department of Kansas, if it should be created. Governor Gamble felt that with the appointment of Hunter to that command, the acts of Lane and Jennison would be controlled.[46]

Halleck entered upon his duties in the Department of Missouri by issuing orders that the army was not to engage in stealing and recruiting negroes, and that the ownership of

[43]Lane to Lincoln, October 9, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, 529.
[44]*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, 567.
[45]*Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 370.
[46]Gamble to Gates, November 21, 1861, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, p. 92.

negroes was to be settled by civil courts. His orders against spoilation of depredations by Union troops were very stringent, because he believed that any injury which Union soldiers might do to the people of Missouri would help Price's recruiting agents to get men to enlist in the Confererate Army.[47]

Lane and Jennison had considered it their duty to abduct Missouri slaves, and hundreds of negroes had been carried into Kansas.[48] At the time Jennison issued his first proclamation to the people of the western border Counties of Missouri, a company under John Brown, Jr., attended by a squad of negroes, arrived in Jackson county for the purpose of operating among the slaves. They began the formation of a negro camp under Jennison's command, with arms and uniforms corresponding to those of his regiment.[49] On November 17, thirty-eight negroes arrived in Leavenworth and a greater number went to Lawrence, these negroes having obtained their freedom from Jennison.[50]

Lane authorized and attempted to justify his men in running off whole plantation gangs and compelling them to go even when they were unwilling to do so.[51] "Slavery," he said, "disappears before the Kansas Brigade." His army marched to crush out treason, and slavery was to take care of itself. He maintained that a heavier blow was dealt "in the realm of Secessia in the abducting or freeing of a slave than in the killing of a son in arms." * * * * "All victories," he continued, "have not brought the rebels so effectually to their knees as the liberation of a few hundred slaves who have followed the track of our army."[52] He advocated the adoption of a law by Congress which should authorize the President of the United States to order the rebel states by proclamation to lay down their arms within thirty or sixty days and return to their allegiance, and if they failed to do this, to declare every slave free through-

[47] *Daily Missouri Republican*, Novovember 22, 1861; McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*, 273.
[48] McCulloch to Cooper, November 19, 1861, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. III, 742.
[49] *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 29, 1861.
[50] *Ibid*, November 24, 1861.
[51] *Daily Missouri Republican*, October 15, 1861.
[52] *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1861; *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 24, 1861.

out their domains. Provision should be made, he thought, for the settlement of the African in Haiti, Central or South America where the race could form a nation by itself. According to his line of reasoning, the African was inferior to the Caucasian in intellect and social attainments because of the ages of oppression, ignorance, and wrong to which he had been subjected. As long as the two races lived together, there would always be "cringing servility on one hand and lordly domination on the other," and he thought that it would be much better for both parties if each could "enjoy the honors and responsibilities of a nationality of his own."[53]

In November Lane returned to Washington and at once entered into new military schemes. He urged upon the President and the Secretary of War an expedition which was to be conducted by him from Fort Leavenworth against the region west of Missouri and Arkansas. He informed President Lincoln that the outlines of his plan were in accordance with General Hunter's views. Seven regiments of cavalry, three batteries of artillery, and four regiments of infantry were ordered to Kansas to operate under Lane, and he was also authorized to raise about eight or ten thousand Kansas troops and to organize four thousand Indians.[54]

Hunter, however, claimed that he was ignorant of the striking points of Lane's program. In a letter dated February 8, 1862, he informed General Halleck that Lane's great "Southern Expedition" was sanctioned by the President under misrepresentations made to him to the effect that the said expedition was the joint plan of Lane and himself, and that as far as he was concerned, neither Lane nor the authorities at Washington had consulted him on the subject. Lane, he thought, "effectually jayhawked out of the minds of the War Department any knowledge or remembrance of the general commanding the Department of Kansas." Hunter said he

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[53] *Daily Missouri Democrat*, November 15, 1861. Lane's views with regard to slavery were expressed by him in a speech which he made to the Twenty-Fourth Indiana Regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Garvin, and the Kansas Brigade at Springfield, Missouri, on November 7, 1861.

[54] Thomas to Hunter, January 24, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 525.

knew no Brigadier-General Lane, Lane having told him when he returned to Kansas that he had not accepted his commission as Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He claimed that Lane declared then that he was only Hunter's visitor "as a Senator and member of the Military Committee of the Senate of the United States."[55]

As in the case of General Hunter, General Halleck had received no information from Washington concerning the great "Southern" or "Jayhawking" Expedition. Orders had been sent by General Thomas to the various regiments in the Missouri Department to report to General Hunter at Fort Leavenworth as a part of Lane's Expedition. General Halleck had received no such orders, and he protested to Thomas and McClellan to put a stop to such unmilitary proceedings, but he received no reply. He also informed the authorities at Washington that he was opposed to having any of Lane's Jayhawkers come into the Missouri Department, and declared his intention of positively arresting and disarming everyone who was caught.[56] Lane's men were considered to be no better than a band of robbers who crossed the Missouri line to rob, steal, plunder, and burn whatever they could get their hands on. They disgraced the name and uniform of American soldiers.[57] Halleck proposed to punish every act of wanton destruction of property, every act of pillage, marauding, robbery, and theft committed in the Department of Missouri, no matter under whose orders or authority the guilty parties may have acted.[58]

On January 6, 1862, Halleck pointed out to Lincoln the fact that the operations of Lane and Jennison had so enraged the people of Missouri that about eighty thousand of them had joined the Confederate side.[59] He had received almost daily complaints of outrages committed by these men in the name of the United States and the evidence was so conclusive that

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[55]Hunter to Halleck, February 8, 1862, *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 829-831.
[56]Halleck to Hunter, February 13, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 554-555.
[57]Halleck to Thomas, January 18, 1862, *Ibid.*, 507.
[58]Halleck to Price, January 27, 1862, *Ibid.*, 529.
[59]Halleck to Lincoln, January 6, 1862, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (Nicolay and Hay, eds.) VII, 75-76.

it left no doubt as to the just cause for these complaints. When it was rumored that Lane had been made a Brigadier-General, Halleck believed that a more injudicious appointment could not have been made. To him it meant that at least twenty thousand men would be necessary to counteract its effect in Missouri, and he looked upon the appointment as "offering a premium for rascality and robbing generally."[60]

On February 13, 1862, Halleck received a notice from McClellan to the effect that Lane had no authority to give orders concerning a "Southern Expedition," and that it was his duty to countermand all orders that did not come from the Adjutant-General of the Army. Halleck was permitted to use his discretion in suspending the movement of any troops en route or under orders for Kansas, and was to report to McClellan.[61]

Secretary of War Stanton distrusted Lane and declared that he would resign his office rather than place Lane in independent command of such a great expedition. He, like Halleck, Hunter, Robinson, and others was opposed to Lane because he had not restrained the marauding habits of his troops in the autumn of 1861.[62] Stanton also blocked Lane's scheme for the enlistment of Indians in the army, because he believed that the Indians under Lane would return to savagery. On February 11, 1862, Commissioner Dale countermanded the order he had previously given to Superintendent Coffin to enroll Indians in the Army. There was to be no further enrollment.[63]

Quite a large number of Indians had served Lane as scouts on his marches as they were good horsemen, good shots, were acquainted with the country through which the army passed, and were always on the alert. They scoured the forests before the army passed through, and shot down all rebels who, from their concealed position, sought to shoot down Union

[60]Halleck to McClellan, December 19, 1861, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 449.

[61]McClellan to Halleck, February 13, 1862, *Ibid.*, 555.

[62]McElroy, *The Struggle for Missouri*, 278.

[63]Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 76.

soldiers.[64] Some of the tribes of Indians, particularly the Creeks and the Seminoles, looked upon Lane as their friend, and when they heard that there was some doubt as to whether Lane would command the expedition to their country, they wrote to Lincoln begging him to place Lane in command, because they believed no warrior could place them in possession of their land again as effectually as he could. The Indians had been driven from their homes during the winter and six thousand women and children had sought refuge in southern Kansas, where they were without tents, were scantily clothed, and were exposed to all the horrors of a severe winter. Their chiefs told Lincoln that their people would be sad if Lane did not come to restore them to their homes.[65]

Lincoln, however, did not intend to place Lane in command of the "Southern Expedition." He informed Secretary Stanton on January 31, 1862, that the so-called "Lane Expedition" was to be as much as possible under the supervision of General McClellan. Lane was not to have an independent command, but as per agreement between Lincoln and Lane he was to be under the command of Hunter.[66] On January 27, Hunter declared his intention to command the Southern Expedition in person unless he were ordered to do otherwise by the Government.[67]

On February 10, 1862, Lincoln wrote to Hunter and Lane and expressed his desire to avail the Government of the services of both of them, but as General Hunter was the senior officer, it was necessary for him to command whenever the two served together. If they failed to come to an understanding, Lane would have to report to Hunter for duty according to the rules, or decline the service.[68] This, Lane was unwilling to do, and in a circular letter dated Leavenworth, February 26, 1862, he announced his abandonment of the

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[64]*Leavenworth Conservative*, October 29, 1861, quoted in *Daily Missouri Democrat*, November 2, 1861.

[65]Hopeithleyohola and Aluktustenuke to Lincoln, January 28, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 534.

[66]Lincoln to Stanton, January 31, 1862, *Ibid.*, 538.

[67]*Ibid.*, 529.

[68]Lincoln to Hunter and Lane, February 10, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 551.

"Lane Expedition," and his intention of resuming his unresigned seat in the Senate. He refused to degrade himself by serving under Hunter, and declared that he had no military ambition beyond that connected with the "Southern Expedition." He desired to "surround the institution of slavery with free territory and thus girdle the cause of the rebellion itself." But he was "thwarted in this most cherished hope" of his life. In a telegram to the President, February 16, 1862, he made known the fact that all efforts to harmonize with Major-General Hunter had failed, and that he was compelled to decline the Brigadiership. It was his "sad yet simple duty to announce to the people of Kansas his purpose of returning to his seat in the United States Senate.[69] Lane had had no intention of resigning his seat in the Senate unless he could have obtained supreme control of the Department of Kansas, with the power to appoint personal adherents of his to all the offices in the Department.[70]

Lane had been opposed because it was believed that he would, by his "intemperate seal and guerrilla-like fighting," have provoked Missouri to reprisals.[71] Objections were also raised against him because of the demoralized condition in which Hunter found his Brigade when he first assumed command of the Department of Kansas. The regimental commanders were ignorant of their duties and the men were nothing more than a mere "ragged, half-armed, and mutinous rabble." It was believed that the Kansas regiments would never be able to occupy a respectable position in the United States service until the more objectionable of the regiments were reofficered and removed from local influences.[72] It was believed, also, that the only way to prevent the seizure and confiscation of property by Lane's Brigade was to remove the Kansas troops to some other field of action.[73]

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[69]*Liberty Weekly Tribune*, March 7, 1862; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, March 3, 1862.

[70]Hunter to Halleck, February 8, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 828-831.

[71]Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, 57.

[72]Halpine to Halleck, March 14, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 615.

[73]McClellan to Stanton, February 11, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 552.

Depredations had been committed by Lane and his band on Union men and Secessionists indiscriminately. In the neighborhood of Rose Hill, Jackson county, alone, forty-two houses were burned and others were robbed of their valuables, and the stock was driven off. The estimated value of property taken from the loyal citizens in this raid was seven thousand dollars. The people there, with the exception of the strongest Union men, went over to Price's army for protection.[74] On December 12, 1861, Major Williams with a portion of the Third Kansas Regiment dashed into Missouri and burned the villages of Butler and Papinsville in Bates county, and returned to Kansas with a large number of slaves and a load of stock.[75] In Platte county a band of Jayhawkers visited the home of Clinton Cockerill and demanded one thousand dollars in gold and five of his best horses. When he told them that he did not have the money, they threatened to hang him, but after searching the house and finding that Cockerill spoke the truth, they finally departed, taking with them five hundred dollars and five horses.[76]

Military outrages such as the stealing of negroes, robbing of houses, and the burning of barns, grain, and forage were likewise committed in Jackson county.[77] Nor was Buchanan county forgotten by these lawless bands from Kansas. Colonel William L. Irvine, of Rushville, Missouri, had six negroes and thirty horses and mules, and various other articles stolen from him about January 22, 1862. His neighbors helped him to pursue the Jayhawkers who were under the direction of Captain Cleveland, and they overtook the thieves at Geary City, Kansas, where the negroes and other property were recovered. Captain Fuller, one of Hunter's body-guard, who was stationed at Atchison, had received notice of the robbery of Colonel Irvine, and turned out with his company to catch the Jayhawkers. He arrived at Geary City about the time the band was captured by the Missourians, and he

[74]Steele to Kelton, January 14, 1862, *Ibid.*, 507.

[75]*Daily Missouri Democrat*, December 21, 1861.

[76]*Daily Missouri Republican*, December 29, 1861.

[77]Halleck to Stanton, March 25, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 641.

took them to Leavenworth where General Hunter was to give them their due punishment.[78]

In January, 1862, General Hunter showed his intention of putting down jayhawking expeditions. On January 30 he issued Order Number Twelve, which prohibited all officers and soldiers serving in the Kansas Department from entering or remaining within the Department of Missouri unless they were specially ordered to do so by the General Commanding the Department of Kansas. All officers and men who were found engaged in unauthorized expeditions outside the Department lines were to be arrested and held subject to the penalties of military law. Military Commissions were to be established for the trial of such persons and all who were detained in Kansas on charges of armed depredations or "jayhawking." All armed bands of men in Kansas who were not in the service of the United States nor "acting under special authority obtained from the Governor of the State or from the General Commanding" were ordered to disband and return to their homes.[79] General Halleck was delighted with Hunter's order and promised to do all in his power to keep the Missourians out of Kansas if Hunter would keep the Kansans out of Missouri. He believed that the only way to prevent trouble between the two states was to keep the troops apart.[80]

The Jayhawkers not only committed depredations in Missouri, but in Kansas their lawless actions made life and property unsecure, paralyzed all industries, and made the preservation of peace impossible. The people through their Legislature asked the military authorities of the Department for protection.[81] On February 8, 1862, General Hunter responded by issuing General Order Number Seventeen by which he declared martial law throughout the State of Kansas. Since jayhawking had reached a height dangerous to the peace and prosperity of the State and seriously compromised the Union cause in the border counties of Missouri, it was to be

[78]*St. Joseph Journal*, January 25, 1862, quoted in *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 28, 1862.

[79]*Daily Missouri Republican*, February 4, 1862.

[80]Halleck to Hunter, February 2, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 829.

[81]*Daily Missouri Republican*, February 13, 1862.

put down "with strong hand and by a summary process," and "all prisoners charged with armed depredations against property or assaults upon life" were to be conducted before the Military Commissions, which were provided for in General Order Number Twelve. A Provost-Marshall was to be appointed and he was to have authority to bring "jayhawking" to an end.[82]

Secretary of War Stanton likewise promised the people of Missouri that the United States Government would spare no effort to protect Union men and loyal citizens of Missouri from all illegal forced and lawless violence, no matter from what quarter it came.[83]

In the Western Missouri counties regiments were formed for the purpose of protecting homes and property of every description against the Jayhawkers. Recruits in Clay, Platte, and adjacent counties, who assisted in the movement to insure these counties against danger were to receive twenty-five dollars per month for themselves and their horses, and were to be clothed and fed by the Government.[84] In April three companies of troops were stationed along the Kansas frontier to preserve order and prevent jayhawking and stealing along the border. This movement was undertaken in connection with General Denver's order for the suppression of Jayhawkers.[85]

Kansas disapproved of the excesses and crimes which were committed by some of her men in Missouri. One of the leaders, Charles Metz, alias Cleveland, was killed during the war for attempting to follow a lawless course.[86] Cleveland was another one of those irregular heroes who sprang to arms in 1861 with the avowed object of protecting the Kansas border from invasions by Missourians, but with the real design of engaging in indiscriminate plundering in Missouri. He was

[82] *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 541; *Daily Missouri Republican*, February 13, 1862.

[83] Stanton to Price and Rollins, February 6, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. VIII, 546.

[84] *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, March 7, 1862.

[85] *Ibid.*, April 25, 1862.

[86] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 296.

an Ohio stage-driver who made his escape from the Jefferson City penitentiary and went to Kansas, where he took up his position at Atchison and proclaimed himself "Marshall of Kansas." He called upon the citizens to aid him in sustaining the Government and punishing its foes. His raids into Missouri occurred so frequently that a company of infantry was sent from Weston, Missouri, and stationed at Winthrop to capture him.[87] When the First Kansas Cavalry was organized, Cleveland became Captain, but he resigned when Colonel Anthony objected to his appearance on the occasion of the organization of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth on October 28, 1861.[88] Cleveland then devoted himself to robbery, and on one of his incursions into Missouri on November 16, 1861, he and the band of Jayhawkers which he had gathered about him robbed the Northrop Bank and the Union Bank at Kansas City. Both of these Banks had anticipated a robbery and hence had forwarded the greater portion of their money to a place of security, so that when Cleveland came over he obtained about three thousand dollars from the Northrop Bank, and eight hundred and fifty dollars from the Union Bank.[89]

Early in 1862 the Atchison authorities in connection with the commander of the company stationed at Winthrop attempted to catch Cleveland as he and his men were returning from Missouri accompanied by two sleighs loaded with negroes, harness, and miscellaneous plunder. Cleveland escaped, however, and continued his plundering exploits until May, 1862, when he was shot by a soldier belonging to the Sixth Kansas Regiment under Lieutenant Walker.[90]

In April, 1862, Jennison was arrested on charges of insubordination and endeavoring to break up the Seventh Kansas Regiment and form guerrila bands from the remnants

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[87]Ingalls, "The Last of the Jayhawkers," in *A Collection of His Writings, Addresses, and Orations*, 153-154.

[88]Fox, "Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, XI, 244.

[89]*Daily Missouri Republican*, November 17, 1861.

[90]*Daily Missouri Republican*, May 17, 1862; Ingalls, "The Last of the Jayhawkers," in *A Collection of His Writings, Addresses, and Orations*, 155.

under the lead of himself and Cleveland. He was confined in the Fifth Street Military Prison in Saint Louis, but was released on parole on April 25.[91] On May 1, 1862, Jennison resigned from his position in the Seventh Kansas Cavalry when James G. Blunt was appointed to the rank of Brigadier-General, a position which Jennison personally desired and hoped would be his.[92] Jennison gave pro-slaveryism as a reason for his failure to receive command in Kansas and claimed that he would be a peaceable citizen of Kansas until the Government should see fit to "crush slavery and kill rebels."[93] But the people of Kansas, like those of Missouri, objected to Jennison because he was nothing more than a robber, murderer, and plunderer, who by his outrageous and criminal excesses did more than any other man to encourage rebellion, and furnished better pretexts for revolt than all the original causes of secession put together. His course had the approval of neither the United States Government, nor the people of Kansas.[94]

The people of Missouri at this time felt that better days were in store for them, but later events proved that, although Kansas had denounced "jayhawking," the business as such nevertheless continued to thrive. In August 1862, Jennison again declared his intention of going into Missouri, and as he went, he "would take every man that could follow, whether black or white." He anticipated that by the time he reached Springfield he would have five or six thousand negroes. He declared that his men would "forage on the enemy," and "all who did not follow him would be hung on the first limb."[95] This threatened raid on the part of Jennison came as a result of the capture of seven of his men by the enrolled militia of Clay county under Lieutenants Fleming and Thomson, because they were engaged in stealing negroes and horses, slap-

[91] *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 20, May 12, 1862; *Daily Missouri Democrat*, April 26, 1862.

[92] Fox, "Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections*, XI, 240.

[93] *Daily Missouri Republican*, July 2, 1862.

[94] *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 23, 1862; Connelly, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 209.

[95] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 6, 1862.

ping women in the face, and other outrages. They were placed in the custody of Captain Harsell, and were declared by a United States detective who examined them, to be thieves and outlaws of the worst description. Governor Robinson of Kansas, as well as the Provost-Marshall of Leavenworth, disapproved of the conduct of the men who were arrested, and General Schofield directed Willard P. Hall, the Brigadier-General of the Enrolled Militia at Saint Joseph, to treat these marauders and thieves from Kansas as he had treated similar characters from other quarters. Jennison had no excuse to invade Missouri since the authorities in Kansas had approved the action of the Missourians in arresting these men.[96]

The border counties of Missouri, especially Clay and Jackson, were continually threatened with invasion by bands of armed negroes who had been enlisted by Lane when he began his organization of a "nigger regiment." His black soldiers were composed for the most part of slaves, which had been stolen or enticed from Missouri by the Abolitionists of Kansas, and they were armed without any authority having been obtained from the Government, and were taught that the people of Missouri were traitors and had no rights which negroes were bound to respect. Negroes came into Missouri to seek recruits for Lane's negro brigade.[97] President Lincoln received information from Clay and Jackson counties to the effect that unless the negro regiments were disbanded and disarmed, and those men who organized them were severely dealt with by the Government, serious difficulties would take place between Missouri and Kansas, and Lincoln was urged to give attention to the matter.[98]

Just as Governor Robinson had forewarned Major-General Frèmont of September 1, 1861, the course of Lane did bring reprisals from Missouri.[99] The Missourians adopted

[96]Hall to Curtis, October 6, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 713-714; *Liberty Weekly Tribune*, August 29, 1862; *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 6, 1862.

[97]*Daily Missouri Republican*, October 11, 1862; *Platte County Conservator*, September 20, 1862.

[98]*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XIII, 618.

[99]Robinson to Freemont, September 1, 1861, *ibid.*, Series I, Vol. III, 469.

the mode of life known as "bushwhacking," and under the lead of Quantrill invaded Kansas to retaliate for the outrages which had been committed upon them by the Jayhawkers. Quantrill's actions aroused the people of Kansas, and on November 20, 1862, a detachment of the Twelfth Kansas Regiment under Colonel C. W. Adams, a brother-in-law of Lane, marched into Jackson county, Missouri, to capture him. Failing to find any bushwhackers or rebels in this county, they turned their attention to plundering the unarmed and defenseless inhabitants, Unionists and Secessionists alike, and after seizing all the negroes, horses, mules, cattle, and wagons which they could get hold of, they encamped at Pink Hill. Their outrageous conduct was equal to anything which had ever been committed by Jennison's band of thieves.[100]

Richard C. Vaughan, Brigadier-General of the Sixth Military District of Missouri, and Colonel Penick heard of the conduct of these troops and marched to intercept them before they crossed the state line. General Vaughan sent an officer to Adams with the demand to know by what authority he was there and requiring Adams to let him see the orders under which he acted.[101] Adams sent him the order which he had received from Brigadier-General Blunt directing him to send parties into Missouri under active and prudent officers to pursue bushwhackers to death.[102] Vaughan could see nothing in General Blunt's order justifying the action Adams had taken, and demanded the return of all property taken from the citizens of Missouri, the surrender of all negroes stolen from Jackson and Lafayette counties, and the immediate withdrawal of Colonel Adams' command from the State. Adams replied that he would comply with all the demands except the one pertaining to negroes. He felt that they were at liberty

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[100]*Platte County Conservator*, December 6, 1862; *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 6, 1862.

[101]Vaughan to Wood, December 1, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 796-797.

[102]Blunt to Adams, October 9, 1862, *ibid.*, 798.

to do as they chose since they had come into his lines voluntarily.[103]

In answer to this Vaughan stated that his demand relative to the negroes must be complied with, but Adams replied that he would rather be subject to trial by court martial than turn the negroes out of his camp.[104]

An interview followed in which Vaughan explained to Adams the "situation of most of the Counties of Missouri in which large assessments were made on the property of disloyal citizens for the murder of loyal men and for the support of families of such militiamen as were in circumstances of destitution, and that these assessments could not be collected if the regiments from Kansas plundered."[105] Adams was arrested and was ordered to report to General Curtis at Saint Louis on December 15, 1862, and to deliver to Major Biggers all the property which had been taken by his command from the citizens of Missouri.[106]

Vaughan supposed that this would be done, but on November 28, Adams tried to escape with his men, taking with him all the property except twenty horses which they had turned over to the Missouri authorities the day before. But Vaughan's men pursued them, and they were overtaken. An officer was sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes, the commander who had taken charge of the troops after Adams had been arrested, with the demand that he turn the negroes out of his lines and deliver all the horses, mules, oxen, wagons, and other plunder which his command had taken from the people of Missouri. Hayes reluctantly complied with this order, and was then arrested by Vaughan, and like Adams, was instructed to report in Saint Louis on December 15. A portion of Colonel Penick's command escorted the Twelfth Kansas Regi-

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[103]Vaughan to Adams, and Adams to Vaughan, November 27, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 799.

[104]Vaughan to Adams, and Adams to Vaughan, November 27, 1862, *ibid.*, 800.

[105]Vaughan to Wood, December 1, 1862, *ibid.*, 797; *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 6, 1862; *Platte County Conservator*, December 6, 1862.

[106]Vaughan to Adams, November 27, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. I, p. 800.

ment beyond the limits of the State, and the stolen property was restored to its owners.[107]

Adams was charged with robbing, plundering, and despoiling inhabitants of Jackson and Lafayette counties of their property, and with violation of orders. He had been authorized by General Blunt to enter Missouri only in pursuit of guerrillas and bushwhackers, but he had entered, instead, for the purpose of robbing the people of Missouri of their property. Hayes was charged with "violation of orders, disrespect to superior officers, and conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." He had disobeyed Vaughan's order to deliver to him all property which had been illegally taken from citizens of Missouri by his attempt to make his escape with this property into Kansas.[108]

After a consideration of the facts in the case, Adams and Hays were released and restored to duty. It was hoped, however, that in the future if the "forces of the border found it necessary to cross the district line either from Kansas or Missouri the commander of such forces would observe the spirit of General Order Number Eleven, Department of Missouri," which stated that commanders in the field could "cross lines and co-operate with adjacent commanders where the interests of the department seem to require it." From the evidence it seemed that Adams had shown no desire to "co-operate with the commander of the forces of the district into which he led his detachment," nor did it appear that the "interest of the department required him to cross the line."[109]

Thus the year 1862 closed with the Missourians and Kansans still as hostile to each other as they had been when the border war opened in 1854. Lawless bands had developed on either side of the line. In Missouri the guerrillas and "bushwhackers" were led by Quantrill, while in Kansas the Jayhawkers and Red-Legs, the latter an organization called

[107]Vaughan to Wood, December 1, 1862, *ibid.*, 797; *Daily Missouri Republican*, December 6, 1862; *Platte County Conservator*, December 6, 1862.

[108]Vaughan to Curtis, December 9, 1862, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 821.

[109]Chipman to Blunt, January 15, 1863, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 47.

so from the fact that "its members affected red morocco leggings,"[110] were led by Lane and Jennison, and both sides carried on a system of general freebooting which left the western border in a desolate condition. The year 1863 was to see the climax to this general "jayhawking" Age.

CHAPTER V

THREATENED RETALIATION FOR QUANTRILL'S RAID, 1863

Jackson county, Missouri, was the dwelling place of both Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers, and between the two, the people of this county were ground "as between the upper and the nether millstone." Lawless bands were engaged in indiscriminate robbery, house-burning, and murder, and it seemed as if an understanding existed between the two for mutual security.[1]

On March 2, 1863, General Blunt issued orders which showed his determination to put down all lawlessness in Kansas. The commanding officers of his district were directed to be vigilant and prompt in detecting all offenders, and they were to aid the civil officers in arresting all persons who were engaged in violating the civil law. If the civil authorities had no place of safety where they could hold such offenders in custody, Blunt declared that they could be received by the commanding officers at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott where they could be held until demanded for trial.[2]

In April, General Curtis promulgated a general order including within the Military District of Kansas the counties of Jackson, Cass, Bates, Vernon, Barton, Jasper, Newton, and McDonald, the western tier of Missouri counties south of the Missouri River. This order was ill-advised since the eastern boundary of the District was thereby made unnatural. It was feared that this transfer of territory would "enlarge the field of riotous action on the part of Jennison, Anthony and Lane,"

[110]Spring, *Kansas*, 285.

[1]Payne to the Editor of the *Republican*, February 27, 1863, in *Daily Missouri Republican*, March 1, 1863.

[2]*Daily Missouri Republican*, March 7, 1863.

and would enable them to "cut further in toward the interior" of Missouri.[3]

August, 1863, saw the climax of the predatory hostilities of the border. On August 20, Quantrill led his band of about one hundred and seventy-five mounted men into Kansas, and on the next day the town of Lawrence was destroyed. Stores, banks, hotels, and houses were burned, and "citizens of the town were hunted like wild beasts and shot down indiscriminately." One hundred and eighty-three male inhabitants "fell victims in the butchery."[4] The course of the guerrillas was anything but soldierly. It was nothing but "atrocious murder, arson, robbery, pillage—inexcusable savagery."[5] Quantrill had carried out the one object of his life. Kansas was entered with an adequate force and Lawrence was destroyed.[6]

The burning of Lawrence caused great excitement in Kansas, and the chastisement of the inhabitants of the border counties of Missouri was immediately determined upon by way of retaliation. Lane led the avenging group. He addressed a mass meeting at Leavenworth on August 27, at which he urged loyal men to assemble at Paola on September 8 with such arms and ammunition as they could procure. Each group of twenty men was to select a captain, and was to bring a wagon, one blanket for each man, and fifteen days subsistence. He declared that Kansas would never be safe unless the rebel citizens in the border counties of Missouri were exterminated. He wanted to see everything in Jackson, Cass, and Bates counties laid waste. The safety of Kansas demanded the devastation of the border for a distance of thirty-five miles into Missouri.[7] The men who assembled at Paola were to redress the wrongs which had been committed upon Kansas by Quantrill's horde. But Schofield's Order Number Ninety-two prohibited the people of Kansas from

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[3] *Platte County Conservator*, April 4, 1863; *Daily Missouri Republican*, April 1, 1863.

[4] Spring, *Kansas*, 287-292.

[5] Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars*, 377.

[6] *Ibid.*, 298.

[7] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 2, 1863.

crossing the line and destroying the Bushwhackers as they had intended to do, and when September 8 arrived, the meeting at Paola did no more than draw up resolutions demanding the reestablishment of the Department of Kansas and the removal of Schofield from the command of the Department of Missouri. They asked the military authorities for indemnity and demanded that they station a military force in every neighborhood in Southern Kansas to secure the protection of the people.[8]

At Paola, Lane had only a small backing. Even in Kansas there was strong disgust at his outrageous conduct, and there was no disposition except on the part of a small minority to follow him in his extremes. The majority of the people in Kansas refused to make themselves robbers, murderers, and incendiaries because a gang of rebel guerrillas had seen fit to commit outrages upon them.[9] The speech Lane made at Leavenworth on August 27 was read at a Cabinet Meeting in Washington, and elicited a general sentiment of condemnation from that body. The Government was determined to restrain Lane and his men from attempting to avenge the Lawrence outrage by devastating the border counties of Missouri.[10]

The citizens in the border counties had expected an invasion of Missouri by the Kansans under Lane. Invasion to them signified murder, fire, pillage, devastation, and butchery, and many of them fled to escape the terror which they felt was approaching. Independence, especially, was threatened, and at that place the banks transported the greater part of their securities to Saint Louis, the business men decided to ship away their goods, and the most important papers and documents of the county offices were removed to places of safety.[11]

It was not only the threatened invasion of Missouri which caused this consternation and alarm on the border, but

[8] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 11, 1863.
[9] *Ibid.*, September 13, 1863.
[10] *Ibid.*, September 10, 1863.
[11] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 3, 1863.

also the famous Order Number Eleven which was issued by General Ewing on August 25, 1863. He claimed that he had found it necessary to issue the order because of the excitement which existed in Kansas as a result of the Lawrence Massacre and the danger of a raid by the citizens of that place into Missouri for the purpose of destroying the towns along the border.[12] Order Number Eleven authorized the depopulation of Jackson, Cass, Bates, and a part of Vernon counties where the guerrillas were believed to have their chief recruiting station. All persons living in these counties, except those living within one mile of the limits of the principal cities, were required to remove from their homes within fifteen days. Those who within that time proved to the commanding officer of the nearest military station that they were loyal were to receive certificates from him which would permit them to remove to any military stations in these counties, or to any part of Kansas except the counties on the eastern border of the State. All who did not receive such certificates were to move out of the district. The grain and hay in the district from which the people were required to remove was to be taken to the nearest military station and the report of the amount turned over there was to be made to the district headquarters. If this were not done by September 9, everything was to be destroyed.[13]

Austin A. King, a former governor of Missouri, but at the time of Ewing's Order a member of Congress, and General George C. Bingham tried to induce President Lincoln to forbid the execution of the Order, but they were unsuccessful in this. However, they did succeed in having General Ewing removed from command at Kansas City, and later, when he ran for Governor of Ohio, Bingham made speeches against him which resulted in his defeat.[14]

Throughout the western border counties the Order was cruelly executed. Men, women, and children were driven

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[12]Ewing to Schofield, August 25, 1863, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 472.

[13]*O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, p. 473.

[14]*St. Louis Republic*, June 7, 1908.

from their homes, their houses were burned, and their crops were destroyed. The Jayhawkers came in apparently to assist the authorities in executing the Order, but in reality to burn, lay waste, and plunder. Murder was also within their field, and they did not hesitate to shoot a man even while he was in the act of obeying orders. The refugees passed through the streets from Independence to Lexington illy-clad, oftentimes barefooted and without money to pay for food, clothing or shelter. About twenty thousand were forced to leave their homes at a time when no more crops could be raised, and no more preparation could be made for the approaching winter.[15]

Schofield admitted that the Order was severe, but claimed that it was necessary at the time. The inhabitants in these border counties were accused of aiding and protecting guerrillas, and it was believed that as long as these counties continued to give aid, border warfare between Missouri and Kansas would never cease. After the execution of the order "guerrillas found it impossible to live where before they had roamed at will."[16] A course such as Ewing pursued might have been sanctioned if it had reached the guilty parties only, but innocent people, and non-combatants such as widows and orphans, were likewise affected by this order.[17]

In spite of the fact that the western border counties were depopulated, Kansas thieves still continued to cross the state line. On September 14, 1863, twelve or fifteen Kansans surrounded the residence of Major A. McRoberts, seven miles from Saint Joseph, demanded all the arms on the place, ransacked the house for plunder, and abducted fifteen negroes. Another party went to the residence of Henry Smith, a short distance away, and stole a fine horse and wagon. The thieves were pursued, but succeeded in making their escape across the Missouri River. A detachment of twenty men under Major Garth tried to recover the stolen property, but the Kansas

[15] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 11, 1863; Violette, *History of Missouri*, 383.

[16] Report of Major-General Schofield in *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 16.

[17] King to the Editor of the *Republican*, quoted in *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 14, 1863.

troops who were stationed on the other side of the river refused to let the Missouri soldiers across because they feared that these troops wanted to make a raid on negro recruits in Kansas. Finally, Mr. Ed. Russell, an influential citizen of Elwood, came over and informed the Missourians that if an officer and a witness to identify the property were sent over to Kansas, a guard would be furnished them from the Kansas Sixth and they could then try to recover the stolen property. Major Garth and Thomas Woodson were, accordingly, sent forward, but the property was not recovered.[18]

In November Schofield seemed convinced that the Confederates had all been driven out of the western border counties of Missouri, and he, therefore, directed all loyal persons who had been forced out of their homes by the issuance of General Order Number Eleven to return to them.[19] On November 20, 1863, General Ewing issued General Order Number Twenty, which gave to loyal persons who had been required to remove from the western counties through the operation of Order Number Eleven permits and safeguards to return to their homes, providing they agreed to aid all persons in the service of the Government of the United States in finding or destroying all "rebels and guerrillas" and in detecting all persons engaged in disloyal acts or practices. They were at all times required to withhold assistance of every kind from rebelling people, guerrillas, or other enemies of the United States Government. Permits were not given at this time to persons who owned no lands or crops, or had no sufficient means of support, nor to persons who lived in the timber at a distance greater than three miles from a military station, nor to persons who had near relatives in the southern service. Trial and punishment followed any violation of the conditions on which a safeguard was granted. All men who were allowed to return were to be organized into military companies, each company to be composed of not less than thirty men, who were to be armed, clothed, and fed by the Government as active militia

[18] *Daily Missouri Republican*, September 18, 1863.

[19] Report of Major-General Schofield, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 16.

of the State. These organizations were to protect the life and property of the people, "keep out guerrillas, and insure a permanent and prosperous resettlement of the border."[20]

For a time depredations ceased, but in the winter of 1863-1864 when the Missouri River was frozen over, thieves from Kansas again commenced their raids into Missouri. On January 20, 1864, a squad of men, thirty or forty in number, under the command of a man who called himself "Major" Sanders, of Jennison s regiment of Kansas Jayhawkers, entered Missouri City from Jackson county, and proceeded to the headquarters of Captain George S. Story, who with a small force of enrolled militia was stationed at this place. They came to arrest a man named Coil, but Captain Story informed them that Coil was already in custody at Liberty, Missouri. The Major and his squad then went to E. W. Nowlin's store about one hundred and fifty yards from Story's headquarters and robbed the place of goods valued at two thousand dollars. Captain Story was guarded while the store was robbed, and after the thieves completed their plundering operation, they disappeared.[21]

In Platte county citizens were robbed of money, horses, and other valuables. Horse-stealing especially thrived in this county. A typical incident occurred at the farm of Charles A. Perry who lived about a mile from Weston. He was robbed of three valuable horses and two mules. He pursued the thieves to Kansas, and recovered his property.[22] Citizens of Missouri in the vicinity of Kansas City were likewise apprehensive of renewed troubles in that neighborhood. President Lincoln informed General Halleck to give Generals Rosecrans and Curtis orders to prevent as far as possible the apprehended disturbances.[23] Colonel Woodson, the Assistant Provost-Marshall at Saint Joseph, informed General Curtis

[20] *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 25, 1863.

[21] *Daily Missouri Republican*, January 30, 1864; *History of Clay and Platte Counties*, Missouri, 246.

[22] *Platte County Atlas*, January 30, 1864, in *Daily Missouri Reoublican*, February 5, 1864.

[23] Lincoln to Halleck, January 28, 1864, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, (Nicolay and Hay, eds.) IX, 297.

of the fact that a large number of horses and other property had been stolen from the Missouri border counties and had been taken into Kansas. Curtis replied that he would do all in his power to prevent border strife, and if he caught horse-thieves with his soldiers he would make "summary and certain punishment a terror to the rogues." He was not going to "allow loyalty to be a license for horse-stealing."[24]

Many of the misfortunes in Missouri arose from the fact that the soldiers who were sent into that State to protect the loyal people and drive out "Bushwhackers" did more than did the banditti.[25] They took horses, mules, household goods, beds and bedding, and other forms of property, and carried their plunder over into Kansas.[26]

Until the close of the Civil War freebooting habits prevailed on the western border. But the civil authorities in both Kansas and Missouri finally became supreme and eventually made "the turbulent spirits bred by the War, federal as well as rebel," understand that "crime, no matter of what character, or by whom committed, could no longer be cloaked under the guise of military necessity."[27]

The man who figured most prominently in this great "jayhawking" age did not long survive its close. Lane supported President Johnson in his opposition to the Freedmen's Bureau and the Civil Rights Bill, which fact gave offense to his old friends, and when Lane visited Kansas in June 1866, he found that his old admirers refused to recognize him, and political conventions proceeded to denounce him. Finding himself rejected by those whom he thought would welcome him, he went to Saint Louis but soon returned to Leavenworth, and on July 1 he shot himself. He lived ten days, and died on July 10, 1866.[28]

Lane was an unscrupulous soldier of fortune, and a base and mischievous politician. On his best side, it might be said that he possessed great energy, enthusiasm, and eloquence,

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[24] *Daily Missouri Republican*, February 4, 1864.
[25] King to Rosecrans, July 25, 1864, *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 387.
[26] Guthers to Rosecrans, August 3, 1864, *ibid.*, 893.
[27] Carr, *Missouri*, 362.
[28] Holloway, *History of Kansas*, 261; Spring, *Kansas*, 301-303.

but these admirable qualities were offset by his "restless jealousy, intrigue, and rashness."[29] The crimes and outrages which Lane and his men inflicted upon the citizens of Missouri in the name of "freedom to all" were not approved by the majority of the citizens of Kansas any more than were the crimes of Quantrill and his band of guerrillas sanctioned by the citizens of Missouri.

With the collapse of the Confederacy, a new epoch began. Jayhawkers, Red-Legs, and Bushwhackers who played so prominent a part on the stage of local history made their exit,[30] and Missouri and Kansas were both ready to set aside their local prejudices and devote themselves to questions of national interest, and to the repair of the damage which had been caused by more than ten years of border strife.

[29]Spring, *Kansas*, 303-305.
[30]Spring, *Kansas*, 299.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Citizen and historian can obtain interesting information from Dr. R. E. Riegel's article "The Missouri Pacific Railroad to 1879." This history applies to the present. How familiar are some of the statements which describe the hopes and fears of our people seventy-five years ago. There was a depression and "a great portion of the western population thought of railroads as a panacea for all economic ills." Individuals pledged their wealth, counties and state issued bonds, and the succor of Federal aid was forthcoming. Altruism was mixed with shrewdness, hope and enthusiasm with disappointment and debt. The state lost millions of dollars. The people, after getting what they wanted and needed—transportation—turned from aid and co-operation to indifference and criticism. Another depression had come. The article is worth reading.

APPRECIATION.

I want to compliment The State Historical Society on the fine work it is doing and particularly in connection in getting out *The Missouri Historical Review.* I think this is a very valuable asset and all those interested in the history of St. Louis should keep a file.—Mr. Charles F. Hatfield Secretary St. Louis Convention, Publicity and Tourist Bureau, St. Louis, Missouri, July 12, 1923.

In any way I can be of service, I will be pleased to respond, if possible. The greatest incentive I know of to good American citizenship and strong patriotism to state and nation is the dissemination of their history.—Mr. Perry C. Ellis, Quincy, Illinois, July 12, 1923.

I hope that The State Historical Society will increase in numbers and that the *Review* will enlighten the people of Missouri to become better acquainted with their State history.—Mr. J. C. Keithley, Mount Leonard, Missouri, July 16, 1923.

I am glad to have your suggestion to boost the membership of The State Historical Society. I have always tried in my feeble way to do this. I am strong for the Society and interested in its work. If the annual meeting ever comes at a time when I can leave my work here I'll attend it; am anxious to do so.—Honorable

Charles L. Henson, Judge 24th Judicial Circuit of Missouri, Mt. Vernon, Missouri, July 21, 1923.

The State Historical Society is doing a great work for Missouri. I will make an effort to increase the membership of our society. I take great pride in being a member.—Mr. David W. Eaton, Browning, Montana, July 16, 1923.

The quality of *The Missouri Historical Review* and the price are out of proportion, so much so that I should think everybody would be delighted to subscribe for same.—Mr. John Max Wulfing, St. Louis, Missouri, July 17, 1923.

I am certainly pleased to know that The State Historical Society is still growing in public favor. I cannot understand how any good Missourian is content without it.—Hon. R. B. Oliver, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, July 12th, 1923.

The State Historical Society is doing very valuable work in the cause of State history, and it should receive encouragement from all true Missourians. Its special publications will prove a great source of value to the future historians, as well as the writers of today. *The Review* is a treasure to anyone interested in Missouri and her history. I highly prize each issue, and carefully preserve them for future use.—Mr. Loyd Collins, Clinton, Missouri, July 17, 1923.

I have been very much interested in *The Missouri Historical Review*, and am glad to know that so much good material is being put out concerning important incidents in the history of Missouri. —Mr. James M. Irvine, Advertising Manager, The Country Gentleman, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, July 31, 1923.

THE DANIEL BOONE JUDGMENT TREE

From the *Missouri Botanical Garden Bulletin* (St. Louis) February 1922.

The Daniel Boone Judgment Tree, under which Daniel Boone held court during the early part of the nineteenth century, has been the subject of considerable discussion, both as to what and where it was. It has at various times been reported to be a poplar, an elm, and a sycamore, and in order to settle the question an expedition was sent out from the Garden last fall in the hope of locating the tree and getting some accurate information concerning it.

What is unquestionably the so-called "Daniel Boone Judgment Tree" was finally located on the old Boone home-

stead at Darst's Bottom, Femme Osage, now owned by Mr. Henry Bollmann. Femme Osage is the name given by Daniel Boone to a creek because an Osage Indian woman was drowned here. There is a small village which takes its name from the creek and there was formerly a post-office located here. The Femme Osage post-office was abandoned about twelve years ago, all the mail for the village now going through Augusta on a rural route. The tree is about five miles east of Femme Osage village and five miles west of the village of Defiance, on the Femme Osage Creek road. It is growing on the bank of a shallow ravine, about 150 feet northwest of the stone house which was built by Nathan Boone, Daniel Boone's youngest son, and about forty feet south of the site formerly occupied by the old log house of Daniel Boone. The tree, which is an American elm (*Ulmus americana*), is sixty-five feet high, forked about three feet from the ground, each branch measuring nine feet in circumference at the fork. The main trunk is sixteen feet six inches in circumference two feet from the ground. The main branch to the west is badly decayed with large open cavities extending into the heartwood. The main branch on the east which grows more nearly upright is in fairly good condition. The entire tree, however, is in a poor state of preservation, several large branches which have been broken off by wind and ice during past years still being lodged in the tree.

According to Walter B. Stevens' Centennial History of Missouri, Boone's visit to Missouri from Kentucky in 1798 was inspired by the Spanish government. He found the region so much to his liking that he decided to settle in Missouri, making his first home at Marthasville. Later he moved to Femme Osage, where a son had built a log cabin. This was replaced by a pretentious stone house, where Boone lived until his death. This was apparently the first stone house built in St. Charles county and required eighty ears for its completion. All the stone used was hauled on stone sledges drawn by oxen from a hillside on the eastern part of the farm. The interior woodwork is black walnut, cut from

THE DANIEL BOONE JUDGMENT TREE
(Courtesy of *Mo. Botanical Garden Bulletin*)

trees on the place and is of the hand-made wooden-pegged variety of the period.

After settlers began to flock to the vicinity of the Boone homestead, he was elected "Syndic" of the district, which office made him the foremost man of the locality. One of his duties was to hold court from time to time, passing on both civil and federal cases. Offenders were not infrequently sentenced to a given number of lashes on the bare back. After the United States obtained control of this region, the jurisdiction of the territorial court was extended to include the district formerly presided over by Boone, and eventually a courthouse was erected at St. Charles. The habit of appealing to Boone and accepting his opinions without question was too firmly fixed in the minds of the settlers to admit of their accepting the new arrangement; consequently, as long as he lived he continued to hold court under the elm tree in front of his house and here the troubles and grievances of his neighbors were adjusted according to the principles of common sense.

The Garden is indebted to Mr. Ernest Robyn and Mr. Edgar Thoroughman, of Augusta, Mo., for information leading to the location of the tree and for certain facts included in the above article. Thanks are also due to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bollmann, who gave permission for the taking of the accompanying photographs.

WE ARE INHERITORS OF THE AGES.

While history may be used to confirm the conservative in his position or to support the radical in his views, it usually serves society as a stabilizer of conservative progress. If a man could live a thousand years and retain an infallible memory, he would still need history and he probably would study it even more carefully than one does today. I have observed that those men who through long experience would seem to have the least need for history, are the very ones who prize history most. History will not solve the problems of the race, state, or nation, but it will do something to broaden

the view, to inspire hope, and to temper fantasies. It may point out mistakes and pitfalls in conditions past which are applicable to conditions present. It may take away some of the halo of a dream—economic, political, or social—but it will substitute facts, however harsh, for fancies. If there is value in wisdom, there is worth in history.

THE STORY OF A COUNTRY TOWN IN PHOTOGRAPHS

From *The Kansas City Star*, June 17, 1923. (Reprinted from *E. W. Howe's Monthly*.)

In Missouri there is a town called Gallatin, which has never contained to exceed two thousand people. Rollin J. Britton, a Kansas City attorney, is making a collection of photographs of prominent men produced in Gallatin and its immediate vicinity. This collection will be presented to the county in which Gallatin is located, and hung in the court house. Mr. Britton informs me that the list now numbers one hundred and sixty, and includes two United States senators, three members of the lower branch of congress, three members of presidents' cabinets, a governor, numerous judicial and military officers, and business, literary and professional men of note.

Here is a story of a country town that should attract wide attention. All over the United States antiquated and dull country towns are educating and sending out men of prominence and unusual ability. What an encouragement for country boys!

CIVILIZATION NOW AND THEN

Despite the assertions of those critics of our civilization who believe our culture is superficial, our education ineffective, our economic system degrading, and our democracy a failure, our people have higher tastes, do more thinking, live better, and advance faster. History, so-called, has many mistakes to answer for and not the least of these is over-eulogy of the past. History has its hands full in recording facts and attempting to interpret facts. I cannot agree with Mr. Henry

Ford in his statement, "History is bunk," but I can agree with a statement that much which is labelled history is bunk.

Many have eulogized the pioneer community, but few have set forth the facts. More reliable data on the pioneer has been given in Dr. Bek's articles than in three-fourths of the books and stories purporting to describe the pioneer. The latter were compiled from secondary material and imagination, the former are transcripts of original source data. The pioneer deserves eulogy for his courage, independence, and sacrifice, but judged by our standards, his lot was hard and circumscribed. His problems were laborious but simple, ours complex. His wants were few, ours many. His life was restricted, ours boundless. His physical tasks were hard, ours easy. He had little money and was doubtful of its value, we have billions in gold. He feared banks and justly, we transact business with checks and profitably. He had subscription schools and "the poor shall be taught *gratis*," we have public schools, free colleges and universities, where the rich and poor are educated. He had cheap food and clothing, cheap housing and amusements, we have tropical fruits and well made suits, modern houses and everything from books and papers to phonographs, travels, movies, and radios. He was a general man, we are specialists in trades and professions. He sacrificed and saved to make a living, we sacrifice and save to make donations, to pay more taxes for a higher culture and a better living, to educate our children, to care for the world's unfortunate. He carried a rifle to protect his home or to provide food, we carry a check book to transact business or to build a church. Pioneer life and 1923 life are quite different. The one laid the foundations, the other is building the superstructure of our civilization. Each is worthy of the labors of the most painstaking historians, each merits the honor and respect due those generations of man that have advanced the cause of civilization, but neither needs over-eulogy or deserves cynical criticism in order to make proper evaluation.

The pessimist of our civilization must certainly know little of real history. He points to our hasty reading of the news-

paper and forgets that a century ago even newspapers were scarce and many people could not read. There was real significance then in "readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic." He also forgets the tremendous circulation of our magazines and books. He seemingly is blind to school and public libraries taxed to their capacity with readers, old and young. No better illustration is at hand on this point than the circulation of *The Missouri Historical Review*. Missouri was late in developing a real and widespread interest in her history. The State Historical Society was not founded until 1898, only twenty-five years ago. Its membership grew slowly. In 1918 it ranked fourth in membership west of the Mississippi river; two years later it ranked first. In 1922 it ranked first in membership west of the Alleghenies and today among similar institutions it ranks second in this country. This is only part of the great wave of education going over Missouri and the nation. People now are convinced that a state is certain of leadership if its citizens are educated. They are regarding real history as an important part in every progressive scheme of education. They are more interested in history than ever. A recent questionnaire revealed that of all subjects, history is today the most popular.

THE HAWTHORN

THE OFFICIAL STATE FLOWER

From the *Missouri Botanical Garden Bulletin* (St. Louis) May, 1923.

The hawthorn (*Crataegus*), or red haw as it is sometimes called, has become of special interest to Missourians since the passage of a bill by the Missouri Legislature making it the state flower.

The genus *Crataegus*, common in this country, is widely distributed in the temperate region of the northern hemisphere. More than eight hundred species have been described for North America, while only about sixty are native of the Old World. The considerable range in habit and size of the

FRUIT OF HAWTHORN
(Courtesy of *Mo. Botanical Garden Bulletin*)

SPRAY OF HAWTHORN FLOWERS
(Courtesy of *Mo. Botanical Garden Bulletin*)

hawthorn, together with its attractive foliage and abundance of showy flowers followed by bright-colored fruits, makes it unusually valuable for planting in parks and private grounds. While the Missouri species have only white flowers, other species are pink and crimson, and the fruit, while generally red, may also be yellow or orange, and in one species blue. The hawthorns are easily transplanted and are benefitted by a liberal pruning at this time. They may likewise be propagated by seed. These, however, germinate slowly, requiring from two to three years before the seedling appears.

Botanically, the numerous species are difficult to distinguish, their identification depending upon a number of minute characters, including the number and color of stamens. In order to facilitate their systematic arrangement, they have been divided into a number of groups, eleven of which are represented in Missouri.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS.

BRIDGING THE MISSOURI RIVER AT ST. JOSEPH IN 1873.

From the St. Joseph *Gazette*, March 11, 1917.

The spending of nearly a million dollars on the reconstruction of the St. Joseph and Grand Island bridge across the Missouri River here will not give St. Joseph the thrills that she got when the original structure was flung across the muddy stream nearly a half century ago and bound Missouri to the great west with a material tie.

Before that crossing the river was precarious business, and many were the teams that went through the ice, carrying wagon and driver and cargo with them in the daring attempt to make the crossing, and many the difficulties in stemming the current with ferry during the high waters.

The Big Muddy was a barrier that kept back civilization and progress and the pressure of the oncoming flood of settlers demanded something more dependable than ice and boats. So a little band of thirteen, strong with the courage of the pioneer, began to take measures to unite the trans-Missouri country with the advancement on this side, so that the frontier could be pushed more rapidly to the west and the country made more accessible to settlers.

The result was that a most wonderful structure that demanded all that the science and craft of that day could give, was placed across the river after a stress of financing and a trial of faith of the founders.

And in three years, so quickly did the spirit of those times work, the marvelous structure was ready for use and a celebration that attracted attention far and wide, marked the opening of the bridge to traffic May 31, 1873. There was oratory and blaring music and gold braid and colorful uniforms of lodges, and enthusiasm and a bursting pride. A procession five miles long wended through the streets and wound up at Patee Park, where the orators of three states spoke grandiloquently, and the people cheered and felt like conquerors.

"The Rubicon has been crossed," proclaimed one of the orators at a big banquet at Tootle & McLaughlin's Hall. "No longer can the Missouri river be an embargo on intercourse between the two states." And there were toasts—"To Missouri," "To Kansas," "To Nebraska," "To the Press," "To the City of St. Louis," "To the Civil Engineers," "To the Detroit Bridge and Iron Company," "To the Memory of Joseph Robidoux," "We have raised up a monument more enduring than brass," and "To the Ladies."

The response to the toast, "To the Civil Engineers," was by Capt. James B. Eades, he of the Mississippi jetties fame and the builder of the St. Louis bridge. Other speakers for the occasion were Gov. Willard P. Hall of Missouri, Hon. I. S. Calloch of Kansas, Jeff C. Chandler, I. C. Parker and Gen. James Craig.

The Gazette of that day gives a large acreage of space to the occasion and ran a wood cut of the bridge that gave a vivid idea of the immensity of the project. There were steamboats plying the river or sending out clouds of smoke as they rested at the wharf, and the sky was as full of pink clouds as the art of the wood engraver could make it.

The project for the construction of the bridge began in 1870, when the St. Joseph Bridge Building Company was incorporated. It was made up of Willard P. Hall, J. M. Hawley, J. H. R. Cundiff, J. B. Hinman, John L. Bittinger, James A. Matney, O. M. Smith, I. G. Kappner, John Pinger, J. D. McNeely, W. Z. Ransom, Mordecai Oliver and Isaac J. Parker.

The people of the city on January 25, 1871, voted bonds for the purchase of $500,000 worth of stock in the new enterprise, the bonds to run for twenty years and to bear 10 per cent interest. Only nineteen votes were cast against the bonds.

Gen. George McClelland was appealed to by telegraph to conduct the preliminary survey, for which $2,000 had been apportioned, but for some reason he did not accept, and Col. T. D.

Mason undertook the work. H. H. Killaly was immediately in charge of the work and found rock bottom at a depth of forty-seven feet. The stock of the company was fixed at a half million dollars, the St. Joseph & Denver City Railroad's franchise was transferred to the new company, and it was estimated that the bridge would cost $715,000. Bids were asked and the contract was let to the Detroit Bridge & Iron Works for $710,000. The highest bid had been submitted by the Baltimore Bridge Company and was $1,175,000. The bridge was permanently located July 14, and the actual work of construction begun. Temorary railroad tracks were laid, a temporary bridge was run out over the sand and riprapped to resist the water, and tracks were laid over this.

The dangerous and difficult work of constructing the piers was then begun. This was accomplished much as it is done now, except that the construction work was started when at the surface of the rock bottom, while now the rock will be excavated to a depth of perhaps eight feet and the foundation begun there. The caissons of the former day were built of 12x12 inch hardwood timbers, with their walls 3 feet thick and 20 feet high; they were 24x56 feet long, and provided with an air lock and connections to the air compressors. These were roofed over and weighted down with rock to sink them, making them in effect a diving bell inside which the men worked. All material was passed through this lock and the men made their ingress and egress by means of it, working under compressed air.

The spans were also under construction, the work beginning on the Kansas side. The first two were put into place by means of false work built upon the frozen sands, and then the draw span on the Missouri side was erected. The other two were swung over the swift current, the heavy piling driven to support the structure being washed away twice before it could be made substantial enough to hold the weight. The work moved swiftly and successfully forward until the last span was got into place May 4, 1874, the task being marvelled at because 250 tons of iron was carried out 800 feet and placed in position in thirty-six hours. Sixteen days later the first locomotive, No. 6 of the St. Joseph & Denver City railroad, was run across the bridge, it being in charge of Edgar Sleppy, the man who had run the first Hannibal & St. Joseph train into the city fourteen years before.

During the construction of the bridge there came a proposition from B. F. Carver, representing the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad, to take over the bridge and advance the money as fast as necessary to pay for the work. In return he was to receive the city's stock in the bridge, was to extend his road to Atchison and

connect with the other roads there, and to remove the shops of the road to St. Joseph from Hannibal, receiving immunity from taxes for twenty years thereafter, as Hannibal had given.

The bridge consisted of six piers and three fixed spans each 300 feet long, a draw span of 265 feet and a short span of 80 feet, making a total length of 1,345 feet. Nearly 1,500,000 feet of lumber, 16,000 cubic feet of concrete and 172,000 cubic feet of masonry were used. The east approach was 614 feet long and the west approach 2,316 feet. It was calculated that the bridge would sustain a moving load five times as heavy as any capable of being placed on it. A string of locomotives long enough to reach across the structure would have weighed in those days 300 tons, and the maximum weight of a train of that length would have been only 200 tons. The capacity of the bridge was 2,500 pounds to the running foot, or 3,725 tons.

The bridge passed into the hands of Jay Gould and associates June 16, 1879, and later went to the Grand Island.

The structure was rebuilt in the winter of 1903-04 at a cost of $280,000, the iron work being replaced. The width between the old girders was eighteen feet, and there were passage ways for foot passengers extending four feet outside. The new girders were placed just within the old and the extensions on the side widened to give space for wagon traffic.

The move for a free bridge was made in 1872 when the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad made its proposition to take over the project. At that time a part of the proposition was to make the rates for wagon and foot passage just half that of other Missouri River bridges, but the plan fell through before it was submitted to the people, and the move for a free bridge went with it.

The First Newspaper In Harrison County.

From the Bethany *Clipper*, August 9, 1917.

It was 58 years ago last Saturday, August 4, since the first newspaper was published in Harrison county. *The Clipper* values very highly the files of this paper which are among the fifty volumes of Harrison county papers which we have in our library.

Volume I, Number 1, of the Bethany *Star* was published August 4, 1859 with E. R. Martin and S. A. Allen, editors and proprietors. The subscription price was $1.50 a year.

In explaining their positions and intentions to the public, the editors say:

"In regard to the politics of the *Star*, we wish it distinctly understood that it will advocate the claims of no political party, but remain strictly and impartially independent in all things—

neutral in nothing. Our private political opinions are private property, which no one has a right to question or condemn, except in private intercourse.

"We request a liberal share of patronage. To the citizens of the county especially would we address ourselves. In this age of wonderful improvements, of scientific discoveries and intellectual advancements, it behooves every state and county to look well to their laurels, lest they be wrested from them by more successful rivals. The people realize this more and more and are willing to take advantage of it. Good schools are being established throughout the land, railroads built, and newspapers located in every town of any size and enterprise. While this is the case, there is no reason why Bethany, the beautiful county seat of Harrison county, should be deprived of an advantage so essential to its prosperity, and so easily obtained; and we trust our friends will second our efforts by cheerfully responding to the call made upon them."

So far as we have had an opportunity of judging, the corn and oats crops of Harrison county will be prolific. True, the rust injured a portion of the oats, but there was a large quantity sown, and much has yielded handsomely. The corn has suffered from drouth, but within a few days past we have had copious and refreshing rains, which will be of incalcuable benefit to the growing crops.

The Bethany Market, which was corrected weekly by C. J. Blackburn, was as follows:

Flour, per bbl	$9.00
Flour, per sack	4.75
Meal, per bushel	1.00
Sugar, N. O	.12½
Sugar, loaf	.20
Sugar, crushed	.16¾
Coffee, Rio	.16¾
Coffee, Java	.25
Tea	1.00
Soda	.12½
Molasses, per gallon	75c to .90
Salt, table	.35
Salt, G. A	3.50
Candles, Star, per lb	.40
Candles, Tallow, per lb	.25

Bacon, per lb	.10
Butter, per lb	.10
Eggs, per dozen	.10
Chickens, per dozen	1.25
Beef Cattle, net	3.00

History of the A. H. T. A.

From the Tipton *Times*, October 27, 1922.

The Anti-Horse Thief Association was born in Missouri, and all of its great success and splendid work is due to the inspiration received from its Missouri founders.

Major David McKee, Hugh Allen Stewart and three or four other men organized the first lodge that bore the name of Anti-Horse Thief Association at the Highland School House in Clark county, Missouri, in 1854. Those were the turbulent days before the war and that part of Missouri was then frontier country. Fugitives came there from other states just as the criminals a few years ago flocked to the Indian territory or now go to Mexico to escape justice. The fugitives kept up their old tricks and the honest settler was their common prey. It took organized effort to protect the people and their property from such rascals. The vigilance committee method was used some, but there were those who did not favor the harsh methods of the Vigilantes, and these men joined in favoring the A. H. T. A.

Major McKee and Mr. Stewart had been among the '49ers who went to California, and they incorporated into the new organization some of the methods of protection practiced in the mining camps of the West. For a long time there was but one lodge, and it met at different points in the neighborhood where there was work to do. Soon the need of local organization was seen. This led to the formation of the grand lodge at Aetna, Missouri, October 23, 1863, with Major McKee as president. This plan was followed until 1881, when the state orders formed a national, or supreme order, which is the plan in vogue today.

The largest membership of the order is now in Kansas and Oklahoma, although it is well represented in Arkansas, Illinois and Iowa and has lodges in other states.

Osage River Ferry Rates in 1837.

From Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram*, October 19, 1922.

The first man granted license to operate a ferry boat at Tuscumbia was Cornelius P. Davidson, on August 8, 1837. The rates Davidson filed with the county court are as follows: wagon and

six horses, $1.50; wagon and four horses, $1.25; wagon and two horses, $1.00; four-wheel carriage, 75 cents; gig and horse, 50 cents; team of cattle, same as horses; man and horse, 25 cents; single horse, 12½ cents; footman, 6¼ cents; hogs and sheep, per head, 3 cents; cattle, per head, 10 cents; baggage, per cwt., 10 cents.

PERSONALS.

Hon. W. N. Evans: Born in Kentucky in 1849: Died at West Plains, Missouri, November 11, 1922. He came to Missouri in 1868 and after serving as superintendent of schools of Webster county he was admitted to the bar and moved to Howell county in 1885. He was appointed in 1891 to fill an unexpired term as circuit judge and was afterwards re-elected until he had served twenty-six years. He retired from the bench in 1917.

Joseph J. Heifner: Born in Macon county, Missouri; died at Maryville, Missouri, July 12, 1922. He became editor of the Hunnewell *Bee* in 1891 and conducted that publication for three years. In 1900 he took over the Macon *Times* and *Democrat* and consolidated them, continuing as editor of the publication for about seven years. Later he served for a time as deputy state grain inspector at Kansas City.

B. F. Heiny: Born in Caldwell county, Indiana, September 15, 1845; died at Kirksville, Missouri, July 20, 1923. During the Civil War he served with the Union forces in Company B, 142nd Indiana Infantry. He came to Kirksville in 1867 and, with two associates, started a normal school, which was the forerunner of the State Teachers' College of today. In 1874 he was elected county clerk. Shortly after the close of his term he bought an interest in the Kirksville *Journal* and was president of the Journal Company at the time of his death. He was also interested in the banking business.

Hon. J. W. Hensley: Born near Bay, Gasconade county, Missouri, April 29, 1870; died at St. Louis, November 24, 1922. As a young man he taught school in Gasconade county and while teaching studied law. He went to Owensville after being admitted to the bar and in 1901 was elected representative in the state legislature from Gasconade county.

He was re-elected in 1903 and later served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Gasconade county. In 1912 he was sent to the legislature for a third time and in 1918 was elected to his third term as prosecuting attorney.

Hon. William W. Keysor: Born near Plattsburg, New York, June 9, 1852; died at Kirkwood, Missouri, August 17, 1922. He graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1879 with highest honors and from the law school of Washington University in 1883. He located at Omaha, Nebraska, and in 1891 was elected district judge there, serving for twelve years. In 1902 he came to St. Louis and accepted a chair in the Washington University school of law. He retired as professor emeritus in 1917.

Hon. Lewis Myers: Born in Pendleton county, Kentucky, October 18, 1844; died at Quincy, Illinois, December 5, 1922. He was admitted to the bar in 1872 and was elected prosecuting attorney of Scotland county in 1876 and 1878. He was elected representative in the General Assembly from Scotland county in 1880.

Hon. Reuben F. Roy: Born January 7, 1854, in Marion county, Missouri; died July 7, 1922, at New London, Missouri. He was educated at Shelbyville Academy and upon his graduation taught school and read law during his spare time. He was admitted to the bar in 1876. In 1893 he was elected judge of the 10th judicial circuit and served one term. He was appointed supreme court commissioner in 1911, serving eight years.

Irvin Switzler: Born in Columbia, Missouri, August 15, 1848; died in Columbia, July 5, 1923. As a young man he assisted with his father in the publication of the Columbia *Statesman*, later becoming editor of the paper and serving in that capacity until 1886. In that year he was appointed registrar of the University of Missouri and served in that office continuously for twenty-eight years, retiring in 1914.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JULY—DECEMBER, 1922

Atchison County Rockport, *Atchison County Journal.*

July 13. Sketch of the life of Hon. Samuel F. O'Fallon.

———— ————*Atchison County Mail.*

Aug. 11. Sketch of the life of Henry Luhrs, former county official and Union veteran.

———— Tarkio, *Avalanche.*

July 7. Grandmother's Tales. By Mrs. Margaret Davenport. Reminiscences of pioneer days. See succeeding issues.

Aug. 11. From Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Avalanche.* Some items and data of 1884.

Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Ledger.*

Aug. 3. Hardin founded in 1873. Some historical data regarding Hardin College.

Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat.*

Dec. 9. Organization and early history of Barry county. Reprinted from History of Barry County, by C. D. Manley, published in 1905. Continued in succeeding issues.

Bates County. Adrian, *Journal.*

Sept. 14. History of Adrian M. E. Church.

Boone County. Centralia, *Courier.*

July 14. Some Boone County history. Random items.

———— ————*Fireside Guard.*

July 7. "From Harvey Hulen." Recollections of early days, events and people of Boone county. Continued in succeeding issues.

———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian.*

July 6. Boone county was one of 32 counties organized from Howard.

July 20. Missouri and Iowa disputed over state line years ago.

July 21. Boone County Trust Company supplement, with history of banking institution and building site.
Stephens College was once limited to 25 pupils. Some historical data.

July 22. Sketch of the life of J. A. Hudson, former publisher Macon *Times* and Keytesville *Chariton Courier.* See also Columbia *Daily Tribune.*

Sept. 20. Sketch of Prof. L. M. Defoe of the University of Missouri.

Oct. 3. May day, 1866, ground broken at Columbia for Wabash branch.

Oct. 5. Old Red Top church begun in log cabin. Historical sketch of Christian Church near Hallsville, 100 years old.

Oct. 7. School teacher of 1872. Recollections of Judge J. T. Rowland, who taught in Bethlehem School near Harrisburg in 1872.

Oct. 10. Pioneer recalls early history of Boone county streams.

Nov. 2. University medical college first meeting place of state nurses. Historical sketch of nurses association.

Nov. 3. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. W. McAlester, formerly dean of the medical school of the University of Missouri. See also *Tribune.*

Nov. 9. Early settlers paid only 12½c an acre for land.
Nov. 14. Strict discipline marked life of college student 50 years ago.
Nov. 21. Early church described in book. Some data on old Bear Creek Baptist Church.
Missouri River made a "boom" town of Providence.
Sept. 22. Sketch of the life of Dr. Edward A. Allen, former head of the English department of the University of Missouri. See also *Evening Missourian.*
Dec. 11. Boone county and early railroads.
———— ————*Daily Tribune.*
July 3. Economy was legislature's watchword 100 years ago.
July 21. What his colleagues think of Senator Reed.
History of Boone County Trust Company.
Aug. 10. Looking backward on Missouri's 101st birthday.
Aug. 16. 58th anniversary of Civil War battle in Boone county. Encounter between federal troops and bushwhackers near Dripping Springs, as related by Col. Wm. F. Switzler.
Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Catholic Tribune.*
July 15. Some history of St. Joseph.
———— ————*Gazette.*
Aug. 22. Ex-mayor of St. Joseph, John Combe, on a visit with old-time friends. Sketch of Combe's life in St. Joseph.
Nov. 19. City will have many fire-fighting relics.
Dec. 3. Days of the old criminal gangs here is past. Stories of St. Joseph's underworld.
———— ————*News-Press.*
Sept. 9. Sketch of the life of Col. James H. McCord, former adjutant-general of Missouri. See also *Gazette.*
Oct. 13. Sketch of the life of Vinton Pike, pioneer attorney and former city counselor.
Dec. 7. Sketch of the life of M. M. Goode, pioneer and prominent St. Joseph preacher.
———— ————*Observer.*
Sept. 16. Story of the death of Jesse James, by Jake Spencer, former editor St. Joseph *News.*
Oct. 21. Story of first murder trial in Nodaway county in 1869. Reprinted from Maryville *Democrat-Forum.*
Callaway County. Fulton *Gazette.*
July 20. Sketch of the life of W. C. McClure, superintendent of Missouri School for the Deaf.
———— ————*Missouri Telegraph.*
Aug. 17. Judge Harris tells of history of county.
Sept. 21. History of early Fulton homes.
Nov. 23. Some early history of William Woods College.
Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat.*
July 28. Carrollton in the '60's.
———— ————*Republican-Record.*
Nov. 9. The sinking of the river steamboat "Dugan" at Old DeWitt in '78.
Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat.*
Oct. 12. History of the Belton Baptist Church.
———— Pleasant Hill, *Times.*
Sept. 8. A bit of state history. A Civil War incident regarding state funds.
Sept. 20. Sketch of the Rev. Joab Powell, a pioneer Baptist preacher. Continued in later issues.
Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier.*

July 7. Chapters of Clark county history. By Jasper Blines. Continued in later issues.
Oct. 6. Address of J. W. Murphy. Some Clark county historical data.
———— ————*Gazette Herald.*
July 7. Chapters from the history of Clark county, by Jasper Blines. Continued in succeeding issues.
Clay County Liberty, *Advance.*
Aug. 7. A church 100 years old. Sketch of the Holt M. E. Church.
Dec. 4. A lodge's 50th anniversary. Some historical notes.
———— ————*Tribune.*
Oct. 6. The history of Clay county for 100 years, by W. L. Webb. History of the *Tribune*, by Mrs. Louise Miller.
Oct. 13. History of Liberty churches.
Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Weekly Rustler.*
Sept. 15. Veteran tells of Mark Twain's brief soldiery. Told by John T. Appler, associate of Twain.
Cooper County. Bunceton, *Weekly Eagle.*
July 28. History of the *Eagle.*
Dec. 1. Some history of Old Trails Road. Reprinted from Columbia, *Evening Missourian.*
Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat.*
July 13. Sketch of the life of Daniel Blackburn, former county official and Union veteran. See also *North Missourian.*
Dec. 14. Short historical sketch of Ed. E. Yates and the organization of the Y. M. C. A. in Gallatin. By Rollin J. Britton.
———— ————*North Missourian.*
July 27. Early Mormon history and settlement. By E. H. Dunlap.
Sept. 7. Sketch of Augustus H. Doty, by Rollin J. Britton.
Nov. 30. History of the Gallatin Presbyterian Church.
DeKalb County. Clarksdale, *Journal.*
July 6. Early DeKalb settlers.
July 20. Clarksdale founded in 1885. Some historical data.
Aug. 3. Early DeKalb county settlers.
Aug. 10. Early-day churches of Washington township.
Aug. 17 Description of early schools.
Aug. 24. The pioneer home—a description.
Aug. 31. More church history of DeKalb county.
———— Stewartsville, *Record.*
Oct. 5. History of Latter Day Saints Church.
Dunklin County. Kennett, *Dunklin County News.*
Oct. 20. Dunklin county in 1845, by Dr. Wm. Grinsted. Reprinted from Malden *Merit.*
Franklin County. Union. *Republican-Tribune.*
Sept. 1. History of the courts of Franklin county.
Oct. 27. Twenty years of Union. A review of industrial progress.
Gasconade County. Owensville, *Gasconade County Republican.*
Oct. 27. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. R. Vaughan, Union veteran.
Dec. 1. Sketch of the life of J. W. Hensley, state legislator and county official.
Greene County. Springfield, *Leader.*
Aug. 7. Sketch of the life of Admiral Uriel Sebree.
Sept. 24. History revealed by paper found in an old cornerstone. Story of founding of Liberal, Mo.
Oct. 8. St. Joseph man tells true history of incidents of James boys in Missouri. Reprinted from St. Joseph *Observer.*
Oct. 11. When railroads and steamboats fought for the Mississippi.

Nov. 19. First records of county court found in old files. Records of 1833.

Dec. 22. A fateful battle fought after peace was declared. Story of General Andrew Jackson and the Battle of New Orleans in 1812.

———— ————*Republican.*

Oct. 29. Many historic spots along road to Ozarks. Historical notes of the region.

Grundy County. Trenton, *Weekly Republican.*

Oct. 12. Grant was on first train into Trenton in 1871.

———— ————*Weekly Times.*

Aug. 25. Grundy county railroad news of many years ago. Slave values in olden days.

Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper.*

July 12. Sketch of the life of J. C. Wilson, member of the Constitutional Convention. See also Bethany *Republican.*

Dec. 6. Sketch of the life of R. T. Richardson, Union veteran.

Holt County. Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel.*

July 14. Sketch of the life of Samuel F. O'Fallon, state legislator.

Sept. 22. History of German M. E. Church.

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser.*

Aug. 10. Sketch of the life of Rear Admiral Uriel Sebree.

Howell County. West Plains, *Journal.*

Nov. 16. Sketch of the life of W. N. Evans, former county official and circuit judge. See also West Plains *Quill.*

Jackson County. Independence, *Jackson Examiner.*

Aug. 11. Historic Country house. Story of George L. Compton house, built in early '40's.

———— Kansas City, *Breezes.*

Aug. The historical National Old Trails Road, by Judge J. M. Lowe.

———— ————*Journal-Post.*

July 2. Kansas City during the year of conventions and fairs—1891.

July 9. Death of Frank Hastings, famed cattleman, recalls early packing trade here.

Beginning of Kansas City's park and boulevard system. Continued in issue of July 16.

Lexington plans elaborate centennial celebration; with some historical data.

July 16. Missouri Battle's anniversary recalls one occasion when General Grant was behind time. Story of Battle of Monroe City, July, 1861.

July 23. City's recovery after hard times of 1887-91.

Aug. 13. City beautiful, early plans in Kansas City's story of boulevard system.

Railroad solved problem of opening west for settlement.

Aug. 20. How trade territory was won. Story of commercial development of Kansas City.

Aug. 27. Development of Kansas City's park system.

Sept. 3. Kansas City and the Chicago Fair.

Sept. 10. The Commercial Club and the Priests of Palace festival.

Sept. 17. Famous "Cherokee Strip" run made 29 years ago.

Kansas City and rail strike of 1894.

Sept. 24. Kansas City's real health resort. Descriptive article of Municipal Farm.

Oct. 8. Old timers call up memories of earliest Priests of Palace. Settlement of Texas was planned in Missouri town. Story of Moses Austin and Texas. Recalls days of old Central. Recollections of a Central High School teacher of 1868.

Oct. 15. Old Ninth street incline pioneer local thriller. Tales of Kansas City's old cable cars.

Oct. 29. Proposal to revive Kansas City Fair recalls days of former expositions.

Nov. 5. Historical Arrow Rock Tavern and curio collection.

Nov. 19. When Union Avenue was Kansas City's Bowery.

Dec. 10. Pictures of Missouri River towns in 1830.

Dec. 24. Recalls 80 Christmas times in this county. Some recollections of pioneer days.

Dec. 31. Thousands of Mark Twain admirers yearly visit two Missouri towns. Sketch of Twain's early life in Florida and Hannibal.

———— ————*Star.*

Aug. 1. Unveiling the past of the Monte Carlo of the Missouri River. Story of gambling resorts of River islands.

Aug. 6. As big little Kansas City looked in 1869—a photo. The Kansas City I knew. Recollection of Frank H. Brooks. Continued in succeeding issues.

Aug. 27. The real meaning of the word "Missouri."

Sept. 9. Forgotten Missouri author finds posthumous fame. Sketch of Nathan C. Kouns.

Sept. 13. Church to replace old Free Thought Hall at Liberal, Mo. Story of movement at Liberal in the '80's.

Sept. 17. The hill the city left behind. Description of Kansas City's exclusive residence district of 75 years ago.

Sept. 18. Mining camps of Harte and Twain languish in decay. Reprinted from the Boston *Transcript.*

Oct. 2. When the Robert E. Lee raced the proud Natchez.

Oct. 7. Centenary of Clay county's birth recalled by pageant; with historical data.

Oct. 8. The Kansas City telegrapher of the middle '50's.

Oct. 15. Missouri is first state to erect a memorial in France. With photograph and description.

Oct. 25. Vision converts a town; a descriptive sketch of Rockport, Missouri.

Oct. 29. Old Shelby Park to go—with some historical data.

Nov. 10. Ambassador Page's path from St. Joseph to St. James.

Nov. 17. Boone's wilderness road, the first trail to the great west.

Nov. 19. Princeton, Mo., has lost its buttermilk well. A tale of Princeton.

Dec. 3. Back through the years to the Arrow Rock Tavern.

Dec. 5. He "saw it through." Sketch of Lieut. Col. Thomas J. Dickson, Missourian, who has serevd twenty-five years as chaplain in army.

Dec. 8. Parkman's Westport of 1846. A description reprinted from Parkman's Oregon Trail. Continued in issue of December 9.

Dec. 17. Christmas with the pioneers. Description of Christmas in 1855 at the Shawnee Mission.

———— ————*Times.*

Oct. 2. Sketch of the life of H. C. Lambert, vice-president, treasurer and one of the founders in 1884 of the Mercantile Trust Company.

Oct. 10. When railroads and steamboats fought for the Mississippi. Story of the building of the Rock Island Railroad.
Oct. 24. City Hall 30 years old—a historical sketch.

Jasper County. Joplin, *Globe.*
July 23. 1922 Magazine Edition. Extensive descriptions of Ozark towns, resort and industries.

Lafayette County. Odessa, *Democrat.*
Sept. 8. Early days in Missouri. How early settlers in Lafayette county lived.

Lewis County. Monticello, *Lewis County Journal.*
Sept. 22. Brief history of Culver-Stockton College.

Lincoln County. Troy, *Free Press.*
July 7. Some early church history. Beginning of the Christian Church in Missouri.
Dec. 29. Historical sketch of the *Free Press.*

Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette.*
Aug. 25. Items from the Linneus *Missourian* for July 3, 1869.

Macon County. LaPlata, *Home Press.*
Dec. 14. A Century of Missouri Art. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review.*

———— Macon, *Republican.*
July 7. Register of Macon County bar, 1863-99.
July 14. Sketch of the life of J. J. Heifner, former editor of Macon *Times-Democrat.*

Marion County. Hannibal, *Courier-Post.*
Sept. 2. Tells of Mark Twain's brief soldiery in 1861.
Nov. 14. Sketch of the life of F. H. Ustick, prominent railroad official.

———— Palmyra, *Spectator.*
July 5. Reminiscences of old Palmyra, by Capt. J. W. Ayres. Continued in succeeding issues.
Oct. 11. Commencement exercises at old Palmyra seminary in '70's.
Oct. 25. Civil War days in Missouri, by Prof. E. M. Violette.

Mercer County. Princeton, *Telegraph.*
Oct. 11. Sketch of the life of James W. Driskill, Union veteran.
Nov. 22. Sketch of the life of F. H. McDougal, Union veteran.

Miller County. Tuscumbia, *Miller County Autogram.*
Oct. 12. Geo. W. Edwards tells of experiences while serving in the Union army in the Civil War.
Oct. 19. Osage River ferry prices in 1837.
Oct. 26. Miller county created in 1837—a historical sketch.
Nov. 16. First election of Miller county, July 1, 1837.
Nov. 13. Miller county's first jail.

Mississippi County. Charleston, *Enterprise-Courier.*
Oct. 19. Sketch of the life of Joe J. Russell, former congressman. See also issue of November 9.

———— East Prairie, *Eagle.*
July 7. A brief history of Mercer County and East Prairie, by Miss Opal Combs.

Moniteau County. Tipton, *Times.*
Oct. 27. History of the Anti-Horse Thief Association.

Monroe County. Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News.*
Aug. 22. 60th anniversary of the Battle of Monroe City, July 10, 1862.

———— Paris, *Monroe County Appeal.*
Aug. 25. Looking backward in old Missouri. Random historical notes.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Montgomery Standard.*
Sept. 8. Callaway county in 1820. Reprinted from *Missouri State Journal.*

Oct. 13. Items from the *Standard* for October 3, 1872.

Newton County. Neosho, *Times.*

July 27. Early political history of Neosho, 1830-80, by Miss Rhoda Weems.

Nodaway County. Maryville, *Democrat-Forum.*

Oct. 26. Some early history of Nodaway county.

Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican.*

July 20. Sketch of the life of Frederick Springer, Union veteran.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times.*

Aug. 31. Early Pike county history.

Sept. 21. Scions of Pike county pioneers.

Sept. 28. History column, by Walter Basye.

Pulaski County. Richland, *Mirror.*

July 6. Pulaski county's first newspaper.

Ralls County. Perry, *Enterprise.*

Sept. 7. A brief history of Perry public schools, by E. L. Alford.

Oct. 26. Sketch of the life of Jack Jones, Confederate veteran.

Dec. 28. Recollections of pioneer life in Ralls county, by G. W. Fagan.

———— New London, *Ralls County Record.*

July 14. Sketch of the life of circuit judge Reuben F. Roy.

Nov. 3. Sketch of the life of Thomas C. Allison, former county official.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald.*

Sept. 15. Recollections of early days in Randolph county. Reprinted from the History of Northeast Missouri, by Walter Williams.

Short history of Huntsville *Herald.*

Early history of town of Huntsville.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator.*

Oct. 26. Sketch of the life of Marcus D. Gow, Mexican and Civil War veteran.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Banner-News.*

Sept. 14. History of the Lutheran Church in St. Charles county, by Rev. J. A. Friederich.

St. Clair County. Lowry City, *Independent.*

Oct. 12. An old landmark passes. Story of building built in 1871.

———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Republican.*

Oct. 26. Osceola historical review. Some historical data.

Ste. Genevieve County. Ste. Genevieve, *Herald.*

Oct. 7. Sketch of the life of Frank J. Huck, former county official.

St. Louis City. *America At Work.*

July 20. The old steamboat trade and why it vanished.

Aug. 5. "Motion pictures" of St. Louis industries. A 20 years' resume of 18 St. Louis industries, showing growth in employment.

———— *Carondelet News.*

July 7. When Carondelet was a city. Continued in succeeding issues.

———— *Globe-Democrat.*

July 2. Men who served Missouri in early days and helped establish free schools. Sketch of Clement Briddle Penrose, Dr. Charles A. Pope and Thomas Riddick.

July 9. Sketches of John J. Roe, Richard M. Scruggs and Henry Shaw.

July 16. Three military heroes whose names grace St. Louis schools. Sketches of Wm. T. Sherman, Elihu H. Shephard and Franz Siegel.

July 23. Sketches of Dr. Wm. Taussig, Cyrus P. Walbridge, William Stix.

July 30. Sketches of Calvin M. Woodward, Erastus Wells and Oscar Minor Waring.

Aug. 6. Sketches of W. T. Harris, James E. Yeatman and Frank L. Soldan.

Aug. 14. Reed's recent battle considered parallel to Benton's 1849 contest, by E. M. Violette.

Sept. 12. Sketch of Charles C. Collins, St. Louis attorney.

Nov. 19. One hundred stirring years of the Santa Fe Trail, by Truman H. Talley.

Dec. 9. St. Louis reaches century mark as incorporated city. Some historical notes of 100 years ago. See also *Post-Dispatch* of December 9.

Dec. 10. Last guest leaves and Planters hotel ends memorable career. Historical reminiscences of St. Louis' famous hotel.

———— *Greater St. Louis.*

Sept. Veiled Prophet celebration is institution of long standing—a short historical sketch.

———— *Post-Dispatch.*

July 9. This Missouri mill has been at work for 90 years. Sketch of old mill at Dallas, Missouri.

Sept. 30. The romance of a $12,000,000 beauty, Missouri's big red apple. Story of "Stark's Delicious."

Oct. 8. Monument to author of "Little Boy Blue." Facts concerning Eugene Field statue in Chicago.

Oct. 15. Move to restore Cahokia, middle west's most ancient village, is under way—with history.

Oct. 22. First St. Louis snapshot, made 80 years ago.

Nov. 5. "Quail Hunter" Kennedy, last of old school Missouri bandits, by Robertus Love.

Nov. 24. Sketch of the life of George A. Still, head of the American School of Osteopathy at Kirksville. See all other dailies for same date.

Nov. 25. More than 100 years of Missouri history associated with Planters Hotel—reminiscences.

Nov. 26. Missouri's wonder child, to whom the fairies gave a golden voice—sketch of Marion Talley.

Dec. 31. Fascinating story of the former Missouri farmer boy who has built one of America's greatest businesses upon the small town store idea. A sketch of J. C. Penney.

———— *Public Library Monthly Bulletin.*

Aug. The municipal bridge of St. Louis. A history of the construction.

———— *Star.*

July 23. Louisiana, Missouri, Pike county town, has industries of an unusual sort. A descriptive and industrial sketch.

Sept. 10. This year marks 50th anniversary of purchase of Yellowstone Park reservation. The story of its discovery by John Colter.

Sept. 17. St. Louis a half century ago.

Oct. 3. Missouri memorial will be ready for unveiling at Cheppy, France, November 11. Photograph and story of memorial.

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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XVIII January, 1924 No. 2

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The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-17, bound, $67.00; unbound, $33.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

FIRST ARTICLE

THOMAS H. BENTON

The first time I saw Thomas H. Benton was in the spring of 1851. I had come to St. Louis from Kentucky, on a visit, and was returning on one of the Louisville and St. Louis packets, as they were called, running down the Mississippi and up the Ohio, between the two cities. The distinguished and at that time venerable statesman was a passenger on the same boat, on his way to Louisville, to visit his daughter, Mrs. Jacobs, who lived there. I was standing at the guards, the morning after leaving St. Louis, watching the boat as she made a landing, when a white haired man of grave demeanor and distinguished presence came out of the cabin and stood by my side, to watch the movement, also. I had heard that Benton was aboard, and when the stately stranger stood alongside me and made some pleasant remark about the landing we were making, I had no difficulty in recognizing him, from his portraits which were common in the country. I was a raw youth at the time, but the names of four living American statesmen—Clay, Webster, Benton and Calhoun, were familiar to me as the greatest men of the day, and when the distinguished Missourian graciously entered into conversation with me about the boat and the features of the landing, I was conscious of something like an emotion of pride, at the unexpected honor. He was just recovering from an attack of varioloid, and his face was spotted with the marks of the disease. He was dressed as a recognized statesman of that day should have been, in black, swallowtail broadcloth coat, cloth pantaloons, satin vest, stiff silk hat, and low shoes with white stockings. His senatorial career of "six lustrums" was just ended, and he was engaged on his

work "Benton's Thirty Years' View." He spent the greater part of his time on board the boat, in his state-room, next to the clerk's office, writing, coming out occasionally to seek relaxation by walking majestically, with measured step, up and down the cabin, with his hands behind him, or conversing with the officers and passengers.

I afterwards saw him frequently; for, though he spent the greater part of his declining years at Washington in the prosecution of his literary work, he did not entirely abandon public life till after his defeat for governor of Missouri in 1856. In that year, although seventy-four years old, he made a canvass of Central and Southwest Missouri, in the confident belief that his personal presence among the people whom he had faithfully and efficiently served from the beginning of their statehood would revive their old attachment to himself, and discomfit the half dozen or more active and conspicuous younger Democrats leagued together for his overthrow. In this league of opponents were the "Three Jims," as the fierce old ex-leader was accustomed to call them in his speeches. Jas. H. Birch, of Clinton county, Jas. S. Green, of Lewis county, afterwards U. S. senator, and Jas. B. Bowlin, of St. Louis, who had been a member of Congress, and was sent as commissioner to Paraguay by President Pierce in 1853; and associated with them in the organization of the Anti Benton Democratic party was Claiborne F. Jackson, distinguished as the proposer, though not the author of, the famous "Jackson Resolutions," adopted by the Missouri Legislature in 1849, and afterwards as Governor of the State, chosen in 1860, deposed in 1861, and died at Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1862.

It was in the prosecution of the canvass for governor, in 1856 that Benton made his last speech in St. Louis, in the old Mercantile Library Hall which stood on the site now occupied by the new Library building. It was the largest hall in the city, and although on the third floor of the edifice, and elevators unthought of, was packed for the occassion. The old senator was dressed as usual, in black, except that he wore a white marseilles vest which, buttoned across his

Thomas Hart Benton

great, broad chest, lent a pleasing feature to his general appearance. Many a distinguished person of one kind and another—orator, poet, author, prima donna, tenor, pianist, violinist and so forth—have I seen and heard on the platform of that now vanished hall in the days of its glory; but no one of them all possessed such a personal presence as did "Old Bullion." The strong stern face, high, dome-like forehead and massive frame accurately presented in the common portraits of him, were re-inforced by a studied deportment of unbending dignity, which had the effect of causing his figure to stand out high and strong in whatever position he might be placed, whether senate chamber, ball-room, platform, street, or church. He had a manner and bearing all his own, the product, apparently, of careful and severe discipline and study. His head seemed to be so firmly set on his shoulders as to be incapable of movement except along with his body. He would not turn his face to one side, or the other; if he wanted to see or speak to a person not directly before him he would move his whole frame around with a studied deliberation and majesty that was overpowering to his enemies and not always agreeable to his friends. He did not use the term "Fellow Citizens" in addressing the masses, but addressed them in the formal and condescending term of "Citizens," after the Roman style;—and this was one of the reasons he was called "the old Roman." He was sometimes spoken of as the greatest egotist of the day, and yet, he rarely used the first person personal pronoun. When he had occasion to speak of himself, which was very often, it was in the third person, and by the formal and courtly title of "Ben-ton." The second syllable being pronounced as distinctly as the first without Mr., or Colonel, or any other prefix, giving to his audience the impression that, after long and exhaustive deliberation, he had decided definitely and forever that no qualifying or explanatory title was needed to impart anything of dignity or importance to the person who bore that august historic name.

An amusing illustration of his power of manner and presence took place at Springfield, during the canvass of 1856.

His Anti-Benton opponents had agreed together to submit to him some difficult questions on the subject of slavery in the territories with the demand for an explicit answer. The questions were carefully drawn up in writing and one of their number, the boldest, chosen to present them to the speaker just before he began his speech to the people. When the hour came there was a large, expectant and eager crowd gathered in the court house to hear once more the distinguished statesman who had served in the United States senate for a term that had never been equaled, and whose name had gone round the world. Benton rose slowly, deliberately, and with the majesty which he knew so well how to affect and was ready to pronounce the word, "Citizens," when the appointed questioner advanced toward the stand with a paper in his hand and said: "Col. Benton, I hold in my hand a paper which I have been appointed to submit to you and respectfully ask your attention to the questions it contains." "Read it, read it, read it sir! Stand where you are, and read it!"—sternly demanded the statesman—and when the crowd saw the man with trembling hands and stammering voice, recite the questions in a feeble ineffective way, it was clear enough to all that the well prepared scheme to corner the old senator was a signal and humiliating failure.

His bearing toward those whom circumstances or choice brought in his way was at times intolerant and overbearing. At the court martial at Washington City just after the Mexican War, on which his son-in-law, Capt. Fremont, was being tried for some disobedience of orders, Col. Benton who conducted the defense, was so browbeating in his treatment of General Kearney, the chief witness against the accused, that Kearney, brave veteran army officer that he was, had to appeal to the court for protection. At times his language and bearing toward an opponent would become violent and provoking beyond endurance. The first and only time that a weapon was ever drawn in the open Senate Chamber was in a sharp controversy between Benton and Henry S. Foote, the fiery little senator from Mississippi. Benton's long and honorable senatorial term was drawing to a close and the old states-

man had become more than usually impatient of opposition. It was Foote's first term, but he did not like Benton, and was not inclined to submit to anything, even of manner, from him. In the course of an angry exchange of words, the Missourian made a show of advancing on his opponent, and the latter drew a pistol and was holding it in readiness to fire, when other senators and the officers of the senate interfered,—Benton opening his vest, and shouting: "Let the rascal shoot; let him shoot!"

His duel with Lucas was the unfortunate event in his life. It ought never to have occurred, and it would not have occurred, if Benton had possessed less of the implacableness that marked his dealing with the public and private antagonists. There had been one meeting with a harmless exchange of shots—and this satisfied the savage conditions of the code, and ought to have satisfied the two men and their friends; and had Benton, whose courage and honor were unquestionable, refused to be drawn into a second encounter, he would have saved his own name from the reproach of harshness, and spared to the community a young man of noble spirit, and with a capacity for usefulness little inferior to his own.

The usual career of American statesmen begins in the state legislature, and proceeds by regular gradations through other state offices, to member of Congress and then to the U. S. Senate. But Benton reversed the order; he began in the Senate, in which he served for "six lustrums," as he was accustomed proudly to state it, and then, stood for, and was chosen to the House of Representatives, where he served a single term. In his contest for this latter place, his opponent was Lewis V. Bogy, who, twenty years after, when Benton had lain for fifteen years in Bellefontaine Cemetery, was elected to his former seat in the Senate. The expiration of this term in Congress closed his public career—if we leave out his contest for re-election in 1854, in which he was defeated by Luther M. Kennett, and his memorable canvass of the State for Governor, two years after, in which he was defeated by Trusten Polk. Thirty-two years of honorable public life in which he had achieved power and fame, made

it difficult for him to retire to the position of private citizen, and, although when he made this last contest for public office, he was seventy-four years of age, he would gladly have served the people of Missouri to the end of his life.

Fayette was the centre of opposition to him, in the prodigious struggle for the maintenance of his authority against the Jackson resolutions in 1849. It was one of the old towns in the state, the county seat of Howard, the second largest salveholding county, and the stronghold of pro-slavery sentiment. When it became known that he was to speak in the place, there were loud and violent threats made of preventing him, and his few friends and supporters in the place sought help outside. Judge Leonard wrote to Major Rollins, of Boone, who, from the first to last of the appeal against the Jackson Resolutions, was the old Senator's steadfast friend, telling him the situation of affairs, and asking him to come with a party of friends to stand by him, in case matters should take a violent turn, as they threatened. The morning passed away without his appearance, and it began to be said that he had heard of the threats—which was true—and that he was afraid to come—which was preposterously untrue, for, it can be said of him that he was never afraid of any man, or any number of men. About two o'clock in the afternoon, Sept. 1st, a cloud of dust was seen out on the Boonville road, and shortly after, a carriage with Benton in it, drove into the town and up to the court house, where a crowd was gathered. When it halted, he spoke from his seat in the vehicle, in a loud, clear voice: "Citizens, I am your old Senator. I am here to-day to address you. I want a suitable place to speak at. Where is your sheriff?" The sheriff came forward, and said the court house was at his service. Jas. H. Birch had made a speech in it the night before, and if Col. Benton desired, he would prepare it immediately for him. The name of Birch roused him to fury. "I will not breathe the same atmosphere that Jim Birch has breathed," he said. A consultation among his friends was held and the chapel of the school building was procured for the meeting.

When all was in readiness, he entered, walked majestically to the stand, and as he did so, a tumult of discordant sounds from his opponents broke forth—braying, whistling, yelling and groaning, which lasted for several moments. In the midst of it, he deliberately removed first, his broad brimmed white beaver hat, and, next, his black silk gloves, and then facing the crowd, looked round upon it with unblanched face and haughty defiance. All at once, the tumult ceased, and there was a profound silence, and all eyes were directed intently on him, with hostile but with eager expectation. When a few moments had elapsed, and there was no sign of a renewal of the disorder, he began: "Citizens and Friends—and by the word 'friends,' I mean those who are present to hear the truth, who have intellect enough to understand it, and courage enough to believe it—and none others." Then followed a three hours speech, fierce and unsparing, and full of bitter invective against his opponents whose names he severally mentioned—the whole delivered with his accustomed deliberation, and litened to without a word, or sound of insult, or opposition. At the conclusion he carefully put on his gloves and hat, walked slowly out the house, entered his carriage, and was driven off.

One of the most conspicuous persons in the crowd was W. P. Darns, sometimes known as "Darns of Scott," which county he represented in the legislature. He was a man of violent temper and intolerant spirit, and, several years before, had killed a man named Davis, editor of the *Argus*, in St. Louis, for some comments on his political course. In 1857, he had a personal collision in the legislature with John W. Reid, of Jackson county, in which he was not so successful. In the course of a discussion in which the two men took opposite sides, Reid had made some reference to the penitentiary, and Darns, in his speech, said the State prison was a more fit place for the gentleman from Jackson than the representative chamber. The words were hardly spoken when Reid, who was an agile and powerful man, rose from his seat, walked deliberately up to where Darns was standing, and struck him a hard, staggering blow in the face. Darns'

record led members and the public to expect that something more serious would come of it, but he did not resent the blow, then nor afterwards.

During his fight against the Jackson resolutions, Benton was met on the street in St. Louis by Willis L. Williams, a prominent lawyer of the city, at the time, and a political friend, who asked him how he was getting on against his foes. "Oh," he replied, "I shall tread them down and crush them as an elephant would tread pismires under his feet."

On one occasion, at least, he met his match in a way he least expected. He drove up, in his carriage, to old Colonel *Draper's* Hotel, and announced, with an impressiveness of manner which the occasion did not seem to call for: "I am Colonel Ben-ton; can you take care of me and my friend, tonight?" "Oh, yes," Colonel Draper indifferently, but pleasantly replied, "we take care of all sorts of people here."

In his great canvass for a seat in the lower house of Congress, after his retirement from the Senate, in 1852, when he was chosen over Luther M. Kennett, Whig, and Lewis V. Bogy, Anti-Benton Democrat, E. C. Blackburn, generally known as Church Blackburn, a prominent and promising young lawyer of St. Louis, who, three years afterwards, was killed in the Gasconade disaster, was one of the Whig candidates for the legislature from St. Louis county. In a speech at a meeting in the county, Blackburn called Benton a Free-soiler, the most offensive name, after Abolitionist, that could be applied to a public man. A Benton meeting was held at night at Bremen, then a suburb of the city, at which Col. Benton was the chief speaker, and during his speech, a friend on the platform rose to his side, for a moment, and informed him that Blackburn was in the audience, and that in a speech that day in the county, he had called him a Free-soiler. Halting in the midst of his address, he asked: "Is there a Mr. Church Blackburn in this audience?" "Yes, sir," Blackburn promptly answered. "I want to know whether, to-day, in a speech in the county, you called me a Freesoiler?" Blackburn replied evasively, and Benton repeated the question, demanding a yes or no answer: "Did you, in a speech in

the county, call me a Freesoiler?"—adding, "I guess you now understand my question." Blackburn then admitted that he did. "Citizens," said Benton, "this man, Blackburn, has no heart; he has only a gizzard, and he has lied on Ben-ton from the bottom of his gizzard to the tip end of his tongue."

Blackburn, who came of a fighting Kentucky family, and was a tall, fine-looking and fearless man, bore himself well under the insult, simply replying in a clear, deliberate voice: "Colonel Benton, you are a much older man than I am, and I have no redress."

For many years, the relations between Benton and Webster in the Senate were unpleasant. Webster was a Whig and Benton not only a Democrat, but the recognized champion and exponent of the Democratic party; and the estrangement between them which began shortly after Webster's appearance in the Senate was strengthened by the uncompromising material the two men were made of.

It was during this period, and in reply to a taunt from a Democratic Senator, that the Massachusetts Senator uttered the memorable words: "While I hold myself to be the humblest member of this body, I know nothing in the arm of the Senator from South Carolina, not even when supported by the arm of his friend, the Senator from Missouri, that need deter me from espousing any cause I may see fit to espouse and avowing and defending it on this floor with whatever humble ability I may possess."

For years, these two great patriots passed in and out the Senate chamber without speaking to one another, and the unfriendliness would, probably, have continued to the end of their lives had it not been strangely and unexpectedly terminated by that distressing event, the explosion of the "Peacemaker," the big gun on board the war ship Princeton. The vessel was a new steamship of war, on a trial trip down the Potomac, on the 28th of February, 1845, and President Tyler, with his cabinet, a number of Senators and representatives and other distinguished persons were aboard to take part in the excursion and see the big gun. It was a gay and brilliant party, and all went well until Mount Vernon

was reached, when the vessel slowed up and the gun was charged to be fired in salute to the resting place of the Father of his country.

Mr. Benton had secured a good place for witnessing the experiments in which he took unusual interest, and was standing with the others and waiting for the gun to be fired when a friend in the crowd behind him, touched him on the shoulder and desired to speak to him. He turned round and in doing so, lost his place which was instantly occupied by another man. Benton was vexed at the incident, but before he had time to think about it, the big gun was fired and exploded, and the man who was standing in the spot where he had stood a moment before, was struck with one of the fragments and killed. Two members of the cabinet, Abel P. Uphsur, secretary of state, and T. W. Gilmer, secretary of the navy, and two citizens of New York were killed also, and their bodies, torn and bleeding lay stretched on the deck.

The affair made a deep impression on Benton. The conviction that it was the finger of the Almighty that had removed him from the place of danger and saved his life melted his hard, stern nature, and set him about the task of getting rid of his enmities. He sought out Webster and in stately and formal terms, related how he had escaped, and said: "Webster, I want to forgive all, and be forgiven, and live the rest of my life without ill-will in my breast. I offer you my hand, and if you are willing, we will henceforth be on good terms." The distinguished senator from Massachusetts promptly and cordially grasped the proffered hand of the distinguished senator from Missouri, and the "Great Expounder" and "Old Bullion" were good friends to the end. Shortly after, when the wonderful emigration to the gold regions of California set in, Mr. Webster had occasion to come to Mr. Benton for assistance for a young friend who desired to make his home in California. Benton's name was a power, at that time, not only from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, and all along the coast from the Mexican boundary to the British possessions, but even out on the ocean among the officers of our navy. His zealous champion-

ship of our rights in Oregon, and the achievement of his son-in-law, Major Fremont, gave him an influence greater than that of any other man in the country; and when he gave to Webster for his young friend letters to a number of his own personal friends on the coast, he rendered a service which the Massachusetts senator never forgot.

On the occasion of a visit he made to Columbia during a political tour through the state, he was the guest of Hon. James S. Rollins, who was not a Democrat, but the most prominent member in that wing of the Whig party known as "Benton Whigs," and between whom and Benton there subsisted a friendship, both political and personal, of a very cordial nature. The morning after his arrival, as his distinguished guest was late in making his appearance, Rollins went to his room and found him in bed, but awake. Rollins had brought with him a country newspaper containing an unusually glowing and well written report, with an eulogy of the speech which Benton had made, a few days before, in the town where the paper was published. Rollins was pleased with the eulogy, and knew his guest would be, too. He showed the paper to him, and pointed out the article to him, reading a few sentences at the beginning, and the statesman sat up in bed, and asked him to read the whole of it. Rollins had a noble voice, and was a good reader, and it was a curious and interesting picture that was presented—the host sitting on the bedside, reading what he considered a first rate specimen of a Missouri rural newspaper editorial; reading it in a round, rich voice, and halting at the best periods, to allow his august auditor time to enjoy them; and the august auditor sitting erect in bed, in his night shirt, listening intently and with all the complacency that Rollins had expected, to the remarkably well chosen and compacted sentences in which the panegyric was present. When the reading was ended, the host was both surprised and amused at his guest exclaiming, "Rollins, it is all true, every word of it—for, I wrote that article from beginning to end, myself."

Benton was the author of the Pacific railroad idea. As early as 1849 he introduced a bill in the senate providing

for the building of such a road and setting apart a portion of the proceeds of public land sales to pay for it. In the same year there was a great convention held at St. Louis to further the scheme, and it was in a great speech on that occasion that, after alluding to the efforts of European nations to open up commercial relations with India, and secure the trade of the Orient, he pointed to the west, and uttered the famous words: "There is the East; there is India!" The words are inscribed on the base of the memorial statue of him in Lafayette Park.

The majestic bronze statue of Benton in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, is the work of Harriett Hosmer, and the task of executing it was secured for Miss Hosmer by her friend and patron, Wayman Crow, a wealthy and public spirited merchant of St. Louis. It was unveiled on the 7th of May, 1868, by Mrs. Fremont, daughter of the deceased statesman, and the oration of the occasion was delivered by General Frank P. Blair. The statue is a fine work of art, but it has the defect of representing the great statesman in an attitude he was never know to exhibit—with his head bent forward. His neck was powerful and rigid, and he was never accustomed to bend it, either in public speeches, or in private conversation.

Benton came very near being appointed lieutenant general, chief in command of our armies in Mexico, in 1846. When it was discovered that the two most eminent generals of the army, Taylor and Scott, were Whigs, and that at the rate things were going, one of them—most probably, the former, would be made President, it was considered that the best way to prevent this would be to appoint the most prominent Democratic patriot in the country to take supreme command, over both Scott and Taylor and pluck some of the laurels which, if something were not done, would all go to the two Whig generals. The only person thought of for the high position was Colonel Thomas Hart Benton, who, in addition to being the most distinguished Democratic patriot in the land, had an honorable military reputation, having gained his title of Colonel in the war of 1812. There are good reasons

for believing the scheme would have been carried out, and Benton appointed to the place, but for an outburst of popular protest against it. Taylor's victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Angostuva had fairly intoxicated the country, and, without knowing or caring whether "Old Rough and Ready" was Democrat, or Whig, the people would not brook the idea of having anybody placed over him—and the scheme was abandoned.

In the first five years of his residence in St. Louis, he was a lawyer in good practice, having his office in a small room on what was then called Laurel and is now Vine street, on the south side, near Second. In the closing years of his life, he had no residence in the State, and, when visiting St. Louis, was accustomed to make his home with Col. Joshua B. Brant, an ex-army officer, who had married his niece, and whose mansion stood in a spacious enclosure near the northeast corner of Washington avenue and Fourth street.

Like his old enemy and friend, Andrew Jackson, Benton was a Presbyterian in faith, and when in St. Louis was a regular attendant with the family of Col. Brant, at the church on the northwest corner of Broadway and Walnut, of which Dr. Potts was pastor.

Two years after his last speech in St. Louis at the Mercantile Library Hall, in the summer of 1856, he lay in his burial casket in the same hall, and alongside lay his little grandchild, five years old, the son of Capt. Jones, of the navy,—age and youth, renown and innocence, side by side in silent proximity, protected by the same guard of sentries, awaiting the funeral march to Bellefontaine.

He died three years before the Civil War, but not too early for his clear vision to warn him that it was coming, and one of his last appearances before the public—perhaps the very last—was to deliver a lecture on "The Union" at Lowell, in Massachusetts. In that day, the operatives in the great mills and factories in Lowell were chiefly women, daughters of New England farmers. They were superior in intelligence and social character, to the class that afterwards superseded them; they published a paper called "The Lowell

Offering," and, in the winter, had lectures delivered by scholars, writers and statesmen—and among them was Benton's patriotic appeal for the maintenance of the Union.

Although a Democrat of Democrats, in all his public attitudes, and standing with Jefferson and Jackson as champion of popular rights, he had no use for the people at close quarters, and generally avoided contact with them. He held them at a distance, and when he appeared on Fourth street, on the occasion of his visits to St. Louis, while he went through hand-shaking with his admirers and adherents, with stately courtesy, it was plain enough that he did not like it. He seemed to think that his great abilities, his high patriotic character and the services he had rendered his country ought to exempt him from the necessity, resting upon smaller men, of maintaining his hold on the public favor, by affable manners and the usual electioneering arts.

The soft and gentle spot in his fierce and rugged nature was his chivalrous attachment to his wife. However stern and unbending he might be with others, with her he was always pliant and yielding, and all the tumult of his stormy soul grew quiet in her presence. When some years before her death, she became weak-minded by paralysis, and disabled for her accustomed part in society, he abjurred all social festivities and gatherings and devoted his company to her. An intimate friend who was accustomed to visit him whenever he went to Washington, was sitting with him, in his parlor, on one occasion, when Mrs. Benton came down stairs to the door. He observed her instantly, and rose at once, took her by the arm, and with exquisite grace and courtliness, led her to a chair. The same friend once said: "It was beautiful, in the older days, when both were still in their prime, to see him, with Mrs. Benton on his arm, walking down the aisle to the pew of his niece, Mrs. J. B. Brant, in Dr. Potts' church on the corner of Walnut and Fifth streets, in St. Louis;" and another said it was equally beautiful to see him holding her on his knee, with his arm round her waist.

Benton died a poor man—let it be mentioned to his honor; and his "Thirty Years View" and "Abridgement,"

which occupied the last eight years of his life, were written, not less to supply him with the means of living, than as the work of a patriot historian. He did not own a residence, either in Washington, where he died, nor in Missouri, where he was buried; and when he visited St. Louis, in his later years, he made his home at the house of his relative by marriage, Col. Joshua B. Brant.

The name, "Old Bullion," came to him through his stern and sturdy advocacy of gold and silver as the money of the country, and his pitiless denunciation of banks and bank money. Most of the banks of his day richly deserved his implacable opposition. They were little else than devices for defrauding the people by issuing notes that were seldom redeemed, and which, therefore, circulated at a discount of five to twenty-five per cent, accordingly as they were quoted in the counterfeit detectors. To him, all bank money, the good as well as the bad, was alike offensive, and he took advantage of even trifling occasions to exhibit his policy of opposition to it. Isaac H. Sturgeon relates that, on one of his visits to Louisville to visit a married daughter, in paying his bill at the Galt House, he handed the clerk a twenty-dollar gold piece, and when the clerk handed him some good State Bank of Kentucky bills in exchange, he refused to receive them, saying "I want money in change," and then turning to Mr. Sturgeon who stood at his side and witnessed the scene, he remarked: "It is no inconvenience to carry a hundred or two hundred dollars in gold and silver, and I will not use any other. It is the only lawful money." While he was Senator, he would never take his salary, or part of it in paper, and always demanded gold.

During one of his visits to St. Louis, he had occasion to go to the court house. As it was only six squares distance from the residence of Col. Brant where he was making his home, he started out to walk, but a shower came up, and he called a hack. When he got out, the hackman demanded a dollar. The senator flew into a rage and rushed into an office near by where Col. Brant and a friend were sitting, calling out, "Brant, Brant!" Col. Brant, as he saw him coming remarked

to his friend, "The old man is mad again." "Brant," said he, "What is the legal charge for one passenger from the court house to your residence?" "Twenty-five cents," was the answer. Then, calling two barefoot boys to him, he put a half dollar in the hand of each and a quarter in the hand of the hackman, saying, as he did so, "I want to show you that I don't care for the money, but I wont be imposed on."

We are inclined to wonder that a man so given to coarse and vulgar invective as Benton was, and so ready to single out and denounce the persons of his political opponents, should be capable of high and great things. But there was a greatness in Benton that overtopped his ridiculous egotism, and more than atoned for his brutal animosity. For years he was the foremost and ablest champion of the West, and never lost an opportunity to present its claims and advocate its interests on the floor of the Senate. He knew more about the geography and history of the Pacific coast and the vast domain between it and the Mississippi river than any one else in the country; he did much to encourage exploration, supported the administration in the Mexican War, and was one of the ablest champions of the claim of California for admission into the Union as a state. But his pre-eminent claim on the gratitude of his countrymen was bold and defiant assertion of our title to the great northwest region known then as Oregon, against the adverse claims of Great Britain, in 1846; and his daring proposal of a railroad to the Pacific ocean as early as 1849. As to Oregon, it may be said that the country hardly knew it had any title to that magnificent region till Benton proclaimed it, and, with Senator Linn, his colleague, urged upon Congress the duty of maintaining it. There are good reasons for believing that, but for the zealous efforts of the two Missouri Senators, the British claims would have become established, and Oregon have slipped away from us and become a part of British America. In one of his great speeches on the subject in 1842, Benton said: "I now go for vindicating our rights on the Columbia, and, as the first step toward it, passing this bill and making these grants of land which will soon place thirty or forty thousand rifles

beyond the Rocky Mountains." The bill was passed, making land grants to settlers and assuring them of the protection of the United States government—and the result was a large emigration into the Columbia river region which secured Oregon to us forever.

He began to talk of a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean, long before there was a railroad to the Mississippi, and at a time when the suggestion seemed to be a wild chimera. His scheme was a national road built by the Government, and it was in a speech made at a Convention in St. Louis in October, 1849, presided over by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, that he made the memorable suggestion of a colossal statue of Columbus to be chisled out of a peak of the Rocky Mountains overlooking the great highway—"the mountain itself the pedestal, and the statue a part of the mountain—pointing with outstreached arm to the Western horizon, and saying to the flying passengers, 'There is the East, there is India'!"

He sleeps in that noble resting place, Bellefontaine Cemetery near the city of St. Louis. In 1903 a plain monument ordered by the Missouri legislature and costing $1,500 was erected over his grave.

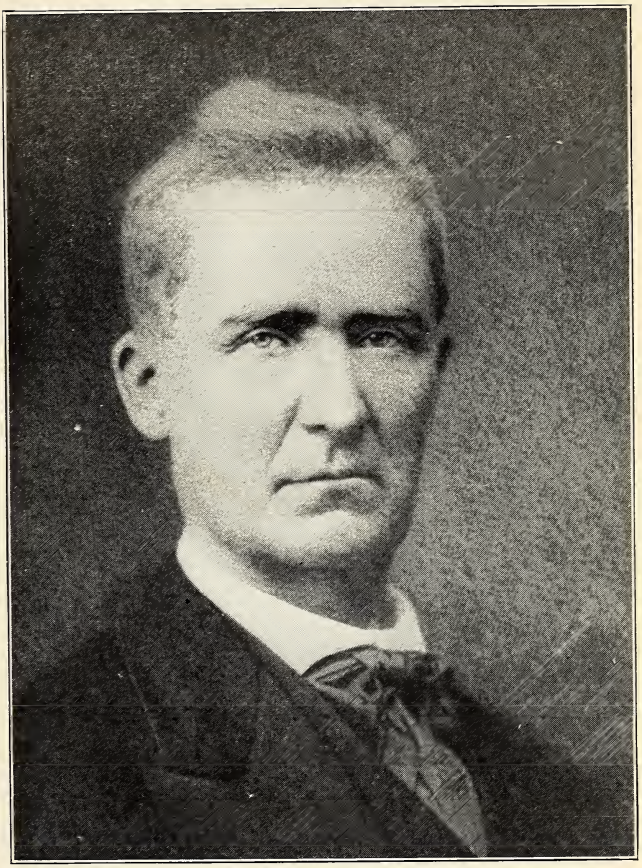
THE MODEL FARM OF MISSOURI AND ITS OWNER

By Jane Harris Rogers

In 1817, Overton Harris, my paternal grandfather, accompanied by his wife and infant son, left Madison county, Kentucky, for Missouri, and located in the western part of Boone county on what was then known as Thrall's Prairie. The log cabin in which they lived was on the Boone's Lick Road within a stone's throw of the spot later occupied by the "Model Farm" mansion. Here, prowling Indians killed their only cow, a very valuable possession in those days. After the birth of another son, in 1818, the family moved to what is now familiarly known as the "Bonne Femme" neighborhood, east of Columbia. Overton Harris, in 1821, became the first sheriff of Boone county, and during his life held many other positions of trust and responsibility.

Among some well preserved letters written by my mother in her youth, several are headed "Thrall's Prairie." Her father, Dr. William McClure, then owned the identical land where Overton Harris had previously settled, having come into its possession through the aid of the courts, from August Thrall, who was then insane, he having acquired the land direct from the Government.

My father, John Woods Harris, following his marriage in 1855 to Ann Mary McClure, purchased the McClure farm of six hundred acres, including the homestead. He subsequently acquired twelve hundred additional acres from surrounding land owners. The whole was brought to a high state of improvement under his care, and comprised "The Model Farm of Missouri." This title was received by virtue of a premium awarded by The St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association in 1873, the result of a competitive contest, in which were included the best farms in the State, the basis of the award being appointments, including con-



John Woods Harris

venient arrangement, fertile soil, grazing facilities, water and substantial improvements.

While there is little record of the early childhood of my father, we do know that he first saw the light of day on August 31, 1816, in Madison county, Kentucky, and about a year later was carried in his mother's arms, on horseback, to Missouri.

In early life there could have been no great promise of fortune or achievement as he gazed in wonder on the wilderness that surrounded him; and yet, when a matured man, he converted what had been his early environment into the "Model Farm," the beauty and attractiveness of which commanded attention at home and abroad. Like all attainments that are worth while, the accomplishment was difficult. A lack of educational advantages due to pioneer conditions, proved a regret, yet no handicap to him, as he was largely self-educated. At the outset, his chief asset consisted of a Christian home wherein daily prayers were said and the Bible read aloud; indeed, the log cabin hearthstone, around which the family met as a unit, was a great aid in the development of his character. Doubtless, the boy had visions of the future at this formative period of his life as he sat quietly listening to his elders, whose flow of conversation naturally drifted to the happenings of the past. His forebears had been lovers of the soil; there had been a certain maternal grandfather, Colonel John Woods, who inherited a landed estate near Charlottsville, Virginia, from his father, Michael Woods, the emigrant.

At fourteen years of age he entered, as a clerk, the mercantile store of former acting Governor A. J. Williams at Columbia, Missouri, and remained until the death of his employer. This was followed by a like association at the same place with William Cornelius, a merchant, which lasted for several years. He then engaged, on his own account, in the same line of business at Middle Grove, Monroe county, Missouri, where he also acquired a farm and assumed its management. Later, he embarked in the mercantile business with James H. Parker at Rocheport, Missouri. The store at

Middle Grove and the one at Rocheport were burned during the Civil War, but both were rebuilt and his business progressed. Rocheport was then a prosperous Missouri river town, and constituted the main highway for this section of the country for transportation of passengers and freight to and from St. Louis.

Undaunted in purpose, he eventually became a merchant with a well established business and amassed a competency which enabled him to realize and carry out his ambition in the purchase and management of the farm, which afterwards became his life's work.

An oil portrait, long cherished by his children, and recently presented by them to The State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, was painted from life in 1837 by his friend, General George C. Bingham, the distinguished Missouri artist.

In 1887, while attending college in Columbia, it was my privilege to visit the studio of General Bingham. During our conversation, he drew my attention to one of his paintings with these words: "It was your father who suggested that picture to me." He told me that my father had seen, for the first time, a companion piece of the picture in question, called, "The County Election," and thereupon exclaimed, "Now, Bingham, why not paint the result of the election?" "The Result of the Election" followed and is one of the best of Bingham's pictures.

Another likeness, the gift of his son, Virgil M. Harris, of Saint Louis, Missouri, hangs in the Court House at Columbia, Missouri; there is also one in the Rocheport Bank, an institution which he organized, and of which he was the first president. The last mentioned pictures were enlarged from a photograph done by Sarony, of New York, and were taken at a time when he was in the full enjoyment of health, and located on his estate.

The McClure residence, built in 1844, created considerable interest among the inhabitants of that part of the country, and many of them came long distances, afoot and on horseback, to see the first frame dwelling erected in the western

part of the county. Facing the public road, with a broad and beautiful lawn, surrounded by noble elms and other fine shade trees, it was indeed a place long to be remembered. It was on this lawn, in 1850, that a hogshead of brown sugar was opened and distributed to our neighbors; it had been shipped by river from New Orleans by my grandfather, Dr. William McClure. Sugar was a rare commodity in that part of the country at that time. The mansion was ornamented with dormer windows, green shutters, and a veranda. My father, in 1869, remodeled the mansion, and the picturesque roof then gave way to one with long sloping sides. The lower and upper hallways were enlarged and their floors inlaid with alternate strips of walnut and ash. A winding stairway replaced the former enclosed one. With the exception of newly fitted carpets that were imported from England, the large double parlors, with their high ceilings and furniture of mid-Victorian mahogany, remained unchanged. There was spaciousness and a genuine air of comfort on every hand.

The family room required no alterations, as it was beautifully proportioned and lighted by eastern and southern windows. A distinctive feature was a spacious fireplace, where glowing hickory logs made cheerful the interior during the winter months. Rooms on the second floor were for the accommodation of guests and children. The dining room, enlarged until almost the width of the house, had an innovation in a bay window that overlooked the garden. This will serve to give a general idea of a house built in the early days, which attracted much attention. Bricks from a kiln on the place were employed in making pavements and walks. New outbuildings were constructed and repaired. Among these, was the early log cabin of Overton Harris, the pioneer. Another served Dr. William McClure as headquarters during his practice of medicine in this section. A modern office was built for the use of the owner, wherein were kept his books of account and other accessories. There was a children's playhouse, unique in construction, and adequately adapted to the purposes of its creation. The old mansion is, I believe, still standing.

"The Model Farm of Missouri," as stated, consisted of eighteen hundred acres (divided approximately into one-hundred-acre tracts), about one-half of which was under cultivation. The other half consisted of meadows, woodlands and forests. Large barns were erected at different points, at a cost of five thousand dollars each, which, in those days of cheap labor and material, represented a large sum of money in ready cash. These barns served for the storage of hay and grain, and for the protection of live stock in winter. Ornamental fences marked the home premises, and miles of stake and ridered rail fences divided the rest of the estate into convenient proportions. Never-failing springs and ponds were to be found in convenient locations. Everywhere, system and order prevailed. No weeds were allowed to flourish in out-of-the-way places, nor was debris of any description permitted to remain on the grounds. Employees were constantly at work for this purpose, as well as to keep in repair all buildings, fences, gates and other adjuncts of the place.

No record of "Model Farm" would be complete without the mention of the name of Deskin Settles. He entered the employ of my father as a young man, and remained until after my father's death as active manager and overseer, a period of nearly twenty-five years. Under him were twenty-five or thirty employees, both white men and negroes. A large bell on his premises, which could be heard for a mile, summoned the men to work in the morning and dismissed them at night. He had the complete confidence of my father, and our neighbors, and died as he had lived, a respected citizen of Boone county, leaving a considerable estate to his children.

A wonderful garden, several acres in extent, supervised by my mother, afforded a delightful retreat for members of the family and their friends. Its bordered walks were well kept, and shaded at intervals by vine-clad trellises. Here flowers, vegetables and berries were extensively cultivated. At the rear of this garden was a vineyard of two additional acres, yielding choice varieties of grapes, from which, yearly a large quantity of wine was made. Nearby orchards pro-

vided apples and peaches in abundance, and other fruits in season.

Every convenience known to that period, conducive to health and comfort, was introduced. The contents of a spacious ice-house supplied not only the family wants, but those of neighbors and strangers alike. Watermelons were kept in this ice-house from summer until the Christmas season. A famous well for drinking purposes was located in the front yard. Here countless numbers of travelers who frequented the public road satisfied their thirst from oaken buckets that were attached by a chain to a pulley wheel. Tradition ran that this sixty-foot well had been discovered by a pioneer "water witch," who was guided to it by the downward tendency of a green twig held in his hands. A large spring-fed pond in a nearby meadow afforded ample bathing and fishing facilities, and strangely enough, it was located on the highest land in the county; very near it was a well preserved building which had served as a tavern in early days, and was then known as "Bishop's Tavern;" it was located directly on the old Boone's Lick Road running from St. Charles to the salt springs and the town of Franklin in Howard county. The course of this road was plainly discernable as late as 1875, though it had long been abandoned.

The trees on "Model Farm" were of great variety. On all parts of the farm were to be found giant elms, and oak, walnut and hickory trees flourished. Hundreds of rare trees of many varieties, secured from nurseries and other sources, were distributed over the farm, care being taken to protect the young trees by wooden frames. When questioned by an observer as to the apparent waste of time and labor in this enterprise, my father replied: "Well, if I do not live to enjoy their shade and beauty, those who follow me will do so." Aside from the native elm, locust and maple trees, the spacious lawn was adorned by a number of cedars, spruces and pines, some of these ornamentally trimmed, outlining the circular carriage-way. Rare rose bushes and flowering shrubs surrounded the mansion, and vines of honeysuckle and wisteria covered the two latticed summer houses. Beneath the wide-

spreading branches of a century-old elm in the side yard, the children of the family spent many happy hours. Steps that inclined to the huge trunk of the tree penetrated its leafy depths at a distance of twenty feet above the ground, where rustic seats and a platform commanded a novel outlook on the surrounding premises.

A source of unusual interest, particularly to visitors, consisted of a deer park, twenty acres in extent. Especially high rail fences surrounded this park, and a small spring-fed stream ran through it. Here, about fifty deer and antelope were confined, under conditions as near like their native haunts as possible. Squirrels, rabbits and quail found a haven here. No gun was ever fired within its limits. In this park was splendid shade, as well as abundant grazing ground. At certain times in the year, the young fawns were found as they lay concealed in the tall blue grass that grew luxuriantly throughout the park. On one occasion, an angered buck challenged the presence of several strangers who had ventured into the enclosure unattended, and only the timely arrival of a negro slave prevented serious consequences. This negro man had Herculean strength, as well as Indian blood in his veins. He seized the infuriated animal by the horns and dexterously threw it to the ground.

An event of the early winter season, looked forward to by the colored people as their annual feast, was the "hog killing." Seventy-five to one hundred of these animals were slaughtered for family and farm use. Preparations for this occasion were always made in advance, when the firewood was hauled to a designated spot, and scalding kettles with other accessories made ready. On this particular day, as early as four o'clock in the morning, the negro men and women left their widely scattered homes and proceeded by footpaths to the meeting place. A call by one that broke the stillness of the frosty morning would be answered by another at a distance, and this was continued back and forth until their voices mingled harmoniously in song. One must have heard this to fully appreciate the joy that was theirs in the promise of fresh meat for present needs, and a bountiful supply of

bacon for the coming year; good feeding was a cardinal article of faith at "Model Farm," whether it had to do with men, horses, cattle, dogs or land.

My father never trafficked in slaves. Those in his employ either came to him and his wife by inheritance, or were born on the place. After the Proclamation of Emancipation, he placed each family in a separate home on the farm and paid them wages; each family was supplied with a cow, and all were encouraged in the cultivation of gardens for their own use. A night school was organized and maintained for the colored children. Quite a number of negro retainers occupied a line of cabins a short distance back of the mansion. Among these was an old Mammy, whose early history remained a secret during her long and useful life. It seems that when about eight years of age she was found running wild in the woods by the slaves of Dr. William McClure, near Warsaw, Kentucky. All efforts to locate her owner proved unavailing, and she remained under the care of the family of her adoption, and became, in time, a famous cook. It was under the bed of this aged negress that the small children of our household were concealed during the depredations of guerillas in Civil War times. Her son, Carter, was, in a sense, the major-domo at "Model Farm." He was quite religious and thoroughly trustworthy, and upon his death was buried in Walnut Grove Church Yard; the only negro, I believe, who was ever accorded that distinction. His chief duty was the care of the garden, but he had other tasks, and daily made his rounds of the farm, mounted on a white horse, followed by a shepherd dog. He also gave attention to the deer and antelope, and in winter time was an expert in trapping quail.

Then, there was Brooks, who had charge of the ox teams. He possessed one fault, which it took a long time to remedy; he was somewhat given to profanity when the oxen were recalcitrant.

Mack drove the family carriage. His delight was to "throw the dust," as he expressed it, by passing other vehicles on the road, much to the discomfort of all concerned. He

was a mighty hunter, and raccoon and opossum skins always adorned his cabin in season.

Jeff officiated as butcher. He was skilful with the knife and equally dexterous in removing a ham from the smoke-house, or a fat pullet from the roost. He is still living, and recently recounted to me some of his activities in the poultry line.

Countless numbers of wild geese and ducks visited this part of the country on their spring and autumnal migrations. It was no uncommon sight to see thousands of wild geese feeding in the wheat fields, and the ducks covering the neighboring ponds. At night they would repair to the Missouri River, five miles distant.

Lathrop Academy was quite an institution in its day. It was named for President Lathrop of the University of Missouri, and was located on the broad highway within the limits of "Model Farm." Children, and even grown-ups, came long distances to attend school here. It was not an imposing building, but a good one for those times. I saw it not many years ago, and Whittier's lines came to my mind:

"Still sits the school house by the road,
A ragged beggar sunning;
Around it still the sumachs grow,
And blackberry-vines are running."

The chief activities of the farm were directed toward the raising of fine cattle, horses, hogs and sheep. At times, several hundred cattle roamed over the pasture land. The horses were chiefly for riding purposes, and valued highly for their excellent qualities. Each member of the family had a horse or a pony, to which they were, respectively, much devoted. Domestic fowls of all descriptions, from the thrice gorgeous peacock on the lawn to the lowly duck of the barn yard, were in evidence. The first Alderny and Jersey cattle brought into Missouri were placed on "Model Farm," and at that time they were subjects of much ridicule on account of their size. My father was a lover of all animated nature, and particularly of song birds. Woe unto him who did harm to stock, or who killed a song bird, or destroyed its nest. We

were quite sure that we recognized our bird friends on their yearly return in the spring to the homes which were prepared for them, especially the twittering martins.

Each year, several hundred acres of wheat, corn and oats were raised, and rarely was there failure of a crop, for this was practically precluded by the fertilization of the soil and the rotation of crops.

The words quoted below from the "Columbia Herald" were published during the lifetime of my father, and fitly describe the efforts on his part to further and increase interest in agricultural pursuits:

"Honorable John W. Harris showed us recently a very fine gold medal, which he designs presenting to the student of our Agricultural College who shall read the best essay on the culture of 'Indian Corn.' The medal was made to order by Jaccard of St. Louis. It is of solid gold, and about the size and thickness of a silver dollar. One side is engraved in beautiful letters, 'Missouri State University, Agricultural College, Harris Medal.' On the reverse side is engraved in the foreground a shock of Indian corn. Outside of that circle is engraved, 'Industry, Wealth, Virtue.' Opposite, is a scroll left for the recipient's name. The Harris Medal is a yearly award, and last year was given to the student who delivered the best essay on 'Cows for Dairy Purposes'."

Nearly half a century has passed since the following lines were written, but they reflect the esteem with which my father was regarded. Mr. E. W. Stephens in the "Columbia Herald," said:

"Honorable John W. Harris was, in many respects, a remarkable man. He possessed an energy of character and an executive ability that were extraordinary. The splendid farm on which he died is the brightest proof of these distinguished elements of his character. Indeed, this farm is the sermon of his life, and will, for years to come, be a speaking model to every farmer, illustrating what it is possible for taste, energy, and good judgment to perform in that vocation of life. The town of Harrisburg, in northern Boone county, was named for him. Mr. Harris, during his lifetime, has been

a public man, and was very frequently urged for high public positions. He was a man who did not hoard his wealth, but devoted it to trading, and to the development of the stock and agricultural interests of this section. The death of such a man, upright, punctual, energetic and useful, is a public calamity to the State of Missouri."

Colonel William F. Switzler, in the "Columbia Statesman," wrote:

"Mr. Harris was frequently called to positions of honor and responsibility, the duties of which he discharged with promptness and fidelity. For many years he was a director in the old State Bank of the State of Missouri. In 1860 and 1864, he was a member of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri from the county of Boone. This was a most trying period in the history of the State, and Mr. Harris, distinguished himself by acting the part of a true patriot in co-operating with the conservative members of the Legislature in holding Missouri true and steady to her national constitutional obligations. In 1865, he was appointed by the Secretary of the Navy as one of the Board of Examiners to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. He was, for a number of years, an active member of the Board of Curators of the State University. He received from that institution the degree of 'Master of Agriculture,' bestowed upon him by the Curators, the only time that honor has been conferred on any citizen by that institution."

In "Colman's Rural World," of St. Louis, appeared the following tribute:

"Few men have labored more faithfully to promote public interests, and few have enjoyed more fully the confidence and respect of their fellow-men than John W. Harris. He held many high positions in this State, but his best efforts were made in improving and elevating the noble profession to which he gave his life's work. In farming, he displayed preeminent ability, great practical skill, and excellent taste, hence his Boone county farm was declared the premium farm of the State. He was repeatedly called upon to preside over the deliberations of the State Board of Agriculture, of which

he was long a member, being its president at his death. His eminent social qualities gave him a warm welcome at every fireside, and his domestic virtues made him the beloved and honored head of an appreciative family and a delightful home circle."

The founder and owner of "The Model Farm of Missouri" represented the old and the new culture. He cultivated and cherished friendships. His circle of friends included the leading men of the State. He loved books and devoted taste and time in building up a fine library of the world's best literature; nor did he neglect the leading magazines and newspapers of the day. He worshipped beauty and order. He practiced thrift but shunned parsimony. He was conservative in following the things proven sound, and progressive in trying the things promising advancement. He experimented with seeds and grain and trees, with cattle, hogs and sheep. He wanted to produce the best. His farm was a business, but it was also, in its finest sense, a home.

He was a firm believer in the advantages and independence of farm life, and in the beauties and virtues of the countryside, with cultured and refined surroundings; and after fifty years, as I look backward, I know that it meant much to me to grow up in such an environment. The fireside, the garden, the trees, the flowers, the birds, the old oaken bucket, the brook, the quickening of the spring, the glorious wealth of summer, and even the cutting winds of winter, as I knew them at "Model Farm," have been a constant source of happiness and inspiration in the journey of life.

John Woods Harris died May 3, 1877, in his sixty-first year, surviving his wife less than one year; they were buried in the family lot in the Cemetery at Columbia, Missouri. He left four children, all of whom are living: Mrs. Mattie Harris Hendrick, wife of William J. Hendrick, New York City; Mrs. Jane Harris Rogers, widow of Johnson Rogers, St. Paul, Minnesota; Virgil McClure Harris, trust officer of The National Bank of Commerce in St. Louis; and John Woods Harris, president of the Peoples Bank & Trust Company, East Las Vegas, New Mexico.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL

1848–1880

By Ralph P. Bieber

Much has been said and written about the Santa Fe Trail. Its origin, its commercial aspects, its romantic features, and its stirring tales of hardship and adventure, all have been told and retold. Most of the accounts, however, have been limited to the period before 1848. It is the purpose of this paper to continue the narrative from that time and to outline the story of the Trail between the Mexican War and the coming of the railroads.

Nor is the history of the Trail in its later years of any less importance than in the days of its pioneer development. With the annexation and occupation of Mexican territory, a new era in the history of the Santa Fe Trail began. No longer was its chief western terminus in a foreign land. Hence its commerce, formerly foreign, became primarily domestic, and though thereby deprived of much of its romantic character the value and variety of trade soon mounted to heights never dreamed of in former days. Moreover, the Trail became the one great bond that united the newly-acquired possessions in the far Southwest to the rest of the United States. It became a medium for the rather slow process of Americanizing a region which for two and a half centuries had been living under the influences of a Spanish civilization. Of even greater significance was its relation to the settlement of the immense stretch of land between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. In 1848 the Trail passed through the Indian country and across vast, unsettled plains before it reached the territory of New Mexico and the country beyond. By 1880 thriving states and territories had arisen along the greater part of its course. The great unsettled West was passing away. It is this fact that gives the Santa Fe Trail its chief

claim to importance after the Mexican War, for the history of the Trail in its later years is simply a part of the history of the vanishing frontier.

The story of the Trail breaks up into three fairly distinct periods: (1) 1848-1860, a period of increased commerce and overland migration; (2) 1860-1867, a period of conflict; and (3) 1867-1880, the railroad period. The characteristics and problems of each of these periods of the Santa Fe Trail are practically identical with the characteristics and problems of the whole frontier for the same time.

One of the striking characteristics of the period between the Mexican and Civil wars was the increased commercial importance of the Trail, exhibited in the rapidly growing exports and imports to and from the Southwest. In 1849 and following a new feature in the history of the trail was introduced with the emigration of settlers to the gold fields of California by way of Santa Fe. This movement of population continued to a greater or less extent until 1858, when another emigration began—this time to the gold mines of Colorado. Another innovation came in 1850, when, due to the necessity of establishing a closer communication with the far-off territories, a regular overland mail was organized between Missouri and New Mexico and put into successful operation. All these activities across the Great Plains led to Indian hostilities, to a change in our Indian policy, and to the introduction of some system of military protection for the road by the United States. By 1860 the Southwest had been brought closer to the rest of the country and the existence of the frontier had been weakened but not severely shaken.

Several new problems presented themselves for solution in the period between 1860 and 1867. During these years the Trail was primarily a military highway with conflicts raging along the main route from Missouri to New Mexico. At the eastern end military protection was required against the depredations of Bushwhackers, "Red Legs," Guerillas, Jayhawkers, and ordinary highwaymen. Toward the central and western end protection became necessary to halt the advance of the troops of the Confederacy. And along the whole route

the best of protection was needed against the Indians who had finally risen with a vengence to smite the white man for his encroachments upon their territory. These conflicts taxed the strength of the Federal troops to the utmost. Commerce and migration had increased in the meantime, and some people were beginning to realize that the Great American Desert was in reality a future home for thousands of settlers. While the occurrences along the Santa Fe Trail during these years contributed to the further weakening of the frontier, the period closed without any serious menace to its existence.

But a change was imminent. The Indian problem of the Trail, which had been an ever-present one since the days of the Mexican War, was finally solved in the last period of the Trail's history. The redoubtable Sheridan, with the aid of his brilliant subordinate Custer, crushed the Indians in a winter campaign in 1868 and 1869, and forced them on to reservations previously assigned to them by the national government. At the same time the eastern terminal of the Trail retreated westward before the rapid advance of the railroads. Countless settlers followed close upon the heels of the railroad builders, so that by 1880, when the locomotive made its appearance in Santa Fe, the greater part of the country through which the Trail had passed was dotted with settlers. A new day had dawned. It was the beginning of the end of the last American frontier. To this accomplishment the Santa Fe Trail had contributed not a little.

Of the various aspects of the Trail thus outlined, only a few can be discussed in the brief space allotted to this paper. A necessary preliminary to an account of the Trail is a description of the route it traversed. Prior to the Civil War the main route, except for its eastern terminus, remained the same as it had been before 1846. It still passed from the Missouri River in a southwesterly direction through Council Grove and on to Santa Fe, whence one branch proceeded south by way of El Paso to Chihuahua and Durango in Mexico, and the other proceeded west to the Pacific. Leaving out of consideration the minor routes from the Arkansas frontier and from eastern Texas, the main route for a number of years

had Independence as its principal eastern terminus; but by the beginning of the Mexican War the towns of Westport and Kansas had arisen as rivals.[1] Though retarded by the cholera epidemic, these towns had made such rapid progress that by 1855 they had displaced Independence as the principal point of departure for the Santa Fe traders. Because of its superior shipping facilities on the Missouri River the City of Kansas or Kansas City, as Kansas was now called, became the main depot. Its growth from a small village with about 300 inhabitants in 1851 to a good-sized town of about 7,000 in 1860, was due almost entirely to its position at the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail.[2] At the same time, with the growth of government transportation across the plains, Ft. Leavenworth, and later Leavenworth City, became of increasing importance as shipping points for government stores to the Indians and to the military forces on the plains and in the Southwest.[3]

Further changes occurred at the eastern end of the road between 1860 and 1867. On account of the unsettled conditions along the Kansas-Missouri border some of the Santa Fe business at Kansas City was driven to Leavenworth, the trade being about equally divided between these two towns. Specifically, this change was due to Ft. Leavenworth being made military headquarters of the Department of the West,

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[1]F. Dobel to Ferguson and Alvarez, Aug. 25, 1844, *Alvarez Papers* (*Mss.*, New Mexico Historical Society); William Gillis to Sol. Sublette, Jan. 20, 1845, *Sublette Papers* (*Mss.*, Missouri Historical Society); *Memoirs of James J. Webb, 1844-1847* (*Webb Mss.*, James H. Webb Collection, New Haven), 114; W. H. Chick, "My Earlier Recollections of the Santa Fe Trail," in Kansas City *Star*, Dec. 14, 1906; L. H. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail* (Cincinnati, 1850), 1-5; C. C. Spalding, *Annals of the City of Kansas* (Kansas City, 1858), 32; *Daily Missouri Republican*, June 22, 25, 1846.

[2]*Kansas City Enterprise*, Jan. 19, May 24, 1856; *Western Journal of Commerce*, Jan. 9, Mar. 6, 1858, July 21, 1859; *Daily Mo. Rep.*, May 17, 1849, June 3, Aug. 11, 1851, Jan. 31, 1853, May 10, 1855, Jan. 10, Nov. 4, 1859; *St. Joseph Gazette*, May 5, 1848, Feb. 2, 1849; *Liberty Tribune*, Nov. 5, 1847; *Herald of Freedom*, Jan. 20, June 2, 1855; A. N. Doerschuk, *Westport* (*Mss.*, Kansas City Public Library), 1-3; Union Historical Company, *History of Jackson County, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1881), 644.

[3]*Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 11, pp. 17, 22; *ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 37, p. 34; *West. Journal of Commerce*, Oct. 6, 1859; S. J. Spear, "Reminiscences," in Kansas State Historical Society *Collections*, XIII (1915), 346-351.

to the depredations on the Trail near Kansas City, and to the struggle between Northerner and Southerner in Kansas City itself. The route taken from Leavenworth was usually by way of Lawrence or Topeka, striking the old Trail somewhere between the present towns of Burlingame and Wilmington, and thence on to Council Grove.[4] An additional change of greater significance came about in 1862, when a road was opened up to the north of the old Trail from Ft. Leavenworth to Ft. Larned by way of Topeka, Junction City, Salina, and Ellsworth. This road, used chiefly by the government for the transportation of troops and military stores before 1867, was destined to supersede the old Trail east of Ft. Larned when the railroad began to move westward.[5]

And the coming of the railroad was near at hand. With the construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad in the sixties, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad in the seventies, the last period of the Santa Fe Trail began. In 1865 the Kansas Pacific reached Lawrence, in the following year Topeka and Junction City, and thereafter continued rapidly westward, locating its tracks far enough south to accommodate the Santa Fe trade. For a short time a small amount of the Santa Fe business was diverted from Leavenworth and Kansas City to Lawrence and Topeka, but by 1867 this trade overland by ox-team and by mule-team came to an end in all these towns, and proceeded instead from Junction City over the northern route by way of Ellsworth to Ft. Larned. This definitely marked the end of the Old Santa Fe Trail east

[4]*Chase Letters* (*Mss.*, Kans. State Hist. Soc.), Aug. 8, 1863; *Official Records of the Rebellion* (hereafter cited as *O. R.*), Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 384; *House Ex. Docs.*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., III, No. 105, p. 746; *Kansas City Journal of Commerce*, Mar. 27, Dec. 13, 1865, April 15, 1876; *Council Grove Press*, April 27, 1861; *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, May 24, 1861, Sept. 28, 1862; *Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Oct. 11, 1862; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, May 27, 1864; *Daily Mo. Rep.*, Aug. 19, 1861; R. M. Wright, "Personal Reminiscences," in Kans. State Hist. Soc. *Collections* VII (1902), 48; H. Smith, *The Santa Fe Trail* (Kansas City, 1907), 9-12; B. Smyth, *Heart of the New Kansas* (1880), 74-75; W. H. Miller, *History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1881), 103.

[5]*House Ex. Docs.*, 37 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 82, p. 676; *ibid.*, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., III, No. 105, pp. 744-746; *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 378; *ibid.*, Pt. 3, p. 37; *Smoky Hill and Rep. Union*, July 12, 1862, May 21, 1864; *Junction City Union*, May 4, 1867; Kans. State Hist. Soc. *Collections*, VII, 113; *ibid.*, XI (1910), 565-566.

of Ft. Larned.[6] The change is graphically described in an exultant article in the *Junction City Union* in August, 1867: "A few years ago the freighting wagons and oxen passing through Council Grove were counted by thousands, the value of merchandise by millions. But the shriek of the iron horse has silenced the lowing of the panting ox, and the old trail looks desolate. The track of the commerce of the plains has changed, and with the change is destined to come other changes better and more blessed."[7] As the Kansas Pacific proceeded westward across Kansas, the end of the railroad line became for a time the eastern terminus of the Trail. In 1867, Junction City, Salina, and Ellsworth, in turn, became eastern terminals; in 1868, Ellsworth and Hays City; in 1869, Sheridan; and in 1870, Kit Carson, Colorado. Ellsworth, while the eastern terminus, connected with the old Trail at Ft. Larned; Hays City at Ft. Dodge; and Sheridan and Kit Carson at Ft. Lyon. By the close of 1870, therefore, the Old Santa Fe Trail as a highway of through traffic had come to an end in Kansas, and had receded westward before the advance of the Kansas Pacific Railroad.[8]

But it was a full decade more before the Trail to Santa Fe passed into history. Kit Carson, Colorado, on the Kansas Pacific, remained the chief eastern terminus until 1873, when a line was completed south to West Las Animas on the Arkansas. Meanwhile, the Santa Fe Railroad began active operations and built with great energy across the state of Kansas, following the deserted course of the old Trail up the Arkansas until, early in 1873, it reached Granada in eastern

[6] *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, Jan. 14, Dec. 9, 16, 1865, April 21, 1866; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, in *Smoky Hill and Rep. Union*, Dec. 26, 1863; *Junction City Union*, Nov. 17, 1866, Mar. 9, Aug. 31, 1867; *Council Grove Democrat*, July 21, 1866; *K. C. Journal of Commerce*, Mar. 13, 1867; J. Maloy, *History of Morris County, Kansas* (Kans. State Hist Soc., 1886), 102.

[7] *Junction City Union*, Aug. 31, 1867.

[8] *Report of Pres. of Union Pacific R. R., E. D., to Sec. of Int.* (St. Louis, 1867); Kansas Pacific Railroad, *Annual Report, 1868*, 10, 12, 36; *ibid., 1869*, 8; *ibid., 1870*, 8, 14, 19; U. P. R. R., E. D., *Economy to the Government* (Washington, 1868), 3, 22; *House Ex. Docs.*, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 2, No. 1, p. 38; *Junction City Union*, Jan. 19, Mar. 16, May 25, 1867; Hays *City Railway Advance*, June 23, 1868; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, April 25, 26, 1870; *Rocky Mountain Directory* (Denver, 1870), 124; J. L. Tracy, *Guide to the Great West* (St. Louis, 1871), 66-67.

Colorado. From the autumn of that year Granada, on the Santa Fe, and West Las Animas, on the Kansas Pacific, became competing points for the trade of southern Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, and this relation continued until December, 1875, when both railroads extended their lines west to La Junta, which in turn became the main re-shipping point. Early in 1876, the Santa Fe Railroad reached Pueblo, and soon afterward the Denver and Rio Grande was opened from Pueblo to El Moro, extensions which moved the terminus of the Trail still further south to El Moro. Then as the Santa Fe pushed southward from La Junta through the Raton Pass and on to New Mexico, Trinidad, Colorado, in 1878, and Otero and Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1879, became the respective terminals; and finally on February 9, 1880, "the locomotive thundered into Santa Fe, and broke the spell which for three centuries had shut from the modern world the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis."[10] While the natives crowded around and looked upon this new method of transportation with curiosity and amazement, they were told that this would be the beginning of a new and better period in the history of their territory.

Only a brief treatment of one more topic can be presented: the Overland Stage and Mail to Santa Fe. The establishment of an overland stage to Santa Fe was the result of conditions produced by the Mexican War. Before this conflict letters and newspapers to and from New Mexico were entrusted to traders and travelers who would see to it that they

[9]Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, *Annual Report, 1872-1873*, 12, 25-26; *ibid., 1874*, 28, 35, 36; *ibid., 1875*, 6-8, 25, 29; K. P. R. R., *Annual Report, 1873*, 7, 20; *ibid., 1875*, 17; *House Ex. Docs.*, 42 Cong., 3 Sess., Pt. 2, No. 1, p. 47; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, Aug. 6, Nov. 12, 1873; Santa Fe *Weekly New Mexican*, Dec. 28, 1875, Feb. 1, 8, 1876; *Rocky Mountain Directory* (Denver, 1870), 411; Rocky Mountain News, *Routes of Travel in Colorado* (Denver, 1874), 17, 52; A. C. Wheeler, *The Iron Trail* (New York, 1876), 20-21; O. L. Baskin & Co., *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado* (Chicago, 1881), 845-846.

[10]A., T. & S. F. R. R., *Annual Report, 1876*, 6, 25; *ibid., 1878*, 26; *ibid., 1879*, 25-26; K. P. R. R., *San Juan Mines: Albuquerque Review*, June 10, 1876; Santa Fe *Weekly New Mexican*, April 25, 1876, Sept. 21, Nov. 9, 1878, Feb. 15, June 7, 14, 1879, Feb. 14, 21, 1880; W. S. Hinckley, *Early Days of the Santa Fe* (Topeka, 1909), 41, 43; J. E. Greene, "Santa Fe Trade," in U. S. Cav. Assoc. *Journal*, X (1897), 277; Baskin & Co., *Hist. Ark. Val., Col.*, 846.

were delivered to their destinations. But with the outbreak of hostilities in 1846, the War Department, in order to meet the demand for communication with the troops in Northern Mexico, organized a military pony express to this region, which, in August, 1849, developed into a regular monthly service from Ft. Leavenworth to Santa Fe.[11] This arrangement proved to be insufficient to meet the increased demands for communication in time of peace, and as a result in 1850 the Postmaster General ordered the establishment of a regular wagon mail between Independence and Santa Fe. Waldo, Hall and Company, of Independence, were awarded the contract. They were required to transport the mail once a month each way commencing July 1, and to complete each trip in thirty days.[12]

This was the beginning of a regular overland stage and mail from Missouri to New Mexico and the first of its kind across the plains. In 1857, because of increased traffic, it started to run semi-monthly; in 1858, weekly; in 1866, tri-weekly; and in 1868, daily.[13] Before 1861, it reached Santa Fe by way of the Cimarron route, but thereafter, due to the gold rush to Colorado and to the establishment of Ft. Lyon, it changed to the mountain route by way of Ft. Lyon, Bent's Fort, and Raton Pass. In spite of snow storms and hail storms, in spite of flooded rivers, muddy roads, and Indian attacks, the sturdy Santa Fe coach continued to rumble over the rolling plains in warm weather and in cold weather

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[11] *Alvarez, Bent, and Gregg Letters, 1839-1846* (*Mss.*, Benjamin M. Read Collection, Santa Fe); *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 26, pp. 26, 31; *Santa Fe Republican*, Nov. 27, 1847, April 2, July 18, 1848; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, Nov. 24, 1849; *Daily Mo. Rep.*, Aug. 19, 1846, Feb. 19, 22, Sept. 9, 1847, April 21, Sept. 12, 1849; Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, 29.

[12] David Waldo to David Waldo, Nov. 6, 1851, *Waldo Papers* (*Mss.*, Mo. Hist. Soc.); Santa Fe *Neuvo Mejicano—Extra*, July 30, 1850 (Benjamin M. Read Collection, Santa Fe); *Daily Mo. Rep.*, June 4, July 26, Oct. 21, 1850; *Liberty Tribune*, July 12, 1850.

[13] *K. C. Ent.*, July 25, 1857; *Daily Mo. Rep.*, July 26, 1857; *K. C. Journal of Commerce*, April 10, 1859; *Council Grove Democrat*, May 18, 1866; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, July 7, 1866; *Hays City Railway Advance*, June 23, 1868; James Brice, *Reminiscences of Ten Years Experience on the Western Plains* (Kansas City, 1905), 1-4.

with great regularity, only to cease its activities with the coming of the railroads.[14]

But before the day of the railroad and of the telegraph, the Santa Fe Stage provided the quickest means of communication and transportation between the United States and its territories in the Southwest. It was the pioneer stage route across the plains, and was the forerunner of the great overland stage lines to the Pacific, which, in turn, pointed the way for the transcontinental railroads of a later day. Through it the government communicated with its civil and military officers in New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, as well as with its military forces on the Great Plains. The latest news from the "states" and from abroad was brought by it to Santa Fe. It carried the mail and express, both important to merchants and to frontier inhabitants. Then, too, travelers and some emigrants used it as the best conveyance to and from the Southwest. In short, the overland stage and mail from Missouri to New Mexico was an important factor in keeping the southwest territories in constant touch with the rest of the United States, and remained so until displaced by its more famous successors, the telegraph and the railroad.

These are but brief sketches of certain aspects of the Santa Fe Trail between 1848 and 1880. Additional phases remain to be treated, such as overland commerce, overland migration, military conflicts, Indian relations, railroad building, and the coming of settlers. A further consideration of these subjects would reveal that about the Santa Fe Trail was woven much of the history of the vanishing frontier.

[14] *K. C. Journal of Commerce*, April 10, 1859; *Daily Mo. Rep.*, Aug. 27, 1859; *West. Journal of Commerce*, Feb. 21, 1861; Brice, *Reminiscences*, 14.

THE HOLT COUNTY SENTINEL

A Chronicle of Local History

By Elizabeth Spencer

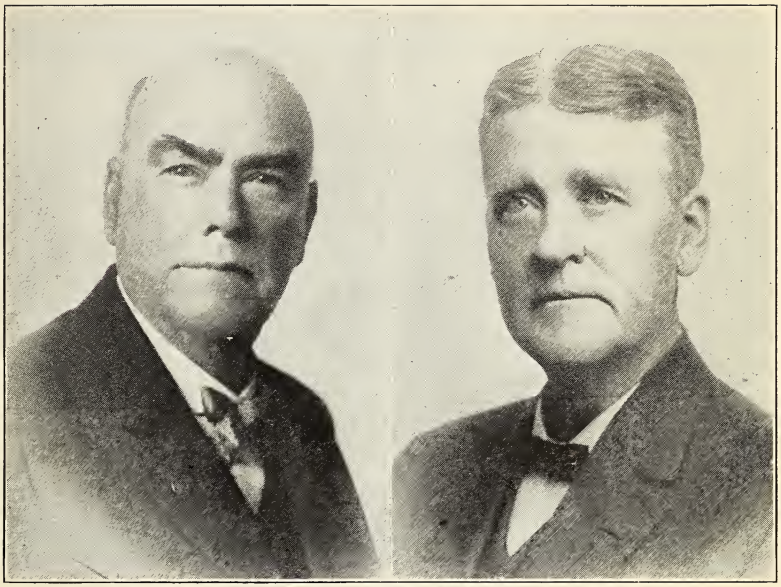
A complete and accessible file of a county newspaper is both valuable and rare. Our newspapers, since the early days, have contained local and national history. The historians have depended on these papers for much of their information. The unfortunate part is the incompleteness and the inaccessibility of the average newspaper file. They are incomplete because many early editors did not realize the future value of their papers and so did not attempt to keep complete files. Many other papers were destroyed by fire and water. Due to lack of indexes the files are frequently inaccessible for quick reference work. The early newspapers in the west were county papers. There are in Missouri relatively few complete files of these old county newspapers. There are fewer still of these files that can be readily used by the public. However, in the northwest part of this state is a county paper that nears perfection in these two respects. The editors have a complete file of the paper, stored in a fireproof vault, and a usable index to this newspaper file. This noteworthy paper is *The Holt County Sentinel.* It is published in Oregon, Holt county, Missouri. The editors are Mr. D. P. Dobyns and Mr. Tom Curry. There is perhaps no other community in the nation whose history is so completely recorded and indexed from a newspaper file as is the community near the home of *The Holt County Sentinel.*

The *Sentinel* is not the oldest newspaper in Holt county. *The Holt County News* first published on Wednesday, July 1, 1857, marked the advent of the newspaper into Holt county. The *Monitor,* first published in 1858, was the second and the *Sentinel* the third. The first *Holt County Sentinel* was published in 1861 by Daniel Zook and Company. This paper

was discontinued after the first five issues. Two years later, in 1863, the *Sentinel* again appeared. The first issue was No. 6 and Mr. Zook was again the editor. Publication was once more suspended with issue No. 17 which appeared October 30, 1863. The first issue of the present *Holt County Sentinel* was on Friday, June 30, 1865. The editor of this early paper was Charles W. Bowman, who was the son of a pioneer preacher. Mr. Bowman sold the paper to A. R. Rowley. The paper changed hands several times during the ensuing years. In 1876 the *Sentinel* became the property of Mr. W. W. Davenport and at this time D. P. Dobyns, the present editor, took charge of the mechanical department. In 1881 Mr. Dobyns became publisher of the paper and the name was changed to *The County Paper*. In 1883 Mr. Tom Curry became his partner. At this time the name of the paper again became *The Holt County Sentinel*. From 1883 to the present the paper has been under the continuous management of Mr. Dobyns and Mr. Curry.

In November, 1914, the *Sentinel* was incorporated and capitalized for $10,000. Mr. D. P. Dobyns is president and Mr. Tom Curry is secretary and treasurer. The employees in the office are changed now and then. Many good journalists have received their early training in this office. One stand-by on the *Sentinel* staff should be mentioned, R. T. Dobyns, who has been with the *Sentinel* since 1911. He learned the trade with his father, Charles H. Dobyns. Young "Dick" Dobyns was reared in a printing office and is at home in any department. He is an expert linotype operator and printer and the neat appearance of the *Sentinel* is largely due to his care and attention.

The *Sentinel* began as a very modest, six-page folio. Its first home was a one-story frame house. The first outfit consisted of a second-hand Washington hand press, a small amount of brevier and display type. This press printed 250 papers an hour. Each side was printed on different days. The paper used was made mostly of rags and was a better quality than the paper used today. The day before the paper was to be printed the foreman took the required number of



D. P. Dobyns

Tom Curry

sheets and wet them down. An average issue took about a gallon of water. A weight was then put on these papers and the next day they were ready for the ink, which was applied by hand. The news in the early *Sentinel* was much like that in all early papers. It did contain local news of interest, however, which many papers did not.

In 1890 the *Sentinel* owners discarded their Washington hand press for a new press known as a Country press. This Country press has now been replaced by the best modern presses with folders attached. The *Sentinel* now has a modern brick home. There is a room for job printing on the second floor. There is also a linotype machine in the printing room so that the entire paper is printed at home.

Mr. Dobyns and Mr. Curry are both experienced newspaper men. This has been a great aid to them in making the *Sentinel* one of the best rural newspapers in Missouri. Mr. Dobyns, or "Deacon" Dobyns as he is familiarly known, is a native Missourian. He was born in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1845. He obtained a public school education in the St. Louis schools. When fifteen years old he joined the Union army and served until the end of the war. Mr. Dobyns began his career in the newspaper world as a printer on the old *Missouri Republican*, later called *The St. Louis Republic*. His first experience in rural journalism was on the *Macon* (Missouri) *Argus*. From this paper he went to the *St. Joseph Herald*. In 1876 he started work on the paper he now edits.

Mr. Curry was born in Plymouth county, Iowa, in 1856, and was brought to Holt county, Missouri, the following year. Mr. Curry began learning newspaper work as an apprentice on the *Missouri Valley Times* published in Oregon, Missouri. Later he left Holt county and broadened his experience by working on several metropolitan dailies. In 1883 he returned to Oregon, Mo., and became junior editor of the *Sentinel*. In February, 1885, Mr. Curry married Wilhelmina Fiegenbaum, who is of great assistance to him in his newspaper work.

Mr. Dobyns and Mr. Curry have for forty years edited a good paper. They do not resort to sensationalism but

attempt to give their readers the truth about their community. The editors put into the *Sentinel* all news of local interest and merit. Their paper now goes to every state and territory of the United States and to several foreign countries. The *Sentinel* has effectively aided the people of Holt county in securing water works, electric lights, railroads, telephones and rural routes. Mr. Dobyns, the editor, has kept a complete file of the paper since its beginning. This file is well bound and is stored in fireproof vaults. He also has a splendid index to the articles which have appeared in his paper. This file and index of the *Sentinel* make it possible for this man to settle, in a few minutes, disputes regarding crimes, deaths, fires, storms, accidents, marriages, births, suicides, etc., which have occurred in his county. There is practically no question relating to Holt county that Mr. Dobyns cannot answer by referring to his newspapers. The service of this indexed file of the *Sentinel* to its community is inestimable.

Mr. Dobyns has a system of keeping his historical and statistical data that is as near perfect as any known. He has been brought before various state conventions and at least one national assembly of his fellow editors, to explain his methods of compiling current history and making the most of its news value.

Mr. Dobyns' system covers all features—statistical, biographical, historical, religious, educational and political. It includes war history from 1861 to date. His system of collecting this data is simple. Monthly he publishes a record of all marriages, births, deaths, divorces and suicides in the county. Annually he publishes these arranged alphabetically. These are clipped and pasted in their respective index volumes, of which nearly three score have been completed. A table is also made by the year giving the ratio of births to deaths, divorces to marriages, etc. In this way Mr. Dobyns has a complete record of the vital statistics of his county for a period of more than forty years. In most counties it would take months of research to find material that may be obtained from the *Sentinel* files in a few minutes. Mr. Dobyns also keeps a record of the more important social events and

publishes them yearly in alphabetical order and these go in their respective volumes. The same is done for accidents, stating the nature of the accident. "Deacon" Dobyns' record contains data for a history of the county. He has a roster of all county and legislative officials with dates of their service, from the beginning of the county in 1841. There is a complete record of all murders. All the bank statements for over thirty years are in his records. There are also records of fiscal affairs, real estate, county finances, biographies, lodges, weather reports, fires, railroads, early settlers, etc. There are few sides of life in Holt county in the past forty years which have not been recorded by Mr. Dobyns and which he cannot refer to at a moment's notice so clear, methodical and practical is his system. Aside from the files of his own paper Mr. Dobyns has, in his vaults, practically complete files of all papers edited in Holt county. This work is the avocation as well as the vocation of Mr. Dobyns, which may in part account for its perfection. He is justly proud of his well-bound files stored in fireproof vaults and of the usable index that he has compiled to these files.

Due to the will and determination of its editors *The Holt County Sentinel* has never missed an issue. In 1881 there was a devastating flood that prevented the editors securing paper for one issue They collected manila wrapping paper and on this printed their issue. Each edition has been a valuable step in the formation of these historical files. The value of these files to the people of Holt county and of the state is remarkable.

In his recent inaugural address Dr. Stratton D. Brooks, president of the University of Missouri, said, "The justification for public support of the University is found not in the success of its graduates but rather in the fact that they render a *service* that is necessary to the community in which they live * * * * *." This idea of service to the public was also brought forth in the recent death of Charles P. Steinmetz. He died leaving practically no monetary inheritance. He had, however, rendered an inestimable service to his country through his electrical discoveries. The care-

fully indexed and well preserved files of *The Holt County Sentinel* are another example of a public-spirited work. They have been used for years and they will continue to be used.

THE MISSOURI PACIFIC, 1879-1900

BY R. E. RIEGEL

The year 1879 marks a distinct line of division in the history of the Missouri Pacific, which is little short of cataclysmic. Prior years had seen the development of the road along lines similar to that of any other western road; progress was made very slowly, because the precarious affairs of the company never warranted a rapid advance; each succeeding board of directors was optimistic, but was inhibited from very rapid action because of the very nature of the case.

Two factors were of especial importance in the change which occurred in 1879. The first was the condition of the road itself. The rapid western immigration of the latter seventies had given the road a practical basis for financial returns, while the increasing prosperity of the country was plainly visible by that year. The second great factor was the purchase of the line by Jay Gould and its use as the foundation of a railroad empire in the southwest. These tendencies converging in 1879 gave promise of the very rapid expansion which occurred during the boom period of the early eighties.

The Gould interest in western railroads had been acquired in order to bring the Union Pacific to terms, and in consequence embraced particularly roads which might constitute the basis of a new transcontinental line along the central route—the Wabash, the Missouri Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, the Denver Pacific, the Denver, South Park and Pacific, the St. Joseph and Denver, the Central Branch Union Pacific, and the Denver and Rio Grande.[1]

Within a year there was complete readjustment of the Gould holdings, and a complete change in objective. The purchase of the Kansas Pacific and the Denver Pacific was purely a speculative venture, and when these lines were

[1] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, Vol. 29 (1879), p. 583.

consolidated with the Union Pacific and Gould had received his profit, the stock was sold. With them went the Denver, South Park and Pacific, a local Colorado road. The Denver and Rio Grande was an even wilder speculation. In 1879 it was in the midst of an internal struggle for control and also of a fight to the death with the Santa Fe for the control of new territory. Gould involved himself in these affairs, but with his loss of interest in the Union Pacific system no longer had any use for the Denver and Rio Grande, and disposed of his holdings. The St. Joseph and Denver and the Central Branch Union Pacific were also of little value, except as a threat to the Union Pacific. Neither line had been constructed very far and their immediate utility was small. On the other hand they had been bought cheaply and could easily be held for a future profit. Because of these reasons control was maintained, but active construction was stopped for the immediate future.[2]

The two important roads that were left after these readjustments were the Wabash and the Missouri Pacific. The Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific had been formed Nov. 7, 1879, by a consolidation of the Wabash Railway Company of Ohio and the St. Louis, Kansas City and Northern of Missouri (formerly the North Missouri).[3] This consolidation gave the Wabash, and consequently all the Gould roads, a rather unique position. Nearly all the larger western lines were distinctively Chicago or St. Louis roads, but the Wabash lay in a central position, thus having access to either of these places as well as having a central direct line to cities such as Cincinnati and Toledo. It also had western connections to Council Bluffs, Kansas City and St. Jo., and in consequence entered into more competitive fields than any of its rivals.[4] It added to its strategic value by immediately acquiring and

[2]Compare the reference given in footnote 1 to *Ibid.*, Vol. 30 (1880), pp. 308-9. A more detailed knowledge of the situation may be obtained by consulting *Poor's Manual* for each of the roads concerned.

[3]*Fifth Annual Report of the Railroad Commissioners of the State of Missouri* (1879 and 1880), p. 39; *Chronicle*, Vol. 29 (1879), p. 226; *History of Caldwell and Livingston Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1886), p. 856.

[4]*Chronicle*, Vol. 30 (1880), p. 308.

building the Quincy, Missouri and Pacific, which gave a direct line across northern Missouri.[5]

With the Wabash and the Missouri Pacific as a starting point, two objectives became important. The first was to make adequate through connections, particularly to the Gulf and to the Pacific, and the second was either to destroy or to buy off competition. In the case of making connections the dominant characteristic was the entire absence of any thought of construction—such a policy would have been entirely at variance with Gould's plan of business. The possible roads with which trans-continental connections might be made were the Union Pacific, the Santa Fe, and the Southern Pacific. Only the first of these was finished in 1879, but the others had a reasonable chance of completion. The Union Pacific was undesirable, however, because the Chicago roads making connections at Council Bluffs would always have much shorter lines than the Gould roads unless an entirey new road were constructed. Under any probable circumstances the Gould roads would always be under a distinct disadvantage. In the case of the Santa Fe any kind of an agreement was highly improbable. The Santa Fe was controlled by Boston capital, and was very bitter in its feelings towards its competitor the Missouri Pacific. Control could not be bought, and any traffic agreement, while quite improbable, could never be entirely satisfactory to the Missouri Pacific.[6]

The only logical solution of the problem of transcontinental communication was the connection with the Southern Pacific, and to make this connection the road that immediately presented itself was the Texas and Pacific. Under Thomas Scott the Texas and Pacific had been waging a losing fight throughout the seventies with the Southern Pacific.[7] The Southern Pacific had the money to complete a transcontinental line but not the right—the Texas and Pacific had the right

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 28 (1879), p. 600.

[6] *Chronicle*, Vol. 30 (1880), pp. 334-6, and Vol. 32 (1881), p. 314.

[7] The best account of the struggle between the Southern Pacific and the Texas and Pacific is J. G. Dixon, *The Construction of the Southern Pacific*, a 1921 M. A. thesis in the library of the University of Wisconsin; see also W. E. Smythe, *History of San Diego 1542-1908*, (San Diego, 1908), pp. 358-363.

but not the money. The principal scene of the fight was in Washington, where the Southern Pacific people were trying to get their charter extended, and also were opposing Thomas Scott, who was trying to get Congressional aid for the Texas and Pacific. The chief difficulty with which both parties had to contend was public opinion, which had taken a distinctly economical and anti-monopolistic turn. The first of these feelings operated sufficiently to stop Scott's plan, while the second stopped Huntington. The Gordian knot was cut when the Southern Pacific secured territorial charters and started building east on its own resources. By 1879 Scott was beaten and knew it, so that he was willing to dispose of his holdings to Gould, who immediately made a traffic agreement with the Southern Pacific.[8] The two roads were finally connected east of El Paso in 1882.[9]

The immediate danger which the Huntington-Gould combination had to face was the Santa Fe. The Santa Fe had made an agreement in 1880 with the St. Louis and San Francisco for the joint completion and use of the Atlantic and Pacific, which had a transcontinental charter.[10] The carrying out of this plan would mean that the Santa Fe would have a complete line to the Pacific that would be shorter than its southern competitor. To meet this threat immediate action was taken. The Southern Pacific built a branch which crossed the Colorado River at the Needles, thus monopolizing the only two possible southern crossings.[11] At the same time Huntington and Gould bought a controlling interest in the St. Louis and San Francisco, which gave them also a half interest in the Atlantic and Pacific,[12] and forced the Santa Fe to secure a Pacific outlet at Guaymas, Mexico.[13] Conditions changed by 1884, when the Santa Fe secured control of the St. Louis and San Francisco and thus forced the Southern

[8] *Chronicle*, Vol. 33 (1881), p. 623.

[9] *Poor's Manual* 1887, p. 791; D. H. Hardy and I. G. Roberts, *Historical Review of South-East Texas*, (2 vols., Chi., 1910), p. 205.

[10] *Annual Report of the Santa Fe Railroad Company 1884*, pp. 26-27.

[11] *Traveler's Official Railroad Guide*, June, 1883, p. 267.

[12] *Chronicle*, Vol. 34 (1882), pp. 99-101, 116.

[13] G. D. Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe*, (Boston, 1920), pp. 224-6.

Pacific to let her have the line to the Needles.[14] As far as the Gould lines were concerned, the outcome of the whole matter was that they were able to secure a fairly effective line to the coast but were not able to stop competition.

The securing of the Texas and Pacific was really only one step toward transcontinental connections. While the Texas and Pacific had charter rights for a complete transcontinental line, it had not built outside of Texas, and depended mainly on the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern for its eastern and northern connections. Under these considerations the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern (a consolidation in 1874 of the St. Louis and Iron Mountain of Missouri and the Cairo and Fulton of Arkansas and Missouri)[15] was a vital link; it was acquired in 1880.[16]

While connections with Texas had been secured through the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern, there was still neither a line to the Gulf nor any direct connection with Texas from Kansas City or some nearby point. To secure the connection with the Gulf the International and Great Northern was acquired, giving a line to Houston as well as important connections in southwest Texas.[17] The other problem was met by the acquisition of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, which connected with the western end of the Missouri Pacific, and gave a direct line to Texas.

The foregoing actions show in broad outline how Gould managed to solve his big problem of connections within his first year of activity. The second problem, that of competition, was just as pressing, but could not be solved so effectively. Some attempts at solution were made, however, and with a considerable degree of success.

Transcontinental competition was always a factor, but after the trouble with the Santa Fe, which has been previously

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[14] *Annual Report 1885*, p. 32.

[15] *Rpt. Mo. R. R. Comm. 1879 and 1880*, p. 30; *Chronicle*, Vol. 18 (1874), p. 400, p. 480.

[16] *Chron.*, Vol. 31 (1880), pp. 249, 638-9, 652, 653; *Official Guide*, June, 1883, p. 320.

[17] *Official Guide*, June, 1883, p. 321; *History of Monroe and Shelby Counties, Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1884), p. 253; *Chronicle*, Vol. 31 (1880), pp. 638-9.

related, very little attempt seems to have been made to solve the problem. It was soon shown that even in the southwest the elimination of competition was impossible, while the lines further north always continued to be a menace. In consequence Gould turned his attention to the complete monopolization of local business rather than the control of through traffic.

The roads which Gould purchased in order to make his various connections also served the purpose of monopolizing local business. With the Wabash, the Missouri Pacific, the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern, the International and Great Northern, the Texas and Pacific and their allied lines Gould controlled practically every important line in Missouri, Arkansas, southeast Kansas and eastern Texas. The only important exception was the Santa Fe, which was a keen competitor run by strong men, and with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, another antagonistic road, served to create a considerable amount of trouble.[18]

Besides the control of traffic by through lines, a considerable amount of attention was devoted to the construction and acquisition of branches. Connections were made with the important towns of eastern Kansas, and on Aug. 12, 1880, quite a number of the Kansas and Missouri lines were consolidated into the Missouri Pacific proper.[19] Numerous new branches were constructed, particularly in eastern Kansas, in central and northern Missouri, and in north central Texas. A little later the expanding net covered also southern Missouri and all of Arkansas.[20]

The outstanding method used by the Missouri Pacific to control competitive traffic was the purchase of the roads concerned, but this was by no means the final possibility. The usual amount of discrimination and unfair practice

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[18]*Chronicle*, Vol. 30 (1880), pp. 334-6, and Vol. 32 (1881), p. 29.

[19]*Mo. R. R. Comm. 1879 and 1880*, p. 23; *Chronicle*, Vol. 31 (1880), p. 205; J. T. Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, (2 vols., Phila., 1883), Vol. 2, p. 1163.

[20]The expansion of the road may be traced most easily in either *Poor's Manual* or in the *Official Railroad Guide*.

existed on the Missouri Pacific as on any other road of the period. It is important to note as being essential to a true picture of the situation, but is hardly a distinctive feature of this particular road. Evidences of discrimination are many and easy to obtain, but it is almost impossible to ascertain their extent or their effect on competition, or to draw any conclusions as to the comparative culpability of the various roads.

One of the most important means of checking competition, as opposed to destroying it, was the use of railroad pools and rate agreements. In the west such agreements were not made in any considerable numbers until the latter seventies, probably in most part because competition was not particularly keen until that time. The Missouri Pacific was interested, and participated directly in all the important agreements covering the territory in which the road operated. The most important agreement of this kind was the pool operated by the Southwestern Railway Rate Association.

The Southwestern Railway Rate Association was formed in 1876 to pool traffic from Chicago and St. Louis to points on the Missouri River and in southern Missouri.[21] Originally the traffic itself was pooled, but after a short breakdown in 1878 a new arrangement was made which provided for a money pool.[22] The general division was on the basis of 45% for roads having their terminus at Chicago, 45% for St. Louis roads, and 10% for intermediate lines. The St. Louis traffic, in which the Missouri Pacific had its direct interest, was divided equally between the Missouri Pacific and the St. Louis and San Francisco.

The first trouble which showed the change in character of the Missouri Pacific was the disturbance of 1879. In that year the Chicago and Alton entered the competitive field and demanded 1/3 of the St. Louis traffic, which was refused.[23] As a result the whole association broke down, with the Chicago roads banding together for their own protection and making

[21] *American Railroad Gazette*, Vol. 8 (1876), p. 408.

[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. 10 (1878), pp. 233-4.

[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 211.

the New York-Chicago rate plus the Chicago-Kansas City rate equal to the New York-St. Louis rate. Then the Wabash entered the fight and showed the new railroad alignment and its own strategic position. It reduced its rates to St. Louis so that the New York-St. Louis rate was equal to the New York-Chicago rate.[24] This action gave the St. Louis roads, and particularly the Missouri Pacific, a distinct advantage in the Kansas City business because of the shorter distance of St. Louis from Kansas City, as compared to Chicago.

The next move in the fight was an agreement made by the Wabash with the eastern trunk lines to fix equal rates to the Missouri River, whether by St. Louis or Chicago.[25] It was hoped that this action would settle the trouble, but it failed. The Chicago roads refused to accept the solution and cut the through rate to Kansas City to 10c, while the ordinary rate to the Missouri River was 25c[26] The St. Louis roads tried to keep the rates up to 25c, but the Chicago roads plus the Chicago and Alton gave a 10c rate. The Missouri Pacific tried to retaliate without seriously injuring itself by giving a 5c return rate from Kansas City to St. Louis, but failed.[27]

By the early fall of 1879 the fight had been extended to passenger fares, and was beginning to look disastrous to all parties concerned.[28] In this extremity the representatives of the various roads met at New York to try to come to some kind of an agreement. The desirability of cooperation instead of unrestricted competition was so evident that any debate on the subject was unnecessary, and it was decided to renew the old association and to restore the former rates.[29] The trouble came in dividing the traffic, and the conflicting interests made an agreement seem a little hopeless. As a measure of compromise the whole matter was left to two arbitrators—C. C. Wheeler and Al. Finck.[30] The division which was finally

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[24]*R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 225.
[25]*Ibid.*, p. 239.
[26]*Ibid*, pp. 255-6.
[27]*Ibid.*, p. 286.
[28]*Ibid.*, p. 342.
[29]*R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 11 (1879), p. 487.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 501.

made gave the Chicago and Alton the third of the St. Louis traffic for which she had asked, and increased the ratio of the central roads (principally the Wabash) in the entire traffic. The Chicago roads were given 44½%, the St. Louis roads 44½%, and the central lines 11%.[31] Immediate possibilities of trouble existed in the proposed new direct line of the Wabash to Chicago, and an agreement of the Missouri Pacific and the Illinois Central on the subject of Chicago traffic.

The agreement of 1879 did not at all conclude the troubles with which the Southwestern Railway Rate Association was faced. Early in 1880 the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific objected so strenuously to the existing division of business that a new apportionment was made.[32] Additional trouble was caused by the St. Louis roads. In particular the Chicago and Alton objected because the Missouri Pacific was cutting rates, and not turning over its correct balance to the pool. A rate war was started, but was ended almost immediately upon the restoration of rates by the Missouri Pacific. The obviously too great share of the traffic given to the Chicago and Alton was remedied by a reapportionment which reduced the Chicago and Alton to 25% and increased the Missouri Pacific to 41%[33]

The winter of 1881 saw a big attempt to increase the pool in order to include Colorado business,[34] but the difficulties of apportionment of traffic were almost insuperable, and not until November was there any approach toward solution. In that month a general ratio of 65-35 was decided upon as a fair division between the Chicago and St. Louis roads.[35] A final division was made in January, 1882,[36] but changed in November of the same year.[37] The extension of the territory is not particularly important in this paper because the Missouri Pacific had only a comparatively small amount of

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 527.
[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. 12 (1880), p. 197.
[33] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 12 (1880), p. 232.
[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. 13 (1881), p. 637.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 688.
[36] *Ibid.*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 48.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 654.

Colorado business and was consequently not one of the most interested parties in the matter.

The Southwestern Railway Rate Association could never be wholly satisfactory as long as it considered its members in groups, and the apportionment to individual roads of the entire business of the association came in April 1883. The Missouri Pacific received 6% of the pool for business brought in from southwestern Missouri, and 14% of the remainder as its division of the traffic.[38] The ratio was increased in 1884 after a threat of withdrawal.[39]

Additional difficulties of the Southwestern Railway Rate Association might be mentioned, but would only repeat the ideas already presented. Other pools were also entered by the Missouri Pacific—for instance the Iowa Trunk Line Association which she entered in 1882,[40] the Texas Pool formed in 1882,[41] and the Colorado-Utah Association.[42] The most vitally interesting of these, as far as the Missouri Pacific was concerned, was the Texas Pool, which included the Texas lines of the system. The Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe refused to join the original pool and it soon collapsed, but was revived in 1885 as the Texas Traffic Association.[43] An attempt to unify the rates made by the various pools was made in the formation of the Joint Westward Classification Committee,[44] while the pool managers themselves tried to form an association to promote greater correlation.[45] At the same time, passenger rates were regulated by similar associations.[46]

The early eighties was a period of prosperity for the Missouri Pacific. Having bought up most of its immediate competitors and being favored by fairly effective rate agreements the road began to show a substantial profit and to pay its regular quarterly dividend of 1½%. 1880 showed a sur-

[38] *Ibid.*, Vol. 15 (1883), pp. 211-2, 235.
[39] *Ibid.*,p. 827.
[40] *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 695.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. 17 (1885), p. 351.
[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. 17 (1885), p. 493.
[44] *Ibid*, Vol. 15 (1883), p. 233.
[45] *Ibid.*, Vol. 18 (1886), p. 663.
[46] The Western Association of General Passenger and Ticket Agents might be mentioned as typical.

plus of $1,156,000; 1881—3,065,000;[47] 1882—3,618,000;[48] 1883—4,175,266;[49] 1884—4,284,750.35.[50] These figures should be taken rather cautiously, however, because the road did not give any detailed statement, and any conclusions as to its exact status are very liable to error. The only conclusion that seems to be fairly certain is that the road was making a reasonable amount of profit and was also laying aside a fairly large surplus. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in all probability there was much to be desired in the matter of making repairs and improvements.

The larger aspects of Gould's plans of the early eighties were the consolidation of his western holdings and the securing of an eastern outlet. The first great consolidation—that of 1880, has been mentioned. In 1882 the remainder of the lines in Kansas and Nebraska were made an integral part of the Missouri Pacific.[51] The Wabash was leased to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern in 1883[52]. The control of the International and Great Northern and the Missouri, Kansas and Texas was more strongly centralized (the roads were consolidated and leased to the Missouri Pacific),[53] while the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern was made such an integral part of the system that it was never lost. These manipulations centralized the control of the western lines so that they were comparatively easy to handle, even though the attempt to make a grand consolidation of all the lines failed.[54]

The question of an eastern outlet was more difficult to solve. The Wabash projected an extension to Buffalo,[55] and the line was eventually built, but still left the road a considerable distance from the sea. The next move was in a different

[47]Annual report as reprinted in *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 190.
[48]*Ibid.*, Vol. 15 (1883), p. 167.
[49]*Ibid.*, Vol. 16 (1884), p. 26.
[50]*Ibid.*, Vol. 17 (1885), p. 87.
[51]*Rpt. Mo. R. R. Comm.* 1882, p. 40; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 174; *Chronicle*, Vol. 34 (1882), p. 655.
[52]*Chronicle*, Vol. 36 (1883), p. 439; *Ann. Rpt. 1883*, p. 3.
[53]*Chronicle*, Vol. 32 (1881), p. 552; *Monroe and Shelby Counties*, p. 253.
[54]*Chronicle*, Vol. 32 (1881), p. 205.
[55]*Ibid.*, pp. 299-301.

direction. Control of the Central of New Jersey was acquired, presumably to connect it with the Wabash.[56] The easiest and most logical way to make this connection would have been by means of the Baltimore and Ohio. Strenuous attempts were made by Gould and Vanderbilt, acting together, to secure this line, but failed.[57] By the time the attempts to secure the Baltimore and Ohio were certain of failure, conditions were no longer propitious for the building of a new line and the project was dropped. Twenty years later it was revived in an extended form by George Gould, who conceived the idea of controlling a real transcontinental road.

The most notable construction of the Missouri Pacific in the early eighties was the line to Omaha, which was opened in 1882.[58] As has before been stated, most of the construction during this period was carried on by the subsidiary lines, but about 1884-5 these began to show signs of strain and the Missouri Pacific itself began to take over the newer construction enterprises, so that during the years 1886-7-8 most of this work was carried on by the mother company. The largest single new line was the one to Pueblo, opened in 1887.[59] Connections to Denver were made by a traffic agreement with the Denver and Rio Grande.

Approximately in 1884 the Missouri Pacific system began to show signs of distress, which was only an emphasized form of the ordinary condition of the western roads. The small panic of 1884 created a temporary depression, which was followed by a period of extraordinary construction. This boom period came to an end in the late eighties, while the final crash came in 1893 and resulted in a depression that can hardly be said to have disappeared before the end of the century. This general condition must be remembered, then, when any particular road is under discussion. The reasons for the breakdown of the Missouri Pacific were also in operation

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[56] *Chronicle*, Vol. 32 (1881), pp. 454-5.

[57] *Ibid.*, Vol. 33 (1881), pp. 370-1.

[58] *Ibid.*, Vol. 34 (1882), p. 316; *R. R. Gazette*, Vol. 14 (1882), p. 353; *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas*, (Chi., 1890), p. 232.

[59] *Official Guide*, Feb., 1888, pp. 404-416; J. C. Smiley, *History of Denver with Outlines of the Earlier History of the Rocky Mountain Country* (Denver, 1903), p. 515; *Gazette*, Vol. 19 (1887), p. 805; *Chronicle*, Vol. 45 (1887), p. 727.

with all the roads. Over-capitalized roads that were expanding too rapidly were bound to fail in a time of economic depression.

Probably the real reason why the Missouri Pacific was struck more heavily by depression than other roads was because of its management. Roads were acquired and lines built to secure monopoly gains, while the individual properties were operated to secure the greatest possible immediate profit rather than to develop the individual properties. Back of all these ideas was the mind of Gould, always alert to secure financial advantage, primarily interested in the New York operations, and with very little knowledge of practical railroading.

The effects of speculative management first became visible in 1884 when the annual dividend was paid in part from the accumulated surplus.[60] This condition was blamed on general business depression, floods, crop failures, and increasing competition[61] Unfortunately for this explanation as the final word on the subject, succeeding years continued to show the same conditions, until finally the surplus no longer existed and the road was operated at a net loss. Undoubtedly the company's explanation was true as far as it went, but it can hardly be considered as being complete. The truth of the matter was that a road with the financial status of the Missouri Pacific could only be successful under exceptionally favorable circumstances.

One of the standard arguments of the railroads in accounting for depression was the effect of government regulation, both state and national. In the case of the Missouri Pacific the only state laws that directly affected it were the laws of Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. Neither Texas nor Arkansas attempted any effective regulation until a period in which the finances of the Missouri Pacific were already hopeless. In the case of Missouri, the original rate scale and the commission for its enforcement were provided in 1875.[62] This commis-

[60] *Annual Report 1884*, p. 18.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

[62] S. J. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, (Cambridge, 1913), p. 195; *Rpt. Mo. R. R. Comm.* 1878, pp. 29-45.

sion was never wholly effective, and additional legislation was found necessary in the middle eighties.[63] A steady decrease in rates in Missouri is noticeable from 1875 on, and probably was due in some part to the state regulation, but in view of the general prevalence of this decline it would seem that the commission was slightly egotistical when it gave itself the entire credit for the change.[64] Kansas passed a maximum rate law in 1867,[65] but by the time that the Missouri Pacific entered the state these rates were so high that they had no possible effect. The Kansas Railroad Commission law was passed in 1883, but gave the commissioners practically no power.[66] Even under this condition the Missouri Pacific was able to still further curtail its powers by stopping construction in Kansas when the commission advised a 20% lowering of rates.[67] Nebraska passed a maximum rate law in 1881, limiting rates to the amount charged in November, 1880.[68] A commission was finally established in 1885, but it was so utterly ineffective that the law was amended within two years.[69] Even then the commission could hardly have been called a dictatorial body. Taken broadly, it seems evident that on the whole the state commissions had very little effect on the railroads, either good or bad. The slight decrease in rates which occurred might be blamed on them to some extent, but seems to have been due more to a general decrease in the value of all commodities, and the increase of competition.

The action of the federal government in the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act must be taken more seriously, although with the distinct reservation that by this time the Missouri Pacific system was already beginning to fall apart. In the matter of rate making the law was soon shown to be without teeth, so that phase of the matter may be disregarded for the period under consideration. Negatively, however,

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[63] *Rpt. Mo. R. R. Comm. 1886*, p. 3.
[64] *Rpt. Mo. R. R. Comm. 1894*, p. 5.
[65] *Chronicle*, Vol. 4, (1867), p. 343.
[66] *Rpt. Kan. R. R. Comm. 1885*, pp. 3-9, 264-270; Buck, p. 197.
[67] *Mo. Pac. Ann.Rpt. 1883*, p. 8.
[68] *Rpt. Neb. R. R. Comm. 1886*, p. 86.
[69] *Rpt. Neb. R. R. Comm. 1887*, Appendix.

the act had a considerable effect on rates by its prohibition of pooling. The immediate result was the lapse of existing pools, a confusion in the railroad world, and a bad railroad war in the west (1888).[70]

By the latter part of 1888 the condition had become unbearable, and some kind of an agreeement was an imperative necessity if the railroads were not to be allowed to commit joint suicide. Because of this necessity the Western Freight Association was formed in the latter part of September 1888—a voluntary association to agree on rates and services for the entire west.[71] Administratively the southwest was under the direction of J. W. Midgley and the west and northwest under J. N. Faithorne. The southwestern division ran under the name of the Southwestern Clearing House.[72] An entirely voluntary association of this kind was doomed to failure from the start. After attempting to discipline members by imposing fines it finally disbanded within a year. The next attempt at agreement followed early in 1889 under the leadership of C. F. Adams, Jr. The new organization was known as the Interstate Commerce Railway Association, had the same features, covered the same territory, and had the same divisions.[73] After three months the Chicago and Alton resigned, alleging discrimination, and from then on the final dissolution was only a matter of time.[74] In the winter of 1890 an attempt to revive the organization failed.[75]

The next agreement was the Western Traffic Association, formed in January 1891.[76] The plan adopted was similar to the preceding ones, but four subdivisions were made, while the powers of the commissioners were left rather vague. The whole tendency of the organization was in the direction of the

[70]H. of R. Doc. 380, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 336; J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation System in the United Statees*, (Phila., 1888), p. 273.

[71]*Gazette*, Vol. 20 (1888), p. 614.

[72]*Ibid.*, p. 796.

[73]H. R. Doc. 380, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 336; *Gazette*, Vol. 21 (1889), pp. 23, 40, 41, 188.

[74]*Gazette*, Vol. 21 (1889), pp. 413, 780.

[75]*Ibid.*, Vol. 22 (1890), pp. 120, 241-2, 875-6.

[76]H. R. Doc. 380, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 336; *Gazette*, Vol. 23 (1891), pp. 54, 122, 276, 346, 338.

pooling of traffic, although an attempt was made to keep outside of the meaning of the act of 1887. This agreement was only slightly more effective than the preceding ones, but managed to stay in operation until finally judged illegal by the Supreme Court in 1897.[77]

As a whole the act of 1887 had a bad effect on the railroads. It aimed to prevent abuses but failed to act constructively. The result was only confusion. Some kind of railroad corporation was an obvious necessity, and its prohibition only meant a loss to the railroads without any corresponding gain to the public. In common with other railroads the Missouri Pacific felt this drawback in the latter eighties, and while the actual loss should not be greatly stressed, it was certainly present.

Another phase of the matter was the trouble with labor, which again was not unique to the Missouri Pacific, but attained its largest proportions on that road. Partly it was caused by the increasing power and self-consciousness of labor, and partly by the comparatively poor conditions of work. It may be considered as one of the causes for the decline of the Missouri Pacific, but probably should be more emphasized as one of the evidences of that decline.

Minor troubles might be mentioned, but the situation only began to become serious with the strike of 1885, which was precipitated by a 10% cut in wages because of the depression of the preceding year. As a protest against this reduction the shopmen on the Texas and Pacific struck, and gradually this strike spread over the entire system. The officials of the road refused even to treat with the strikers, on the grounds that it would be a moral loss of prestige. It was soon seen that a widespread strike of this kind did not affect only the participants, but bore most heavily on the people of Kansas and Missouri, who depended almost entirely on the Missouri Pacific lines for their transportation. In this extremity the governors of Kansas and Missouri interven-

[77]In the suit of the United States v. the Trans-Missouri Freight Association.

ed and arbitrated the matter. The old wage scale was restored and operations resumed.[78]

The strike of 1885 was a decided victory for the employees, and resulted in giving them confidence to press other demands. The rapid rise of the Knights of Labor gave them the organization for this purpose. The principal demands of the workers were fairly definite—

(1) The right to organize.

(2) Representation in industry.

(3) A reasonable wage with time and a half for overtime.

(4) No work to be contracted for outside shops.

(5) An arbitration scheme, with workers equally represented.

The actual cause for the beginning of the big strike of 1886 is slightly obscure, and is variously given as the breaking of the agreement of 1885 by the company, the discharge of a Knights of Labor foreman, the use of outside contracting for shop work, etc. The grievances were undoubtedly cumulative, and the actual starting point is perhaps immaterial. At any rate the strike was begun in February, 1886, and rapidly spread throughout the whole system, completely tying up transportation in the southwest. Various attempts at arbitration failed; a citizen's committee of Marshall, Texas, secured the cooperation of the strikers but was refused by the company; the governor of Kansas and Missouri secured the cooperation of the company, but were refused by the workers; General Master Workman Powderly of the Knights of Labor tried negotiations directly with Gould, but after nearly reaching his goal, failed.

The failure of arbitration meant that the strike settled down to a trial of strength. The deciding factor was probably public opinion. In 1885 public opinion had probably been slightly in favor of the strikers, but by a year later conditions had changed. The people were unaccustomed to

[78]The material for this strike has been taken from the *Rpt. of the Kan. R. R. Comm. 1885*, pp. 22-25, and *Gazette*, Vol. 17 (1885), pp. 16, 159, 175, 191, 271, 510.

strikes and felt very severely the economic loss of the failure of transportation. Even more important was the attitude of the strikers. Enraged because of their grievances, and encouraged by the leadership of Martin Irons, they embarked on a program of lawlessness and destruction which eventually lost them all public sympathy. The result was an almost complete victory for the railroad, which only conceded that there would be no discrimination against the Knights of Labor, and that prices for work on the Missouri Pacific would be the same as elsewhere.[79]

The reason for the failure of the Missouri Pacific system might be summarized briefly. Back of everything lies the general economic factors. In common with all western roads the Missouri Pacific was built speculatively and over-capitalized, so that the general depressions of 1884 and of the late eighties were difficult situations to meet. Emphasizing and exaggerating this condition was the Gould management, which specialized in highly speculative transactions rather than in sound development. State government regulation was a negligible factor, but the national act was a distinct hardship. Labor troubles accentuated, and also served to illustrate the existing conditions.

The first of the Gould roads to crack under the strain was the Texas and Pacific, which was probably the least important of the larger lines. When the Gould-Huntington operations failed to head off the Santa Fe, Gould lost a large share of his interest in the Texas and Pacific, which had lost much of its usefulness. It was hedged in on the north by the Santa Fe and on the south by the through line of the Southern Pacific. In consequence it was not very effective, and could only hope for whatever business the northern lines would throw in its way. The Texas and Pacific had been built by a construction company in which Gould was largely interested,

[79]Accounts of the strike of 1886 may be found in *The Official History of the Great Strike of 1886 on the Southwestern Railway System* (Jeff. City, 1887); *Rpt. Kan. R. R. Comm. 1886*, pp. 24-34; E. B. Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Times*, (2 vols., N. Y., 1903), Vol. 2, pp. 138 ff.; N. L. Prentis, *A History of Kansas*, (Winfield, Kan., 1899), p. 172; *Gazette*, Vol. 18 (1886), pp. 154, 190, 184, 202, 215, 223, 233, 238, 250, 255, 270, 290, 322.

and the contracts were exorbitant, so that the road was largely over-capitalized.[80] Consequently when the depression of 1884 occurred the bondholders began to get restless and demanded the controlling voice in the operation of the road. The best that Gould would do for them was to give them eight out of the seventeen directors, and in consequence they began action for the appointment of a receiver.[81] This action brought Gould to terms and an agreement was made whereby each side chose eight directors and the seventeenth man was chosen by common consent.[82] This solution was not long satisfactory, and again the matter was taken to court. This time receivers were appointed.[83] Presumably the next action would have been the sale of the road, but Gould was not anxious for that solution, which would destroy his control. While the Texas and Pacific as a whole was not tremendously desirable, it formed the link between the International and Great Northern and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern. Rumors concerning the Texas and Pacific began to circulate in Wall Street and the price of its securities dropped rapidly.[84] The result was that the bondholders were brought to terms by the possibility of certain loss incident to a sale of the road. Plans were agreed upon. An assessment was levied on the stockholders, the receivers were discharged, and the road remained under Gould control although being operated independently from the Missouri Pacific.[85]

While the Texas and Pacific was in trouble the Wabash also collapsed. Gould had bought the Wabash for almost nothing because the road had been in an almost perpetual state of insolvency. Immediately after Gould's purchase the road began to pay dividends (let it be said on no greater earnings than before) and the securities rose to fabulous prices. Then the insiders let go of their holdings. Gould

[80] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 16, 1879; *Chronicle*, Vol. 41 (1885), p. 714.
[81] *Chronicle*, Vol. 39 (1884), p. 587.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 607.
[83] *Ibid.*, Vol. 41 (1885), p. 714.
[84] *Ibid.*, Vol. 42 (1886), p. 550.
[85] The *Chronicle* treats the reorganization copiously; see Vol. 42, (1886), pp. 632, 634; Vol. 43 (1886), pp. 12, 41, 73, 103, 133, 167, 191, 218, 275, 309, 369, 400, 432, 516, 672.

retained just enough stock to keep control. The next move was a rapid expansion on the basis of a general blanket loan; extensions were built and lines consolidated or purchased, giving the Wabash the appearance of one of the most vigorous roads in the country. In 1883 it was leased to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern rather than to the Missouri Pacific because the controlling interests saw the inevitable crash and didn't want to involve the Missouri Pacific. The road was kept going by a collateral trust loan and by individual advances made by the directors. This precarious condition could not last indefinitely and the final crash came with the depression of 1884.[86] Receivers were appointed and the branch lines gradually separated.[87] Gould retained his interest for a while, but failed to get his own plan of reorganization adopted and finally disposed of his holdings. The road was sold under foreclosure and divided into two parts—the lines east of the Mississippi (Wabash Railway) and those west of it (Wabash Western Railway).[88] The two sections were later reunited (1889) as the Wabash Railroad Company.[89]

The breakdown of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas presents a different set of circumstances. It would seem that during the eighties Gould had disposed of the majority of his holdings in the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, relying for control on the lease to the Missouri Pacific. As time went on the security holders became restive, feeling that the road was being operated entirely in the interests of the Missouri Pacific, with no attention to the condition of the road itself. They appealed to Gould, asking a change in the policy and status of the road.[90] A commission of three men on each side was appointed to look into the affairs and relations of the two roads,[91] and reported on June 1, 1888, that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas had been unfairly treated by the Missouri Pacific, needed new equipment, and would be better off if

[86] *Chronicle*, Vol. 39 (1884), p. 183.
[87] *Ibid.*, Vol. 42 (1886), pp. 164, 537, 719.
[88] *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, pp. 309, 782.
[89] *Ibid.*, Vol. 48 (1889), p. 730. These changes can also be followed in the annual report of the company or in the monthly railroad guide.
[90] *Chronicle*, Vol. 46 (1888), pp. 543-4.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 609.

run independently.[92] The new anti-Gould directors which had been elected about two weeks before applied to the court for a receiver on the basis of this report.[93] Their petition was granted.[94] It might be said that the defense of the Missouri Pacific was that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas had been insolvent at the time that it was taken over, had never paid, and was entirely dependent on the advantages of the connection with the Missouri Pacific.[95]

The upshot of the whole matter was that Gould completely lost control, and the lease of the Missouri Pacific was terminated. The road was reorganized, an interest going to the Standard Oil people.[96] In 1891 it was rechartered in order to include all of its Texas branches,[97] and by 1893 had completed its own lines to St. Louis and Houston, making it entirely independent of the Missouri Pacific.[98]

The International and Great Northern was closely connected with the Missouri, Kansas and Texas and defaulted its interest payments in 1888, receivers being appointed.[99] The International and Great Northern was an important connection for both the Missouri, Kansas and Texas and the Missouri Pacific—particularly for the Missouri Pacific, as it gave the only outlet to the Gulf. As a result there was a considerable struggle between the two roads for control. After varying fortunes the matter was compromised; each of the companies was to hold an equal amount of the stock, with the Central Trust Company with 1000 shares holding the balance of power and acting as arbitrator.[100] The road was reorganized in 1892 on this basis.[101]

The collapse of the lines subsidiary to the Missouri Pacific naturally implies rather stringent conditions in the

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 771; Vol. 47 (1888), pp. 257-260.
[93] *Ibid.*, Vol. 46 (1888), pp. 650, 771.
[94] *Ibid.*, Vol. 47 (1888), p. 381.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 440.
[96] *Ibid.*, Vol. 50, p. 801.
[97] *Ibid.*, Vol. 53 (1891), p. 640.
[98] *Off. Guide*, Jan. 1894, pp. 604-8.
[99] *Official Guide* Jan. 1889, pp. 438-0; *Chronicle*, Vol. 46 (1888), p. 573; Vol. 47 (1888), p. 664; Vol. 48 (1889), pp. 251, 462.
[100] *Chronicle*, Vol. 50 (1890), p. 313.
[101] *Ibid.*, Vol. 54 (1892), p. 366; Vol. 55 (1892), p. 177.

mother road. Beginning with 1884 the amount of net earnings continued to decrease, and this condition was particularly bad when viewed in connection with a steady increase of mileage and gross receipts.[102] While this state of affairs was noticeable from 1884 it did not become dangerous until 1888, when the Missouri Pacific the same as other roads, was faced by a general depression in the west which was to increase in the succeeding years. The report of 1888 showed the earnings and expenses of the road to be nearly equal; dividends were paid in most part from the existing surplus; 10% of the employees of the road were laid off; the building program was almost completely abandoned.[103] With increasing economies of administration the road was able to earn enough in 1889 and 1890 to pay dividends out of the current receipts.[104] This statement, while warranted by the general financial report, probably is unduly optimistic; at any rate a special meeting of the stockholders was called in July, 1890, and voted an increase of $10,000,000 in the capital stock and a like amount in collateral trust bonds, and urged a further consolidation of the smaller subsidiary lines as a means of economy.[105]

The attitude of the stockholders was justified by the report of 1891, which showed a deficit of about $2,000,000, which had to be paid out of the accumulated surplus.[106] This same condition continued to exist, with occasional modifications, during the ensuing years.[107] The elder Gould died in 1892 and was succeeded by his son George.[108] The final crash came with the panic of 1893, and the following year showed a net loss to the company of almost $2,000,000 (all lines).[109] Most of this deficit was in the form of a floating debt of about $8,750,000 for the Missouri Pacific and the St.

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[102] Rpt. for 1885 in *Gazette*, Vol. 18 (1886), p. 367; 1886-*Gazette*, Vol. 19 (1887), p. 226; 1887-*Chronicle*, Vol. 46 (1888), p. 367.

[103] *Annual Rpt. Mo. Pac.* for 1888, pp. 2-8; *Gazette*, Vol. 20 (1888), p. 15.

[104] *Annual Rpt. 1889*, Table 1; *Annual Rpt. 1890*, Table 1.

[105] *Chronicle*, Vol. 51 (1890), pp. 84, 910.

[106] *Annual Rpt. Mo. Pac. 1891*, Table 1; *Gazette*, Vol. 23 (1891), p. 697; *Chronicle*, Vol. 53 (1891), p. 418.

[107] See the annual financial report of the company for the actual figures.

[108] *Chronicle*, Vol. 56 (1893), p. 15.

[109] *Annual Rpt. Mo. Pac. 1894*, pp. 6-10, 30, 60.

Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern. This floating debt was funded in 1895 by issuing gold funding notes—$8,256,000 for the Missouri Pacific and $4,744,000 for the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern. These issues also provided for a continuing deficit, which amounted to approximately $1,850,000 in 1895 and 1896.[110] The complete prostration of the road had been avoided by a large increase in the funded debt, which of course meant a larger capitalization, already too large. The immediate result was a tiding over of the depression, and from 1897 the road again began to show a profit.[111]

Gould's operations had meant the spectacular building of an immense railroad system in the southwest. The speculative management and the depression of the middle and latter eighties caused a dissolution that was just as spectacular. From the entire system the Missouri Pacific, the St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern and the Texas and Pacific were saved to the Gould interests. The remainder of the lines were lost, at least for the time being. George Gould later revived and extended some of his father's plans, but this phase of the matter does not come under our present observation.

The whole history of the Missouri Pacific constitutes an excellent example of the general course of western railroad construction. Of course variations in degree occur, but not sufficiently to invalidate the general conclusion. The road was projected by enthusiasts who represented the general trend of western railroad agitation. The idea was conceived as both a local benefit and as a possible aid to the nation in transcontinental communication. Aid was given by individuals, local political subdivisions, the state, the federal government. Progress was slow and halting during the fifties, still slower during the Civil War, and revived immediately thereafter. The depression caused by the panic of 1873 finally disappeared toward the end of the decade, and the road started a policy of rapid expansion and consolidation which was not at all unique, although containing a few unusual

[110] *Ibid.*, *1895*, pp. 9, 13, 64; *Ibid.*, *1896*, p. 62.
[111] The annual financial report for each of these years is available.

features because of the definite characteristics of the Gould manipulations. Financial depression, bad management, labor troubles, economic difficulties, and other similar factors finally caused the stopping of further advance and the dissolution of the system. The result was again not unique, except in so far as it started a little earlier than for other roads, and went a little further. The panic of 1893 marked the final crash, and its effects were only beginning to disappear toward the end of the century.

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

FOURTH ARTICLE

A SENSATIONAL HALF-DECADE.

The five years from 1875 to 1880 abounded in St. Louis news of highly sensational character. Perhaps in no half decade since the Civil War has St. Louis been called upon to meet more serious occurrences, to deal with events of more absorbing interest from the local point of view.

A contest over the mayoralty unseated James H. Britton after he had served nearly a year, and put Henry Overstolz in his place. A few weeks later a board of freeholders began the framing of a new charter and the planning of a "scheme of separation" of St. Louis city and county. The two instruments were submitted. The charter was adopted. The "scheme," on the face of the returns, failed by about 1,100 adverse votes. *The Globe-Democrat* had opposed the separation of city and county. It may seem strange to this generation that many of the best citizens of St. Louis could not then foresee the danger of fixing thus the limits to the city's expansion. But they did not rightly estimate forty years' growth. Soon after the election, charges that the "scheme" had been defeated by falsified returns were made. A grand jury, of which R. J. Howard was foreman, investigated the election and reported that the "scheme" had been "decisively defeated." Nevertheless a public investigation was started and depositions were taken. Enough testimony was obtained to obtain a judicial decision that the "scheme" had carried. Subsequently the *Globe-Democrat* charged that some of the ward politicians who had testified to frauds perpetrated against the "scheme" at the election, and thus aided the movement to get a court decision reversing the original returns, had been rewarded with positions in the city government.

During a considerable period the old county court continued its organization and held meetings in the city while a new county court, acting on the reversed election returns, set up business at the Sutton farmhouse in St. Louis county. The confusing situation offered a harvest for the legal profession. *The Globe-Democrat* was prompted to say:

"Wanted: A hundred and fifty lawyers. Apply at either of the county courts."

On the 10th of April, 1877, about midway of this half decade of the startling, the Southern hotel burned with the loss of eleven lives. Among those who escaped in scanty attire was Joseph Pulitzer, who gave a graphic account of his experience, and who was described in the newspapers as "a journalist and an attorney at law."

The 2nd of May, 1877, was made notable locally by "the most extraordinary ball game on record,"—fifteen innings played without a run on either side.

Month after month the revelations of local life insurance history amazed the St. Louis public, compromised citizens of hitherto unblemished character, and yielded great fees to lawyers. This history went back to days before the Civil War when local life insurance was in the primitive and highly speculative stage. The death of a studhorse in St. Charles county and of a thoroughbred bull in St. Clair county, Illinois, both animals covered by liberal policies, so impaired the assets of one company as to cause danger of collapse. The St. Louis Mutual was organized in 1858. It did not restrict policies to human beings. It staggered through the Civil War, obtained fresh capital, and, about 1871, broadened its business by taking over the Atlas and the Mississippi Valley. The Mound City succeeded the St. Louis Mutual. Then, in rapid succession of reinsurance and changes of name, came the St. Louis Life, the Life Association of America and the Columbia—and finally the fireworks. Astounding revelations prompted this editorial in the *Globe-Democrat:*

"We are very sorry to note a disposition on the part of the St. Louis press to restrict at once the usefulness and emoluments of the lawyer, by endeavoring to prove that it is improper for a lawyer to take fees from both sides of a case. Such squeamishness is entirely out of date, and is opposed to all the modern ideas of practice, and to the learned conclusions of the most advanced minds at the bar. The business of a lawyer is not to settle lawsuits, but to stir them up, and keep the wheels of litigation going briskly. If he is elected to the Legislature, his duty to his profession requires that he should so confuse the laws as to render it impossible to settle the slightest difference without long and costly litigation. If he contents himself with unofficial influence in politics, he should urge the party to changes and improvements in the manner of public government which will throw business in his way. And should he chance to serve in a constitutional convention or on a charter commission, it should be his constant aim to devise such articles as may leave room for subsequent lawsuits. We are happy to state that, as a general rule, the lawyers of St. Louis have risen to the high level of these demands, and have lent a new meaning to the dignity of their profession. The one additional step which was required was that they should, on proper occasions, sacrifice their personal feelings to the exigences of a high professional standing, and, rather than have litigation fail, accept fees from both litigants at once. Professional zeal of this kind should not go unnoticed, and we make bold to call the attention of the bar association to the recent illustrations of it, and we call on them to vindicate their brethren from the aspersions of the scurrilous press."

A St. Louis county official was tried on a charge of embezzling $143,000 of school funds. This was used as one argument by those who were in the movement to separate city and county. But more to the point, it supplied the *Globe-Democrat* with an apt illustration for the anti-gambling campaign which the paper was carrying on vigorously. The official had lost the public school money in gambling. He charged men of high standing, some in official life, with having sat in the games and lured him on.

A defalcation in the office of the circuit clerk about that time gave Mr. McCullagh another concrete stimulus to drive home his war on gambling in St. Louis.

"The truth of the matter is that one-half of the men in public position similar to that of Mr. Blank in this city are chronic gamblers, and that the vice of gambling is encouraged and protected in St. Louis instead of being punished or pre-

vented. A man with a passion for gambling will not hesitate to use or to lose the people's money in the gratification of that passion. This is not the first instance in our recent history of defalcation superinduced by gambling and it will not be the last."

Gambling in every form had been tolerated long in St. Louis. In the early seventies the Missouri State Lottery flourished. It claimed legality through a long-ago act of the Legislature granting a franchise to conduct a lottery on condition that a fixed percentage of the revenue be applied to construction of a plank road from New Franklin to the Missouri river. But New Franklin, once the most flourishing community along the river, had become a reminiscence. The plank road, most of it, had gone over the caving bank into the river. Nevertheless the Missouri State Lottery was still doing business. It had many branch offices, notably in cigar stores. It had periodical drawings conducted with much formality and in the presence of distinguished official witnesses in a large hall standing on the present site of the Merchants' Exchange. For years the results of the drawings of grand and "approximate" prizes were announced in the advertising columns of the St. Louis newspapers. *The St. Louis Republican* sent a reporter to New Franklin and exposed conditions there, showing the false pretenses upon which the lottery was still operating. In the face of the sacrifice of lucrative advertising the papers attacked the lottery. Bowing to aroused public sentiment the Legislature passed the legislation repealing the franchise. The lottery managers set up the plea that they were being driven out of business by the influence of those interested in other forms of gambling but it did not save them.

With the downfall of the lottery, came the agitation to close all gambling houses. There were ordinances which made gambling a misdemeanor. Under the provisions the police raided the houses semi-occasionally. Keno outfits, faro layouts and poker tables were carted away and destroyed. Fines were imposed on proprietors and employes but not upon players. Gambling went on as usual. Along Fourth

and Fifth (now Broadway) streets these gambling halls occupied imposing quarters and were wide open to all comers. The *Globe-Democrat* insistently called for a new law and such enforcement of it as would end the scandal, for widespread scandal it was. The evil went far beyond the games of chance. The proprietors organized for self-protection. They contributed to political funds, even to those of national character. They paid tribute to have raids made infrequent. They corrupted police officials with regular payments to obtain advance notice of coming raids.

In 1879 a grand jury, which became known as "the big twelve," investigated the gambling ring. Joseph B. McCullagh was made foreman of the body. That was the only official position accepted by him during the twenty-five years of his editorship. Mr. McCullagh was in the thick of every movement for the betterment of St. Louis but he worked exclusively through the columns of the *Globe-Democrat* after his service on the grand jury.

A crisis was reached when "the big twelve" exposed the ramifications of the gambling ring. Charles P. Johnson framed a bill which made the keeping of a gambling house in Missouri a felony. The measure passed the Legislature in spite of one of the strongest lobbies ever seen in Jefferson City, urging that the suppression of gambling would hurt the business of St. Louis.

With this legislation came a succession of police scandals, the worst in the history of the department. Morgan Boland, who had been a police sergeant, and an efficient one, was appointed police commissioner, together with Alexander Kinkead, a personal friend of the Rev. Dr. John D. Vincil. David H. Armstrong, a pioneer schoolmaster in St. Louis, who had been a former police commissioner and later a United States senator by appointment to fill a recess vacancy, commented severely on Boland's appointment. He recalled some old charges against Boland growing out of Boland's management of the mounted district. Boland went to the Planters' House and assaulted Armstrong. Boland was made vice-president of the police board and shortly afterwards

removed by his associates. He went into court seeking reinstatement. His next sensational move was a newspaper attack on the character of Charles P. Johnson because of Mr. Johnson's activity in pushing the anti-gambling law. For a period of several weeks Boland was in the limelight. Police troubles filled many newspaper columns with charges and counter charges. Governor Crittenden removed Boland and called for the resignations of John D. Finney and Leslie A. Moffett. Day after day the *Globe-Democrat* pounded away with demands of this style:

"Gentlemen of the Police Board, it is your business to suppress gambling. Why don't you do it?"

E. C. Simmons, Samuel Cupples and John H. Maxon were appointed police commissioners. They promptly ordered the enforcement of the Johnson anti-gambling act. The gamblers were indicted and arrested. A local judge pronounced the law invalid. The cases went to the state supreme court. The best legal talent that could be found in Missouri was employed by the gamblers. The supreme court sustained the law. The newspapers demanded a fight to the finish. The gamblers came into court and pleaded guilty. Penitentiary sentences were ordered but not begun. Pardons were issued for the entire batch. Police Commissioners Simmons, Cupples and Maxon resigned at once.

Before that state administration went out eleven citizens of St. Louis had served as members of the police board. Two or three of them were indicted. Mass meetings to voice the indignation of the people of St. Louis were held on 'change. Libel suits flew thick and fast. Deposition mills ground almost daily to add sensational revelations under oath. Lawyers reaped a rich harvest. Speaking of the governor and two men in St. Louis who were supposed to have much influence with him, the *Globe-Democrat* said George, John and Tom constituted "a triumvirate for the conduct of public affairs in the state and for raising hell generally."

"Law and order" was the demand of the new journalism in Missouri, and with no lagging and uncertain note. When the nation-wide railroad strikes of 1877 paralyzed the country, the *Globe-Democrat* proclaimed:

"Down with all mobs and up with the law."

"No compromise with rioters."

"Three days more like the past three and the City of St. Louis will be hopelessly in the hands of the worst set of marauders that ever disgraced the earth."

A hundred appeals to good citizenship like those quoted was attended by the organization of 5,000 men with muskets under a committee of public safety. This small army marched on Schuler's hall, broke up the headquarters of the strike and ended the municipal chaos without the loss of a life and no destruction of property beyond the raiding of a bakery and a few small stores. It was a triumph in which the new journalism played its part. But two years later came an issue which called for different treatment.

In the summer of 1879 there was talk of trouble with the Internationals, as they were called, and the Socialists. When these organizations paraded on their way to picnics, they carried red flags and the inscriptions on their banners denounced capital. Among the terrifying rumors circulated in St. Louis was one that the Internationals had enlisted 7,000 workingmen; that all of these men were armed, and that they drilled regularly for a coming revolution. Reporters attended the meetings of the "sections" of the Internationals and ran down the rumors. Reports about arms and drilling were without foundation. There was much talk in the meetings about the wrongs of labor. There was no evidence of intended violence. But the memory of three days of mob rule in the summer of 1877 was still fresh. Timorous people, some of them in official station, were not reassured. When labor leaders announced a demonstration in St. Louis and other cities for the Fourth of July, with the ostensible purpose of making sentiment in favor of an eight-hour day, it was proposed openly that, for the public safety, the parade be forbidden. Some newspapers advocated this.

The *Globe-Democrat* at once took emphatic stand against interference and upheld the right of the labor organizations to parade as planned. The demonstration took place without disorder. The new journalism's prediction had been vindicated:

"There will be no trouble in this city on the Fourth. The eight-hour men will parade, as they have an unquestionable right to do, and nobody will molest or make them afraid."

It was this quality of absolute fair-mindedness toward the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor that gave the new journalism added power when the clashes came. The new journalism never pandered to either side; it never lost anything in circulation or prestige by its consistent opposition to mob violence.

St. Louis street railway men struck in October, 1885. Conductors wanted two dollars and drivers (this was before the trolley), wanted one dollar and seventy-five cents for a day of twelve hours. There was considerable sympathy with the strikers. Disorder resulted. The *Globe-Democrat* said:

"The Knights of Labor inaugurated the strike, but the Knights of Loafers took possession of it and made it a riot. The riot must be put down."

"Put down the riot. This is the first thing to do and it should be done quickly."

In a double-leaded editorial, the paper sounded no uncertain note of policy in disputes between capital and labor:

"The question with which the people of St. Louis are called upon by the events of yesterday to deal is not one of wages for street car employes, but of peace and law or riot and mob rule for this community. What was begun as a peaceable strike has been merged by those who began it into a law defying riot, resulting in bloodshed already. All the strikers are not rioters, nor are all the rioters strikers. But the strike is the parent of the riot. The riot must be put down, and if the strike goes down with the riot, so much the worse for those who, in the sacred name of labor, have been waging a brutal and indiscriminate war against persons and property in this city for several days. The wonder is that their outlawry has been tolerated so long in a city which pays heavily for such protection as a well-organized police force can afford. The scenes enacted yesterday—

wanton assaults upon peaceable citizens and women and children—should stir the blood of honest manhood and rouse a spirit of indignation before which the mob and its leaders would quickly fly for refuge. What is needed now is the strong arm of the law to interpose with all the force at its command, whether civil or military, between the lawless mob and the law-abiding people, and to stop this carnival of crime and cruelty at the point to which it has now been shamelessly allowed to progress."

In this same year, a series crimes with an explosive then comparatively new, prompted this in the *Globe-Democrat:*

"In the United States they are 'dynamiters;' in Canada they are 'dynamiteurs;' in England they are 'dynamitards;' They are cowardly scoundrels everywhere."

PERSONAL SYMPTOMS

In the earlier years of the new journalism in Missouri there were not infrequent lapses into the personal. One of the most notable of those attacks came in the autumn of 1878. Its symptoms developed at the opening of a local political campaign. It revived for the entertainment of that generation two long-past and highly sensational incidents of St. Louis history. The Republican city convention nominated for sheriff Major Julius Hunicke, a prominent and highly respectable citizen. The next morning the *St. Louis Republican* printed editorially this comment on the nomination:

"Who would have thought that the once brilliant Callahan banquet, where police commissioners from Cincinnati and St. Louis supped in splendor with the demi-monde, should drift into sight through the aid of a Republican convention. It is a case of the sins of the youthful politician returning to plague him. Mr. Hunicke should have thought of this."

Before the dampness from the press—for in those days the sheets were "wet down"—had evaporated, everybody knew that Major Hunicke had a perfect alibi. The editor of the *Republican* had earned a record place in what the late Tom McPheeters called the "half-cock book." The Callahan banquet was the talk of the town. The *Globe-Democrat* said:

"Ordinarily we hesitate before challenging any assertion of the *Republican* which involves the habits, modes of life or other proceedings of the demi-monde. It is a wise law of nature which ordains a division of labor in this world, 'each as his business and desire shall point.' The principle obtains in journalism as in other professions and pursuits, and in obedience to it the *Republican* has become the organ and oracle of female frailty. In all that happens within the many temples of Venus, within the city of St. Louis, the *Republican* is regarded as indisputable authority. We should as soon think of questioning *Bell's Life* or the *Clipper* respecting an event in the prize ring as of doubting the *Republican's* record of anything transpiring in a maison de joie. And yet we are constrained to correct that usually accurate journal when it says, as in its issue of yesterday, that Mr. Hunicke, the Republican candidate for sheriff, was present at a banquet given some years ago at the residence of one 'Madame Callahan.' We have no idea who Madame Callahan was or where she resided, but the *Republican* speaks of her in terms of familiarity which indicate a long acquaintance. Mr. Hunicke was not present on the occasion made memorable by the Madame's organ. His absence from the city—he being then a resident of Nashville, Tenn.—will partially at least account for his absence from the banquet. We do not want to be understood as generally arraigning the *Republican* for want of accuracy in a single instance of this kind. The fact that its editor can recall the great event of the feast after ten years is creditable to his memory and to the watchful zeal with which he stores his great mind with the kind of information he most highly prizes. People may differ as to literary or editorial ability, but as historian of events like the 'Callahan banquet' the individual referred to is without a fellow in the firmament of journalism."

The *Republican* quickly made all possible amends to Major Hunicke, but at the same time denounced the *Globe-Democrat* for indecent journalism. Whereupon Mr. McCullagh replied:

"We dislike personal journalism but we cannot help dipping into it once in a while just to remind the old reprobates at Third and Chestnut streets that they cannot be allowed to abuse their betters with impunity. If they do not change their course, the treatment they will receive from the *Globe-Democrat* will make them think they have suddenly been struck in the softer parts by a quarter section of the day of judgment."

For several days the *Globe-Democrat* printed more or less definite paragraphs on the unfitness of the proprietors of the

Republican to instruct the community upon morality, leading up to this:

"As at present advised, however, with nothing to guide us but the light of mere human understanding, we cannot accept the individuals named as infallible guides in the domain of morals. Indictments as common blacklegs, to which they both pleaded guilty twenty years ago or more, would seem an obstacle in the way of our inclination even were they not supplemented by a career in contrast to which that of ordinary blackleg is pure and spotless."

At the same time the *Globe-Democrat* dubbed Colonel George and Colonel John Knapp as "Poker George" and "Monte John." The Knapps were men well advanced in years. They were not only the proprietors of the *Republican* but had been active in many public-spirited movements. Indictments as "common blacklegs!" The community held its breath awaiting the response to this challenge. And when the answer came next day in the form of an editorial of the *Republican*, there was hilarity in the *Globe-Democrat* office and marvel in every coffee house from Bissell's Point to the Wild Hunter:

"More than twenty years ago, when games of cards were fashionable in this city among its most respectable citizens, the Messrs. Knapp occasionally indulged in the amusement. On such occasions a plate of oysters, a glass of wine or toddy, or a small sum of money, was sometimes made the incentive. On one occasion a very small creature, quite as large, nevertheless, as the editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, went before the grand jury and informed on the players. Colonel Fent Long was foreman, and, perceiving the detestable nature of the matter, waited upon Judge Lackland and asked what was the duty of the grand jury. The judge stated that if the persons played at cards for money or property of any kind, the least value, it was violation of the law. Indictments were consequently found against the Messrs. Knapp and others for such an act as playing at cards. Among those persons were the most upright, honorable and honored citizens whose lives adorned this city—Dr. Robert Simpson, John Shade, Samuel Willi, Colonel S. B. Churchill, Luther M. Kennett, Benj. Stickney, J. T. Swearingen, Charles B. Lord, John G. Priest, Charles Keemle, D. H. Armstrong, Richard J. Howard, James H. Hughes, D. C. January, Augustus Kerr, Theo. La Beaume, Philip S. Lanham, Henry B. Belt, George Maguire, George K. McGunnigle, J. S. Thomas, W. L. Williams, R. S. Blennerhassett. All the parties promptly confessed the indictment except Dr. Simpson,

George K. McGunnigle, John Shade and Samuel Willi for whom the informer retracted his statement, and Colonle Keemle who defended himself on the ground of malice in the informer and was convicted of betting a dish of codfish and fined."

The next day the *Globe-Democrat* returned to the attack.

"The Knapps tell us that their game was a small one, and that, therefore, the charge of gambling was not sustained against them. They proceed, however, to furnish a series of explanations, which, we regret to say, tend to increase rather than to diminish the original offense in the eyes of the initiated. Looking for scapegoats upon which to send their sins into the wilderness, they blindly seize the innocent and unoffending oyster as their first victim. 'A plate of oysters' was sometimes made 'the incentive,' they tell us. And from every man familiar with the game of poker comes the cry of 'too thin.' We have read all that has been written on the game, including the learned work of an ex-minister to England, and we cannot find a single point at which that noble and useful bivalve, the oyster, could be brought to the base uses of an 'incentive' to it. The allegation is a slander which we rebuke in the name of all good and law-abiding mollusks. Sheridan, in 'The Critic,' dignifies the oyster into a thing that 'may be crossed in love', and Shakespeare, in the 'Merry Wives', makes the John Knapp of that period,—Ancient Pistol by name,—regard the whole world as an oyster which he with sword would open at the nearest approaching Camp Jackson capitulation. It remained for the *Republican* to couple the oyster with the game of poker.

"It would have been much better for the Knapps if they had allowed the mantle of silence to fall gently upon their record as gamblers; but certainly nothing could have been worse than to attempt palliation at the expense of the moral character of the dumb and delicate oyster. A number of questions at once arise in the mind of the reader and the answer to them is inevitably the condemnation of the Knapps, and a large amount of scorn and contempt for the efforts to drag the reputable oyster down to their own depraved level. Imagine some of the individuals named by the *Republican* as accomplices in these offenses,—John G. Priest, D. A. January, and David H. Armstrong, for instance,—sitting at a table with the two Knapps engaged in one of these little games with oysters as the 'incentive'. First, we might inquire whether the oysters were in the shell, raw, stewed or fried; but without stopping to determine this question, let us give the Knapps the benefit of the doubt and admit that the oysters were in the half-shell. It is, let us say, Mr. Priest's deal and Mr. January's blind. Does Mr. January put up an oyster on the half-shell? And does Mr. Armstrong straddle this blind by putting up two oysters in a similar condition? Then the deal is made, and we will suppose that Mr. Priest has abstained from taking three of a kind from the bottom of the deck; in other words, that he has dealt fairly. Then comes the draw. One of the

Knapps, under strong suspicion of a cold deck, raises the blind and announces that it takes ten oysters to come in. They all come in. There are now fifty oysters on the half-shell in the pot. And the game has not fairly opened. The Knapps nudge each other, which means for John to bet high. He opens by slamming twenty oysters on the half-shell in the middle of the table. Mr. Priest and George Knapp throw up their hands, but not so the guileless two. They warm to the contest and become positively reckless in the delusion that this is a fair game. Each goes twenty better than the other, until in five minutes the table groans under a weight of shell fish never before encountered. John Knapp wins,—of course,— a man with four aces in his sleeve at the opening of the game generally does. Now what does he do with all the oysters?

"To state the case is to show its absurdity. If the Knapps want to clear themselves of the charge of having been notorious blacklegs, they must certainly call in some more efficacious plea than that of the oyster. It is not in the books to play poker with oysters as the 'incentive'."

Following the explanation of the indictments, the *Republican* dwelt at length upon the "wicked, desperate and malignant character of J. B. McCullagh." To this the *Globe-Democrat* replied:

"We assure the two old scoundrels at Third and Chestnut streets that they do not know Mr. J. B. McCullagh. Otherwise they would not speak of him in harsh terms. He is not 'wicked, desperate and malignant.' On the contrary, he is noted for his sweet disposition, and his strong point is his excessive modesty. If Poker George and Monte John will call at the *Globe-Democrat* office, we will take pleasure in introducing them to Mr. McCullagh and those associated with him in the conduct of the great religious daily."

When, five years later, George Knapp passed away, Mr. McCullagh paid this tribute to him in the *Globe-Democrat:*

"The death of Colonel George Knapp, which is reported today as having occurred on an ocean steamship bound for New York, will create a sensation of sorrow not alone in St. Louis where he has been a familiar figure for half a century, but throughout the whole Southwest where his occupation as the head of an old and influential organ of public opinion had made him widely conspicuous. It will be especially bad news to a large circle of men well on in years like himself, of which he had long been the center and to whom he had endeared himself by friendship and association running back beyond the memory of middle age. Colonel Knapp was a man of strongly marked characteristics, and among the most strongly

marked of all was his devotion to those whom he numbered among his friends. While he would not take high rank, perhaps, among the intellectual men of his time and profession, he kept himself widely informed by observation and his intuitions rarely failed to do the duty of higher education in other men. He was by nature large-hearted and charitable—always preferring the kindly to the unkindly in deed and word; and if, in the sharp and often bitter rivalries of a calling that is sometimes severe in its demands upon the patience and temper, he was occasionally, carried to the wrong extreme, it can all be foregotten now in the recollection of the broader and better lineaments of his character. He did no evil that is likely to live after him, and he did much good that is likely to live after him, and he did much good that will not and cannot be interred with his bones."

There were amenities in the new journalism in Missouri.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS.

The Charles O'Conor incident of the Tilden-Hayes controversy gave Mr. McCullagh the opportunity for a telling defense of journalism. Charles O'Conor was, perhaps, the foremost member of the American bar in the winter of 1876-7. He wrote to Sam. C. Reid of St. Louis a remarkable letter which was printed on the editorial page of the *Globe-Democrat* with this introduction written by Mr. McCullagh:

"We have been permitted to copy from the original the following letter from Mr. Charles O'Conor, of New York, to a gentleman of this city, who had written to him for his views on the political situation. We print without comment, leaving that to each respectable citizen for himself. Mr. O'Conor is a leading representative Democrat, who has always stood high in the councils of his party, has often been honored with its favors and preferments, and who may still be said to reflect the views of the 'State rights' wing of that organization. He cannot be denounced as either obscure or irresponsible. We print the letter in full:

Fort Washington, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1876.

Dear Sir:

Gibbons says there is a vital difference in the consequences of a foreign and a civil war. 'The former is the external warmth of summer—always tolerable and sometimes beneficial; the latter is the deadly heat of fever, which consumes, without remedy, the vitals of the constitution.' I do not think opinions of a judicial nature concerning the law or the Constitution of any consequence. The drunken Democrat whom the Republicans dragged out of the Galena gutter, besmeared with the blood of his countrymen slain in domestic broil, and lifted to a high pedestal as the

Moloch of their worship, rules, and until a great change in sentiment shall take place, must continue to rule over the prostrate ruins of Washington's Republic. That Republic perished on the day that McDowell moved 'on to Richmond.'

Yours truly,
CH. O'CONNOR."

Naturally this letter was copied far and wide and many and varied were the comments. But the attention attracted at the time of the first publication was as nothing compared with that which attended the republication and the *Globe-Democrat's* comment two months later. The electoral commission of five senators, five representatives and five justices of the United States supreme court was formed to decide whether Hayes or Tilden should be the next President. Charles O'Conor appeared as chief of counsel for Tilden in the trial before this commission. He called at the White House to "pay his respects" to President Grant. Then it was that Mr. McCullagh revived the letter and printed this about it:

"It is the habit of men like Mr. O'Conor to avail themselves of every opportunity to denounce the licentiousness of the press. If an editor, in the heat of a partisan contest, happens to write an article or paragraph of a personal character, and if the aggrieved or injured individual happens to go into court for redress, the lawyers let loose a torrent of abusive rhetoric against the defendant as an enemy of society and a violator of every safeguard for the rights of individuals. But when the leading luminary of the American bar sits down in the quiet and solitude of his country home and coolly pens a letter unequaled in its blackguardism by the vilest crossroad editor in the country, he simply says, a month afterwards, that he has no recollection of it, and there the matter drops. The venerable libeller is said to have done something 'worthy of his high character,' and he goes his way rejoicing."

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

FOURTEENTH ARTICLE

Joseph Rieger—Colporteur*

Johann Georg Joseph Anton Rieger was the full name of a man whose life was closely linked with the religious development of that part of the country, which Duden advertised so liberally in his "Report."

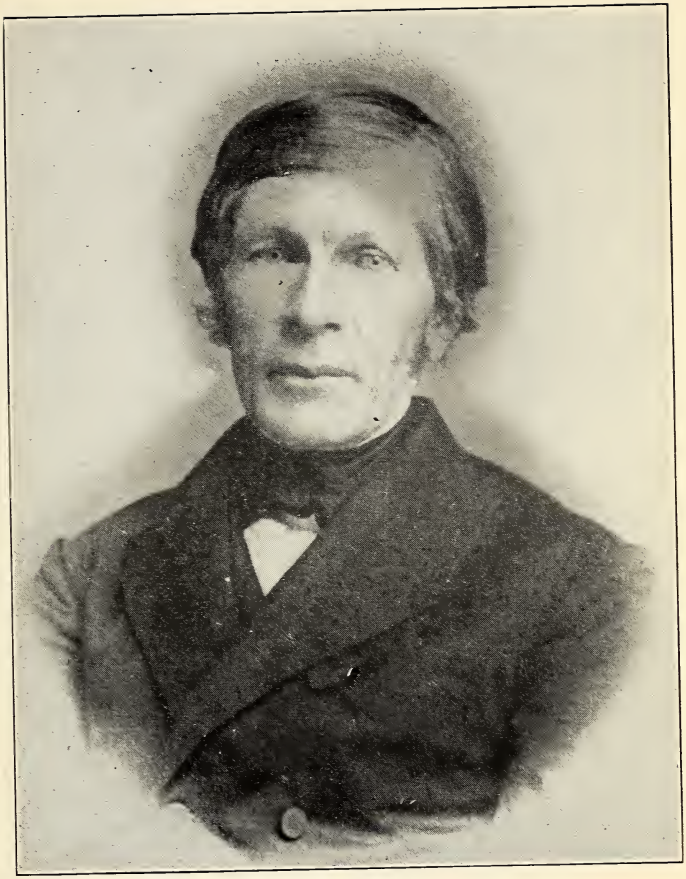
The Reverend Joseph Rieger was born on April 23, 1811, at Aurach in Bavaria. His parents were members of the Roman Catholic church. At the age of six his mother died and he was then cared for by an aunt. His father had a small business, and in addition owned a few acres of land, where he kept a few sheep and some bees. Early in life the boy was sent to a monastic school, where he showed industry and ability. Here the benevolence of Rieger's character, one of his striking attributes in later life, manifested itself. In the school which he attended, there were also some non-Catholic boys, who were allowed to use their Lutheran catechism in their religious instruction. One of these lads was slow of comprehension and also lazy. Pitying him, Rieger devoted much time to him, drilling him in the essentials of the work, and inculcating in him the habits of industry and application. By this unselfish service Rieger became acquainted with the principles underlying the Protestant church, the tenets of which he later espoused.

At the age of eleven Rieger also lost his father. Now he came into the home of another aunt, who lived in Epinal,

*Sources consulted in this account are the following:

[1]A tribute to the Rev. Mr. Rieger—anonymous, by two fellow clergymen of Rieger's church.

[2]Muecke's Geschichte d. Deut. Ev. Synode v. N. A.



Rev. Joseph Rieger

France. This aunt had married a French army officer by the name of Collin. In their home only the French language was spoken. With his aunt's children Rieger was sent to an excellent school. Collin was a strict disciplinarian with his children, and insisted especially that they should master mathematics. In this branch Rieger acquired unusual proficiency, and the benefits of this training came in good stead in later life. The Collins were irreligious but very superstitious. This made the boy, who had been brought up in a strictly pious atmosphere, very reflective.

When the lad had reached his fourteenth year he returned to his old home in Bavaria. He was expected to learn a trade and was advised to become a silk-weaver, it being presumed that his frail constitution would permit him to master this work. It was found that he did not have the physical strength for this trade, so he became apprenticed to a master tailor. Having served his time as an apprentice he became a journeyman and as such wandered over a great part of Germany. In this manner he became acquainted with a large number of people of various stations, and learned to know their way of thinking. This experience was of inestimable value to him, for all his life long it was easy for Rieger to understand the working classes. In due time he completed his master piece and was declared a master tailor.

On a certain occasion Rieger heard a young priest preach, using the text: "God so loved the world," etc. This directed his attention to the church. Due perhaps to early conditions and environment, Rieger had always held broad views in matters religious. In fact all his life he was free from all prejudices; sectarian differences meant nothing to him, he had no confessional dislikes and prejudices.

At last the conviction matured in him that he would rather work in the Protestant church than in the Catholic. He confided this thought to his aunt and uncle and to his brother. All of them were very much aroused, and violently opposed such a step. His aunt threatened to disinherit him. Nevertheless, Rieger declared his intention of separating his connection with the Catholic church. Having committed

this act before he was of age, he was obliged to flee the country most hastily, to prevent the confiscation of his small paternal inheritance, and also to prevent being arrested and put in a monastery. For one whole year he kept himself in concealment in Switzerland. Not even his nearest kin knew where he was. By this time he had definitely made up his mind to devote himself to the church, and applied for admission to the Mission-house in Basel. He was promised admittance as soon as he had obtained his dismissal from the Catholic church.

As soon as he had reached his twenty-first year, he returned to his old home. He submitted his request for dismissal from the Catholic church in written form. In keeping with the regulations of that time, he had to receive instruction in religious matters from two priests during a period of six weeks. After two weeks one of the priests said that he would have nothing more to do with Rieger. He thereupon wrote a testimonial, stating that he had instructed the young man, but without being able to show him the error of his way. Now Rieger publicly declared his intention to enter into the service of the Evangelical church, received his exemption from military duty, and in 1832 entered the Mission-house in Basel.

For four years he studied at Basel. On February 8, 1836, Rieger and two others, George Wendelin Wall and John Gottlieb Schwabe, were ordained in Coerray, near Basel, and directed to go to America. There had just then arrived an urgent call from Christians in America, pleading that ministers be sent to the scattered Germans in the far west, lest they, because of lack of Christian instruction, lapse into modern heathendom. These American friends had also volunteered to support the missionaries sent from Basel for a few years.

Rieger and Wall had previously received appointments to go to southern Russia. Then a decree of Czar Nicholaus abolished the flourishing missions in his realm, and banished everything that was not of the Greek Catholic church. So these two men were directed to go to America and report to the group of Christian men in Hartford, Connecticut, who

worked so assiduously for the development of Christian churches among the German settlements in the West.

Before leaving his fatherland Rieger paid another visit to his old home. His kin received him coldly. His uncle and aunt discussed religious matters with him and made a final effort to dissuade him of the error of his ways, assuring him that he should be disinherited by them unless he complied with their wishes. Regretting to leave his loved ones so saddened, he continued his journey to join Wall and Schwabe in Bremen. On April 15, 1836, they set sail, and after a stormy voyage arrived in New York harbor on June 1. Here Schwabe left them to go directly to his charge in Detroit, Michigan, where he died a short time after his arrival. Wall and Rieger followed instruction and went to Hartford, to the above mentioned friends of Christian endeavor, and spent some months perfecting their knowledge of the English language. On October 17 they set out for their real destination, St. Louis, in the far West, as it was called then, when there were no railroads, and when the trip required from three to four weeks of time. They reached the gateway to the West in the middle of November, 1836.

Wall at once became pastor of the "Evangelical Protestant Congregation of the Holy Spirit," a church founded in 1834. He served this body until 1843 when a division took place. He founded a new church on July 16, 1843, which bore the name "German Evangelical Congregation in St. Louis, Missouri," and which became the forerunner of many Evangelical churches in the city. Wall continued to serve Evangelical churches in or near St. Louis until his death on April 21, 1867, at the age of fifty-six years.

Rieger did not find a permanent place so easily. His activity during the first eleven years (1836-1847) satisfied more nearly the program as outlined by the American friends in Hartford. He was the real itinerant preacher. He was the journeying evangelist, who sought out the scattered German settlements in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, who preached and taught school, distributed Christian literature and organized churches. In the above named years he did not have his

equal in this work. His practical bent of mind and his ardent love for his calling fitted him most admirably for this endeavor.

Rieger's diary proves interesting reading.

St. Louis, November 18, 1836. "Yesterday evening we heard from brothers Heyer and Nies.* Because of their Christian faith they are regarded as uneducated men.

"I resolved to pay brother Riesz** a visit. I met a man from High Prairie, Illinois, who offered me his horse, to carry out my proposed visit. Accompanied by a neighbor of brother Riesz we set out. We had to ride thru a lake which was so deep that the water came to the belly of my horse. Then the way led thru mud and brush. In four hours we reached our destination. The Reverend Riesz was greatly pleased to see me. He lives with his parents-in-law, in a one-room log cabin. His wife came with her parents and seven other brothers and sisters from Wiesbaden, a year ago. They arranged a bed for me beside theirs on the floor. I was greatly surprised to see brother Riesz so contented in such a wretched dwelling.

November 19. "This morning brother Riesz began whitewashing his little log hut, and requested that I should preach for him to-morrow.

November 20. "It was a beautiful day. We drove to the church services. Our conveyance was drawn by an ox team. There were about one hundred persons assembled

*Philipp Jacob Heyer from Metzingen, Wuerttemberg, and Tilman Nies from Eiserfeld near Siegen, Rhenish Prussia, were sent out by the Rhenish Mission Society in 1836, to go to the Flathead Indians in Oregon Territory, as missionaries. In November, 1836, they arrived in St. Louis. Because of the approaching winter they decided to wait there till spring, before they continued their journey. Many requests on the part of German settlers induced them to preach to them during the winter. Nies had contracted a severe cold when the boat on which he and Heyer came, sank. He never recovered his health fully and died on September 30, 1838. Heyer preached near St. Charles. He was one of the organizers of the German Evangelical Synod of North America, (See account of Garlichs). Later he severed his connection with this church organization.

**John Jacob Riesz came to America in 1835 and at once set out for the German settlements in the West. In 1846 he took charge of a German church in St. Louis and remained in active church work till his death July 8, 1855. He was one of the founders of the Ev. Synod.

at the house of a farmer named Freivogel. I preached and brother Riesz made some closing remarks. The people plan the erection of a church building. At present they have only $260 of the required $500. Brother Riesz also preaches each week at New Angora (beyond Ockow) at Turkey Hill, Belleville, High Prairie and yet another place, a circuit of thirty miles, but in all he gets scarcely $200 for his labor.—We ate dinner at Freivogel's. In the evening I taught school at Riesz' home. We also had singing and prayer.

November 23. "We prepared for the return journey. Brother Riesz, his wife, and one of the latter's sisters and a brother, beside myself, rode on a two-wheeled cart, drawn by two oxen. At 4:30 o'clock we arrived in St. Louis.

November 28. "This morning I arrived at Alton, Illinois. I was hospitably received by Reverend Graves, postmaster, who introduced me to Rev. DePui, an Episcopalian clergyman. The latter speaks some German, and on several occasions has gathered the Germans, living here, to services. He was greatly pleased to have me here and begged me to remain. He acquainted me with several Germans. Messrs. Brown and Baldwin and others think I ought to stay here. I had much difficulty in finding a boarding place. The Episcopalians have given me permission to preach in their meeting place.

December 8. "Went to St. Louis to get my trunk. Upon my return no lodging place had been secured for me. Since I had an attack of fever, I went to the Mansion House where I was very sick.

December 9. "Since no one knew where I was, I went to Mr. Gillman in the afternoon, to request him to inform some of the people of my presence. Mr. Gillman invited me to stay at his home over night.

December 10. "I felt somewhat better today and was able to go down to the village. I learned that I might stay with Mr. Lovejoy* during the first few days of the coming week. Mr. Gillman asked me to stay with him over Sunday.

*The Reverend E. P. Lovejoy, the abolitionist.

December 11. "I had planned to preach to-day, but the people thought I was still ill, and for this reason no one came.

December 14. "This afternoon Mr. Gillman conveyed my belongings to Mr. Lovejoy's. I thought I should have a room with heat, but I was disappointed.

December 15. "I suggested to Mr. Lovejoy that I should like to set up a stove in my room. He offered no objections, so I bought a stove. But when I wanted to make a fire the wind drove the smoke into the room, and I had to give it up.

December 18. "This morning I went to conduct services at nine o'clock, but no one came. I went to the house of Mr. Heinz and after a while some twelve persons gathered. I preached. In the afternoon I addressed about thirty persons. There were several Catholics among them. In future we shall also have permission to hold services in the Presbyterian church. A few Protestants asked me to conduct Christmas services on the coming Sunday at six o'clock in the morning. To this I agreed.—This evening I was able to make a fire in my room, since the wind had shifted.

December 19. "This morning I spent in splitting wood.—I heard from Mr. Wismer that the Catholic priest Mr. Lutz had told his German constituents, that they would do better not to hear any gospel preached than that preached by a Lutheran.

December 25. "On this holy Christmas day we had church services at six o'clock. It was very cold, and only eleven persons were present. H. Weimann had made a chandelier of wood for the occasion. Altho there were only a few persons present, we nevertheless had a blessed hour together.—At three o'clock in the afternoon we had services again, at which thirty persons were present.—The people agreed to furnish the necessary wood for fuel.

December 28. "Yesterday I could not have a fire in my room on account of the high wind. During the night it was very cold, but to-day I am able to heat my room.—I split wood, mended my coat, and studied my sermon. I stayed home all day.

December 29. "This morning I went out to visit the Germans who live below Middletown. I called upon several families. Most of them are very ignorant. They came from near Offenburg in Baden. I urged them to come to church.

"Then I went to upper Alton where I had a discussion with a man on the subject of intoxicating liquors and drunkenness.—In the evening I was at home studying my sermon.

December 31. "This day I spent at home. My thoughts were always with my friends in Basel.

January 1, 1837. "I preached this morning to very few people, for most of them are going from house to house to eat and drink and to wish each other a Happy New Year.—I could not make a fire in my room, and it was very cold.—In the afternoon I again preached to a few people.

January 4. "I shall probably begin an evening school to teach the people to read.

January 8. "I preached twice to-day, but each time had only seven hearers.

January 11. "I called upon several families. In the evening I again gave instruction at Mr. Heizig's house. I began with the A B C's. We are having a lot of snow.—I feel well and have a better appetite than at any time since I came to America. I believe I am getting stronger.

January 15. "I did not preach this morning, because so few people came. I attended services in the Episcopal church. However, I was reminded of Mr. Fletcher, who at one time had only his wife as an auditor and yet delivered his sermon. I, too, will emulate his example and preach in the future.—In the afternoon I had eight hearers.—The snow is so deep that I cannot get out into the country to make calls.

January 16. "In the evening I again went down town and gave instruction. The remainder of the evening I spent pleasantly with Major Hunter.* I told him that I intended to buy a horse. He said if I would write to Basel and say that

*Major Hunter is spoken of as a veteran of the War with Mexico, a devout Christian, an abolitionist who was very active in the operation of the so-called underground railroad.

they should always keep a plate on the table for an American in the Mission house, he would present me with a horse, saddle and bridle. I agreed and shall presently get my horse. Major Hunter has had his own tomb-stone made and thinks much about death, nevertheless he plans to take a trip to Europe next summer.

January 20. "I feel the need of a horse more than ever. In this kind of weather it is impossible to go out afoot. It is unbelievable how deep the mud is. I bought some nails and engaged a man to help me build the stable. In six hours we were done. Major Hunter is very kind to me. He also gave me the lumber for the stable.

January 22. "I had a good audience this morning and baptized the first child, after the services.

January 23. "This morning I went to upper Alton and got my horse. I started at once on my journey to visit the Marine settlement. My horse tried three times to run away. I visited several settlements before I came to Edwardsville. To my joy I found one religious family. In Edwardsville there are no Germans. I went to Troit, where I spent the night in an inn.

January 24. "I gave the inn-keeper's family some tracts, and then rode on to the Marine settlement. On the way visited with an English family. In the Marine settlement I stopped at the house of a man who came from Rhenish, Bavaria. He spoke disrespectfully of constituted authority and the clergy. When he became aware that I am a clergyman, he spoke differently. They have no Bible. I shall take them one.

"I rode on to Lookingglass Prairie, and arrived late at Dr. Guerike's house. He and his son received me very kindly. I should not have gotten there, if two men had not helped me over Silver creek. In the evening we heard the wolves howl. The prairie here is very extensive and affords a splendid view. In dry weather one travels easily and comfortably over it.

January 25. "I visited several families, and then rode to St. Louis. Here I found Brother Wall, after much inquiring. I spent the night with him.

January 26. "I transacted some business. Drew fifty dollars at Mr. King's. Bought some Bibles, and in company with a young man rode back to Alton, where we arrived at five o'clock.

January 27. "Went to the village and delivered some Bibles to families for whom I had promised to procure them. They were greatly pleased. I went home and studied.

January 29. "I rejoiced because of the beautiful day we had, and hoped there would be many people in church. I was surprised and deeply grieved when only one man came. I am considering changing my location at once.

January 30. "Started on my way to St. Charles, but had to wait a long time before I could cross the river. The boat had sunk.—On my way I distributed many tracts. I stayed over night at Mrs. Kaiser's home. She has eleven children of whom five are still at home.—They have a beautiful pet doe.

January 31. "I went on to St. Charles, where I found brother Nies at a German's named Schaefer.—Went to Nies' school and was greatly pleased, for his thirty pupils are eager to learn.—The Germans here had early expressed the wish to have a pastor and also engaged a teacher. The latter would, however, rather split wood than teach, and indeed understood the former occupation better than the latter.—I was offered the pastorate near St. Charles and accepted.

February 1. "I again visited Nies' school and was again highly pleased. In the afternoon I went to Mr. Chamberlain, who has the Bible depository here. I bought three Bibles, and Brother Heyer gave me one.—The Germans in this community have bought a farm for $400. It includes forty acres, of which ten acres are fenced in. The house on this land is a loghouse, and serves at once as parsonage, church and schoolhouse.

February 2. "I started on my return trip. On the way I distributed tracts. In the afternoon, about three o'clock, I came to the ferry but could not cross. Retraced my steps for two miles and had an edifying hour with some settlers, who are of the Baptist faith. These people had come from Kentucky. They have no furniture, neither a table, nor

chairs, nor bedsteads. They did have bedding, however. We observed our evening devotion and then lay down on the floor for rest. I slept very soundly.

February 3. "Arrived at the landing at ten o'clock, but the ferryboat did not cross till two o'clock.

February 4. "Prepared my sermon and delivered some German Bibles.

February 5. "We had church services this morning. I had only two hearers, both Catholics. They were very attentive. In the afternoon I had a good audience, among whom were again two Catholics.

February 8. "To-day it is just one year since I was ordained.

February 9. "Went to St. Charles intending to preach there on Sunday. I arrived rather late. I met brother Nies who at once informed me, that brother Heyer had given up his long cherished plan (of going as missionary to the Flat-head Indians, for which purpose the Barmen Mission Society had sent him). That Heyer intended marrying a German peasant girl. That he (H.) intended to stay here. That he had bought a horse and still had $250 (of the Society's money).

February 10. "We visited Heyer. He told me that he had written me a letter stating that he had been chosen by the church officers as pastor of the church near St. Charles. He was very shamefaced and anxious, for he no doubt felt how ignobly he had acted toward me and how unprincipled toward the Mission Society.

February 14. "Nies accompanied me to Alton where we arrived at 3 o'clock.

February 19. "I preached twice to-day and each time had only a few hearers. It takes indeed much effort and earnest prayer to be patient and humble. If I only had more faith.

June 18. "Have decided to change my location.

June 23. "Tomorrow I shall ride to Naples to see the Germans living there.

June 24. "Received some letters from Mr. Edwards urging me to come to Beardstown, Illinois. I started on my way and in Naples I announced church services for the next day. I got into a poor inn and spent a restless night, since I shared a room with many grown-ups, some boys and some dogs. I preached to about twenty-five persons and gaves each of them a tract.

June 26. "This morning I rode to Beardstown. Came thru a swampy country, where one can easily get stuck, crossed the Illinois river, met two men who lived only half a mile from Mr. Bolenius. I wanted to go with them, but we were caught in a storm, so that I was soaked from head to foot. We came to a house, but there were already nine strangers in it, so I could not stay over night. We had to go in the rain. At about ten o'clock I came to another house, where I was received hospitably and where I could dry my clothes.—The gnats and mosquitoes are very annoying here.

June 27. "This morning when I was close to Bolenius' my horse became shy and threw me. I was painfully but not seriously injured. Near Bolenius' place a creek was out of its banks, so I could not cross it. A man went for B. and so I was able to talk to him. He is again married, has decided to stay in the country and does not preach any more. He is a veterinary surgeon. He intends to lay out a vineyard and a botanical garden. He makes brick and builds houses.—I rode back to Beardstown, stopped for half an hour, but could not comply with the people's wish to preach on that evening. The people would be glad to have me come there. I spent the night in Jacksmill, rode to Jerseyville the next day, and on the thirtieth came back to Alton, weary and worn out by the heat.

July 2. "I had only six persons in church this morning, and decided definitely to go away. In the afternoon I had no one come to church in Upper Alton.

July 5. "Wrote to the people in Beardstown, announcing that I would preach there a week from next Sunday.

July 10. "I started early. Rode over the prairie. Saw several new town sites laid out. For the most part I had no

road and had to steer my way like a seaman. In the evening I arrived at Claire's Grove.

July 11. "Started again early in the morning in order to get to Monroe in good time. At ten o'clock I arrived at Joskisch's place. He had not yet received my letter. He would be pleased if I remained there.

July 16. "We had a beautiful day. It looked like a pilgrimage when the people came together from the country. I baptized two children and administered the Lord's Supper to thirty-two communicants. The people would be glad to have me stay.—In the evening we usually have singing and prayer.

July 17. "Last night I slept in a barn and covered myself with my coat. The mosquitoes were very bad.—I started out to visit the more educated and cultured persons of this community. I went to Dr. Engelbach's place and spent the night there. I could not sleep the whole night. Twice I went into the garden, but the mosquitoes were there too. Dr. Engelbach is perhaps the best educated man among the Hessians here. He offered me his house as a home, if I would stay here.

July 23. "At eleven this morning we had services in Beardstown. There were more than one hundred persons there, but none of the so-called educated.* More than fifty partook of the Lord's Supper.—In the afternoon a man named Emrich came with his children. He was slightly intoxicated. I baptized his children and pray that the Lord may be merciful to him.

July 25. "I was very sick and stayed in bed almost the entire day.

August 20. "I delivered my farewell sermon (in Alton) before five persons.

August 21. "Locked my trunk and sent it to Lower Alton, and said farewell. Hill had not made any collection, so I was obliged to leave without money and in debt. I left Alton with a heavy heart.

*It is this class who in many instances opposed the establishment of churches in those early settlements.

"On August 26 I arrived in Beardstown. Had great difficulty in finding a boarding place, which I finally secured with Mr. Bohne. A small cabin was also provided for a school building."

These are the simple entries in Reverend Rieger's early diary. They afford a lucid picture of the condition obtaining among the Germans of that time in western Illinois and eastern Missouri and testify to the difficulties that stood in the way of the ministry.

In Beardstown Rieger found a more fruitful field of labor. The church services were well attended, as was also the school, which he taught here. Financially he fared better also, since the money set aside for the public school of that district was paid him. He had the happy faculty of winning the affection of the children, and thru them often won the esteem of otherwise recalcitrant parents.

Other trials awaited him here, however. Beardstown is located on low grounds, and at that time fevers prevailed the year around. Rieger was often sick, yet he insisted upon ministering to his people, and often preached when he was shaken by the ague. He made many trips to the surrounding country to preach to the scattered Germans and to distribute Bibles and tracts among them.

In August, 1838, a typhoid epidemic broke out in Beardstown which proved fatal to many. There was scarcely a house which was spared by the plague. Often there was no one to care for the sick. Then Rieger was incessantly active, caring for the sick, consoling the dying, admonishing those still in good health. Many a night he watched over the sufferers. "How many ways there are of doing good and preaching the Savior," he wrote, "what a blessed service."

Presently his frail body succumbed to the exertion. He felt the approach of the fever. Deliberately he fetched a pitcher of water for himself, took a dose of rhubarb, and sought his bed, across which his unconscious body was found lying in a dead swoon. A little boy, whom he had befriended and who often came to his room, found him in this condition, and apprised the parishioners, who came to their pastor's aid.

For two days he lay unconscious. After his recovery he was attacked by intermittent fever, which tenaciously clung to him and made it very difficult for him to attend to the duties of the school room.

In January, 1839, Rieger announced to his congregation that he intended to leave the place in spring. The condition of his health made this step imperative. He had offered to accompany the Reverend Nies as missionary to the Flat Head Indians to take the place of the faithless Heyer. Nies' sickness alone had delayed them from carrying out the plan. In the meantime the Reverend Louis Nollau, who subsequently became so prominent in the German Evangelical Church in Missouri, had been sent from Barmen to take Heyer's place as missionary. Upon arriving Nollau found Nies mortally sick. After Nies' death Rieger planned to go with Nollau to the Indians. The latter however, decided to await instructions from Barmen, and in the meantime had undertaken to minister, unto two congregations, at Manchester and Gravois Settlement. Thus thwarted in his plan, Rieger decided that perhaps it were best that he should seek a complete recovery of health on a trip to Germany. In April, 1839, he severed his connection with the church at Beardstown.

He planned to visit his friends before he set out for his old home-country. On horseback he started for St. Louis, where he said adieu to his friend the Reverend Wall, then to Manchester to brother Nollau, on to St. Charles, Troy, Palmyra, Quincy, Burlington, Davenport. All these places he saw in their infancy. Between them lay great stretches of wild land, with here and there fields in which slaves labored. A German preacher had never yet gone that way. There were no hotels, nevertheless he found everywhere the kindest reception at the hand of Americans as well as Germans. As soon as the people heard that he was a preacher of the gospel, they begged him to conduct services for them. Quickly they announced it to their neighbors. Often he was obliged to preach in German and in English on the same evening, his exhortation lasting far into the night. As was his practice

he always distributed small books of religious content among his hearers. Wherever he stopped over Sunday he had to preach, administer the Lord's Supper and baptise children. He visited the sick and prayed with them. Almost everywhere the people begged him to come to them upon his return from Europe.

On June 12, Rieger crossed the Iowa river and saw the cabin where the Indian chief Black Hawk, had lived. He also reports having seen several Indian graves. He says: "These are not covered with earth, but merely enclosed with a fence. We saw the skeletons within." On he went via Wyoming, Salem, Montebelle and Buffalo. The roads were difficult and often dangerous. The towns were sometimes so insignificant, that he was within their limits without knowing it. In Roskingham he met an American friend from New England, who had settled here. His invitation to Rieger to visit him for a while was accepted on condition that he should guide Rieger to the nearby Indian village. In Roskingham were many families from Wuerttemberg for whom Rieger agreed to preach on Sunday. Since many English speaking families had also come, he gave them a short address in English.

On June 18, he and his friend whom he unfortunately only refers to as B. started on their way to the Indian village. They were equipped with provisions for two weeks, blankets and life-preservers. On the first day they made forty miles over poor roads. In some places the ground was so boggy that the riders dismounted for fear their horses would mire. The first night out they spent in an abandoned hut. The following morning, while the horses were being fed, they cast bullets. Then they crossed the Wapisiuainak River, and sixteen miles further on came to chief Powashek's village. Before they came upon the village, they met an Indian riding a pony. He was very much adorned. In his hand he had a mirror. Behind him rode his squaw. On both sides of the animal large sacks were tied, so that the pony could scarcely be seen.

Quoting Rieger, we read: "We came to the bank of the Iowa, and all at once saw a large number of Indians. I

counted thirty-five. They were sitting idly upon the bank of the river. When they saw us, a great commotion ensued and they talked much. They brought us a canoe, into which we packed our baggage and conveyed it across the river, letting our horses swim behind us. The Indians were very friendly and called out, 'How d'e do.'* They admired my horse greatly. Two chiefs came out to meet us. They were much adorned. Their cheeks were painted yellow and their hair red. On their heads were tufts, on their feet bells and wampum, and they had mirrors under their arms.** We greeted them and rode with the white woman (whom we found there) to her tent, where we found two white men and two Indians. They had their rifles with them, and Mr. B. entered a shooting match with them. The Indians admired our life-preservers, and one squaw fastened one about her and swam across the Iowa river. We spent about two hours among the wigwams, which the squaws had built of poles and covered with the bark of trees. Most of these structures were rather large, so that ten to fifteen families lived in each. The entire village numbered about seven hundred souls. On the floor of each wigwam there were two fires, no fireplaces. On both sides ran a broad bench, four feet high, where the people worked, ate, slept, played, etc. The men and boys do nothing, the squaws must do all the work. Each of the former has a gun or a bow and arrows. The squaws and girls were dressed, the boys on

*At present the Indians in the northern part of our country as also those in Canada use the single word 'How' or 'Bjou' (bonjour) in salutation. The latter is, of course, a perversion of an address learned from the French voyageur or trader.

**It is, of course, possible that these Indians had these mirrors simply because they were vain and curious. It is possible, however, that they used them for practical purposes. It may not be a far cry to assume that mirrors were used by them for signaling. In James McLaughlin's "My Friend The Indian" (Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1910) we find an interesting use of mirrors mentioned. In chap. VII, dealing with "The Great Buffalo Hunt at Standing Rock," Dakota Territory, in 1882, we read on page 108, among other interesting things the following: "In the afternoon of the fourth day (of the march) the advance-guard made out the scouts. They were cut out against the sky-line some ten miles away, and even at that distance our people read their signals. The signals were made out before the men were visible to the eye, in fact, for each of the scouts carried a little circular mirror and signaled his message by a comparatively perfect heliographic system, which was read by our people and repeated."

the other hand ran about entirely naked, their bodies being painted with mud, charcoal and paint.

"We spent the night in Mr. DePord's tent, let our horses graze about the tent, and slept soundly. On the following morning there was a slight rain, nevertheless we visited the village again, and bought several things from the Indians. Around the wigwams were some small huts where the sick, and the women in childbed stay. We saw a sick woman who who was sitting naked on the ground and was washing her abdomen with water. She lamented pitifully. At eleven o'clock we left the village.

"I reflected whether these people might be converted to Christianity, but I could not come to any satisfactory conclusion. They are continually at war, at the present time with the Sioux, who each year kill a considerable number of them. Laziness is deep-rooted in them, and will not soon be banished. Their greatest temptation is brandy.

"The country here is beautiful, situated along a beautifu bow of the river. The Indians are leaving this place, however. They are moving twelve miles further into their own land, where they have a section of land fenced in, and have also built some log huts. For several miles along the way we saw the squaws working in the cornfields, which are fenced in by thorn bushes. In addition to doing this work in the fields, the women do excellent needle-work. These Indians belong to the tribe of Fox Indians or Moquaquas. Their chief, Powashek, was not in the village when we visited it."

Since on the following morning Rieger was attacked by fever, they spent some time in getting home. Of the region they passed thru, he wrote that it was the most beautiful he had ever seen.

From Roskingham, Rieger started on his journey again on June 27, going on to Dixonville and from there, "the whole day over the eternal prairie, which is as monotonous as the ocean." Thus he reached Michigan. He wrote: "I had a hard week, intense heat, much sand. In this week I traveled 230 miles on horseback." At Ann Arbor he visited a dear friend and student companion, the Reverend F. Schmidt.

Here he rested from the hardships of his journey, and found great pleasure in the well regulated churches and the prosperity of the two German settlements, which his friend served as pastor. In Detroit he visited the Reverend M. Schaad. Having reached a realm where steamboats made possible connection between east and west, he gave his horse to his friend Schaad, on condition that he would treat it well and never sell it.

After a short stay in New York and a visit to his friends in Hartford, Connecticut, he set sail on September 11, 1839, and entered the harbor of Bremen on October 16. On the following Sunday he went to church and heard the first German sermon he had heard in three years. From Bremen he went to Barmen where he remained till November 18. There a society, the Evangelical Society for the Protestant Germans in America, had been recently formed for the purpose of supplying their German countrymen in America with clergymen and Christian literature. Rieger was in a position to give the members of this society much first-hand information. They offered to send him as their representative to America. However, he felt his indebtedness to his friends in Hartford and did not wish to break his relations with them, moreover, he was anxious to discuss this whole matter with his friends in Basel.

In Hannover and other places he spent a vast lot of time looking up poor relatives of German settlers in America, delivering to them letters and gifts from their kin beyond the sea. He was fairly stormed with questions concerning America. It seemed to him as if the whole country contemplated emigration.

While on this trip in Germany Rieger met the young lady whom he took back to America as his wife.

After a tiresome sea-journey Rieger and his wife arrived in New York on September 1, 1840. They visited the officers of the Hartford Society for the Spread of Christianity among the Germans of the West. These men were much pleased with Rieger's work during the past years, and assured him of their continued support, as long as he should be in need of assistance. They desired that he should first go to Quincy,

Illinois. On October 1, Rieger and his young wife set out for the west, going via Rochester and Buffalo, New York. At the latter place he heard from the Reverend Joseph Gumbell, who since 1831 had served the German Evangelical Church there, that the Reverend K. L. Daubert had been chosen by the congregation in Quincy. Since the Ohio river was very low, Rieger decided to go to Cleveland and from there by stage to Cincinnati. They found the coaches crowded to suffocation, since the drift westward was so immense. From Cincinnati they went by water to St. Louis, where they arrived late in October.

In the market place in St. Louis he met a man from Highland, Illinois, who implored Rieger to become the pastor of the Germans living in and about the latter place. He accepted, and found the settlement to consist of German Swiss and people from Baden. There were also some Catholics scattered among the settlers. He taught school and preached, first in a school house, later in a little chapel, which he erected with his own means.

Having been early left an orphan, he enjoyed now for the first time the comforts of real home life. Due to the rather rough treatment which he had received in early childhood, his nature had assumed a rather taciturn character, so that to strangers he seemed very uncommunicative and reserved. His wife became a true companion, with whom he shared all his joys and sorrows, who took a keen interest in all his activities.

On September 30, 1841, Rieger went to St. Louis, to go with the Reverend Wall, via St. Charles, to Femme Osage, to attend the annual conference of the Association of German Evangelical Churches of the West, which at that time numbered only eight pastors, who served a larger number of churches, however. On the third of October, 1841, the first German church of that region was dedicated. On this occasion Rieger delivered an address in English. At this synodical meeting the Reverend Garlichs was chosen president and the Reverend Rieger secretary. It was resolved to hold the next conference in Highland with Rieger.

Rieger was quite puritanic in many of his views. During his early years in America, he associated much with American clergymen. The American people at that time had very narrow views as to what decorum and custom a Christian might observe. They would not have regarded a clergyman as genuine, however upright his life and teaching, who wore clothes of a color other than black, who wore a black tie instead of a white one, who wore a low-crowned hat instead of a high one, who had a beard instead of having his face shaved smooth. The use of tobacco was very much taboo, and if a pastor had taken a glass of wine or beer, he certainly would have been regarded as an unconverted man. Such adherence to external form seems to have appealed strongly to Rieger, in fact he outdid his American fellow-clergymen in many ways, whereby he occasionally gave offense to his German colleagues. One incident related of Rieger will confirm this statement. The occasion was the ministerial conference at Femme Osage, referred to above. The brethern had already assembled, when two others, who had but recently come from Germany, also put in an appearance. In preparation for a horseback ride of forty miles, on a warm day, they had attired themselves in light colored suits of linen carrying their black clothes in their saddle-bags. They had taken off their ties, and on their heads they wore low-crowned, broad-brimmed hats. With exclamations of joy at having reached the end of their journey and at being among friends they sprang from their horses. Their enthusiasm was dampened when they were met by surprised glances. After a brief greeting Rieger addressed them thus: "You dare not be seen this way. It is unbecoming for a minister. You must change your garments at once." In subsequent years he changed his point of view in regard to such external matters. In fact, he later made use of the very kind of garment for which he had reproached the young clergymen.

A little anecdote from Rieger's life casts some light on the attitude some of his parishioners took in regard to certain church functions and also the pastor's reaction to such attitude. Rieger had been asked to come to a certain home to baptise

some children. When he arrived he found a considerable concourse of relatives and friends of the people assembled. The larger room had been cleared of all furniture. Musicians were present. It looked suspicious to Rieger. Upon inquiry he learned that they intended to have a dance after the holy office had been performed. The pastor protested against such a performance. He met with the most stubborn opposition, and was informed that he had been invited to baptise the children and nothing more. Hereupon Rieger mounted his horse and rode away.

Soon after Penticost in 1843 he severed his connection with the congregation at Highland. On July 13 he arrived in Burlington, Iowa. Here was a large settlement of Germans. They had in their midst a preacher by the name of Niemann, who came from Cincinnati, whom the people had not chosen as their pastor, but who expressed his intention of staying and preaching. He had a small following among the people. The majority favored Rieger. The minority disseminated all sorts of false reports regarding him. They believed to play their trump card when they circulated the report that he was opposed to the drinking of brandy. The majority, however, adopted the church constitution which Rieger had drawn up, chose him their pastor, and founded the "The First Evangelical Church of Burlington, Iowa," which, incidentally, was the first church of that denomination in the state of Iowa.

Mrs. Rieger entered into her husband's work with enthusiasm. Her self-sacrificing spirit is beautifully shown when one day she volunteered to sell her jewelry, dear to her from girlhood days, in order to buy chalices to be used in the church at the Lord's Supper. Unfortunately this good woman became ill on October 5 and died on October 12. The record Rieger left in his diary of the suffering and death of his beloved wife is a most eloquent testimony against the medical profession as it was practiced along the frontier. It tells of inadequate diagnosis and haphazard administering of powerful drugs, and as a last resort bleeding of a pain-racked body.

A few days after the death of his wife Rieger heard that the man who had done so much to hinder his work in Burlington, the man who seems to have been of that class of men who brought so much reproach upon the clergy, that his most violent opponent Niemann had suddenly died. At once he set out to Niemann's home and offered his help in whatever way it might be desired. He preached the unfortunate man's funeral sermon, and had his congregation sing at the burial. By thus heaping coals of fire upon the heads of those who opposed him, he won their esteem, and presently was happy to add most of them to his congregation.

On November 25, Rieger mourned the loss of his infant son. From now on his great grief impelled him to still greater activity among his charge, especially among the sick and those in sorrow.—He found that Mrs. Niemann was in needy circumstances since the death of her husband. Since Rieger was not keeping house any more, he at once gave her his entire household belongings.

Such unstudied generosity won for him unstinted praise and many friends, and for his church many followers. The following is another illustration of the manner in which he returned good for evil. Some of the freethinkers in Burlington at first opposed Rieger's ministry very vigorously. On a certain evening a group of them sat in a saloon. The topic of their conversation was the new pastor. At length one of them suggested that they go to the parsonage and smash all the windowpanes. In their intoxicated state they all greeted this suggestion with loud approval, and the entire mob set out to perform this mean deed. On the way the freshness of the evening seems to have sobered most of them, at any rate one after the other bethought himself and slunk away, leaving the originator of the plan to make his way alone to the pastor's home. Having arrived there he demolished not only the windowpanes but also the window frames with vicious blows. When Rieger heard the breaking of the glass, he took a lamp and opened the front door. The drunken sot tumbled in, and would have fallen full length to the floor, if the pastor had not caught the reeling form. Rieger put the man to bed

in the front room and closed the window shutters. After calming his wife, who was terrified by the assault, he went back to his charge. He found the bed and the man's clothing badly soiled by the drunken fellow. He scrubbed the floor, cleaned the man's clothes, polished his shoes, and then himself retired. On the following morning, when the man awoke he could not at first orientate himself in his new environment. He thought of sneaking away. Just at that moment the pastor entered with a kind morning greeting. The man begged to be excused from accepting the invitation to breakfast with the pastor, saying that he could not face the latter's wife after such a performance. He asked forgiveness and stated that he would send a carpenter at once to repair the damages. The pastor spoke a few words of admonition, whereupon the man replied: "I promise you solemnly never to become intoxicated again." "Go slowly," Rieger replied, "you are now excited. I do not wish that you should make a promise in this state of excitement." The other continued: "No, I wish that you should take my pledge, for I shall abide by the word of God." That same evening the man came of his own free will and sought admission to church membership, and by his later conduct proved that he meant to abide by the pledge he had given. It was he, himself, who in later years related the above incident. Rieger's lips never divulged it to any man.

On January 19, 1844, he (R.) undertook a trip on horseback to visit his friends the Reverends Wall and Nollau. Attempting to cross the Mississippi he broke thru the ice and nearly perished before help could reach him. It was not until the 24th of January that he finally could carry out his plan. He found Nollau seriously ill with pneumonia. He stayed with him until he knew him to be out of danger. Then he wandered on. His diary here reads thus: "Like a stranger I stray about. If I could only go to Europe and see Minnette's (his late wife) parents. Then back to America and devote my entire life to the work of the itinerant preacher among the scattered Germans in this extensive new world, till the Lord shall call me home."

He rode from place to place where he had formerly labored, and on March 9 returned to Burlington, having traveled 520 miles on this trip. During the summer he entered upon that line of work for which he seemed especially fitted, the work of itinerant preacher and colporteur, distributing Bibles, other books and tracts. In the fall the Reverend H. A. Eppens arrived from Germany, and at once took charge of Rieger's congregation in Burlington, to give him the opportunity to go to Europe. Before going he attended the annual conference of the Association of German Evangelical Churches in the West, which convened in Gravois, Missouri. The conference urged upon him to recruit helpers in Germany for the work among the Germans on the Missouri frontier. His leave-taking and departure was easy for him, for as he said, he felt as free and independent as an Indian.

In October, 1844, Rieger started on his second trip to his old fatherland. In New York City he looked up his friend and benefactor Richard Biglow. The latter went to the harbor with him to select a suitable boat for the journey. Cabin passage was very high but Mr. Biglow volunteered to pay it. Then Rieger recalled that his friend, the Reverend G. W. Wall, without any fault of his own, was in painful financial difficulties. He declared to Biglow, that he would gladly accept the $100 so generously proffered, but begged that they be sent to his friend in St. Louis, and declared he would take steerage, which would cost but a small amount and some provisions. Biglow protested that this would mean unnecessary hardship for the already weakened pastor. Rieger, however, replied: "You know it is my business to preach the gospel to the poor. What better opportunity could present itself than the steerage." Biglow reluctantly consented, provided the traveler with a warm great-coat, a cap, a pillow, a large ham, and a sack full of various provisions, which he conveyed on board of ship.

On that ship one hundred and twelve passengers traveled in steerage, a strange mixture of people, the major portion being Irish Catholics. He comforted the people in their sickness, read to them, distributed books among them, conducted

morning and evening devotions and preached to them on Sundays. The people learned to love him and reverently called him "Father" Rieger. For nineteen days he ministered thus.

An old man who had had experience in steerage travel, once remarked, that any crime except one that demanded a death sentence, could be atoned for in steerage. For Rieger it was a rich harvestfield. His influence was felt not only on the passengers, but also on the sailors, even on the captain who subsequently related this account to Mr. Biglow and he in turn to the friends in St. Louis, by whom it was disseminated.

Having arrived in Liverpool Rieger distributed the clothing Biglow had given him, and also the remaining provisions among the poorest of the passengers, and then started for Hamburg. In Bremen he met Miss Henriette Wilkens whom he married on April 15, 1845.

In November of that year he was back in St. Louis, to continue his work among the scattered Germans of the far West of that day. Two workers in the field of religious work accompanied him to America: W. Binner and A. Balzer, the latter is the present president of the German Evangelical Synod of North America. Others followed later, having been induced to come by Rieger.

Even before the journey just mentioned Rieger had agreed with the officers of the American Tract Society to spend at least a year as colporteur among the people of the western states. Upon his return the request was renewed and Rieger accepted it gladly, for here was the opportunity to seek out the people for whom he loved to labor, supply them with good books, and in time help them procure competent well trained clergymen. In Germany he had received the promise of various influencial clergymen and also of the several religious societies that they would supply the Germans in America with reliable pastors. So Rieger started out on the arduous task of a colporteur, leaving his wife in St. Louis.

For two years he pursued this enervating work. He was endowed with rare gifts as a colporteur. He had the ability and skill to engage every one with whom he met in

conversation. When he entered a workshop he invariably lent a hand to whatever the workman might be doing, and at the same time engaged those present in conversation which led up to his purpose and mission. Rieger's contemporaries relate how that many a workman thus addressed laid aside his tools, fettered by the words that came from Rieger's lips.

One day he was obliged to stop at an inn to rest and feed his horse. On the wall of the inn he observed a sheet of paper containing the rules of the inn, appearing under the caption "The ten commandments of the inn," a blasphemous imitation of the Ten Commandments of the Bible. Hurt to the quick Rieger took down the frame in which was contained the document, broke the frame and glass to fragments and tore the paper into bits. At first the innkeeper stood speechless. Then he burst forth in rage: "That is my property, what do you mean?" Rieger replied calmly: "I know it is your property, and I shall pay for it. What does it cost?" "I don't want any money, but you have no right to molest my property," the man retorted. Rieger pointed out the inestimable harm such blasphemous documents wrought. In fury the man proceeded to leap over the intervening counter, holding a large knife in his hand. The pastor said: "Why do you trouble yourself to jump over the counter? I won't run away. You have plenty of time to walk around it." The man was taken aback and mumbled: "God d—— me, a strange man." "No," replied Rieger, "He does not want to damn you, but to save you, and that is why I am here." Hereupon he spoke earnestly to the man, drew his purse and asked: "How much do I owe you?" "Nothing" the man answered, "perhaps it is just as well to be rid of that thing." "Well then I will give you a Bible for it," said the colporteur, opening his saddlebag. Entirely undone, the innkeeper looked up and said: "You are a strange, good man. I shall pay for the book, and I shall read it." The preacher had to stay for dinner as the guest of the innkeeper, who begged him to call again if opportunity permitted.

On another occasion Rieger again stopped at an inn. Only the owner and his twelve or thirteen-year-old son were in

the room. Rieger said: "I have some good books, don't you want to buy some?" "No, just leave the books in your bag," said the man roughly. I see that you are a parson (Pfaff, here used as a term of contempt), and I have no use for books of a Pfaff." "I am a minister of the gospel and have only good books." "But I don't want any, go to the d—— with your books." Undismayed Rieger picked up a book containing Bible stories, with a smile turned to the boy and asked: "Can you read?" "Of course, he can read," replied the father proudly. The visitor sat down beside the boy and bade him to read, which he did. He praised the lad for his proficiency in reading, and asked whether he would like to have the book. The youngster answered: "Yes, I would." "Then take it, I give it to you, but read diligently in it." "What does the book cost," said the father, less grimly than before. I have money to pay for it." "No, I have given it to your son, but I have others for you," responded the colporteur, and proceeded to sell several to his irate host. They parted as friends, and on several occasions the itinerant preacher called upon these people. On the last occasion when he came that way, he did not find a saloon nor inn. Uncertain as to whether the same people still lived there, Rieger hesitated about entering, when the owner stepped out and said, "Dismount, pastor, I am not keeping an inn anymore, but men like yourself are always welcome under my roof."

Rieger had all sorts of experiences on his journeys, as the above evidences. One day he was obliged to stop at the house of an American, because a violent headache made riding impossible. An old grandmother at once said upon his arrival, "You will preach for us this evening, won't you?" The pastor replied that his headache would make that impossible. "Oh pshaw," said the old lady, "you just preach and your headache will leave you." She at once turned to her son and bade him imform the neighbors to come to the evening services. Such urging and desire Rieger could not resist. In the evening the house was filled with people. Rieger began the services and, sure enough after a little his headache left him. After the devotion the old lady thanked him for his sermon and

triumphantly said: "Didn't I tell you the headache would go away?" "How do you know it is gone?" "I know when it left you, just when you began with such and such a verse." And so it was in fact. Rieger thereafter often referred to preaching as a sure cure for headache.

The Reverend Rieger had the fortunate gift of winning the affection and confidence of children, and it always came him in good stead in his work, and made it easy to approach the elders of the family. In his pockets he always had something for the little ones, an apple or a pear, a piece of maple sugar, a picture, or a toy carved from wood by his own hand.

When his saddlebag and boxes contained no more books he returned to his family.

In the course of the two years that Rieger spent as colporteur a number of young clergymen had come from abroad and Rieger, by dint of his wide acquaintance, was best fitted to assign them to fields of labor. In the spring of 1847 the conference numbered sixteen members.

On one occasion Rieger traveled thru the country between Pinkney and Marthasville in Missouri. He found a man working in the field and engaged him in conversation. Presently the man left the plow and sat down on the fence rail with the stranger and told his life story. He related how he had been a wild young fellow and had come to America as an adventurer. How he had bought a farm, gotten married, had continued his wild life and had taken to drink. How one of the sermons of the Reverend H. Garlichs had gripped him and induced him to change. After having told this story, the man begged for himself and for his neighbors that the pastor should settle there and preach for the Germans in that locality. Thus importuned, Rieger decided to tarry a bit in that community and ascertain the requirements of the people. In a short time sixty families signed a petition asking him to stay. The people were poor. They were in debt and their crops were not worth much. They said that they had no money, but assured the pastor that he should fare at least as well as they did. He decided to think it over and went to his home.

Upon his arrival at home he found a letter from Galena, Illinois, awaiting him, in which he was invited to come and take charge of the church there, with an assured salary of $400 per year. The offer was tempting. On the other hand the call from the Charette (now Holstein) was so urgent. The people there would find greater difficulty in securing a minister than the wealthier parishioners at Galena. So he decided to go to the people among the hills of Missouri. There was only one regret he had in going to Missouri and he put it in these words: "I don't like to be found on the black side." By this he meant to state in a jocular way how painful it was for him to live in a slave state.*

Just at the time when Rieger had reached the decision to go to the Charette a special session of the pastors of the Association of the German Evangelical Churches of the West was called. It convened on August 25, 1847, at Gravois, Missouri. The purpose of the meeting was the adoption of the Evangelical Catechism. Since Rieger was a member of the committee which had considered several drafts of this work, it was imperative that he should attend the gathering. The other members of the committee were: the Reverends

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*In reality, when Rieger later lived on the Charette, he had many unpleasant encounters with slaveholders. The sympathy and pity he felt for the bondsmen compelled him to shake the hand of slaves he chanced to meet and to give them Bibles and other books. One of the slaveowners, who was notorious for the immoral life he lived, once accosted him and represented to him how he, R., degraded himself by such condescension and familiarity with the negroes. At which Rieger said. "Sir, it is not degrading to give a slave the hand, but it is degrading and godless to have immoral relations with them." Without retort or defense the slaveowner went away.

This same man later persuaded other slaveholders that the seminary at Marthasville (to be mentioned later) was the nursery of anti-slavery sentiment, and that it was high time that they should call upon those connected with the institution and administer proper punishment on them. Four or five allowed themselves to be persuaded to go with him, and one evening, just when the evening devotions were being observed, they galloped up to the seminary, dismounted, and went raging and cracking their whips around the house. The instructors and students did not allow themselves to be interrupted in their services, and the intruders did not have the temerity to enter, so finally they mounted their horses and departed as they had come. One of these Rieger later addressed in regard to this illbred deportment, and so insistently demanded to know the intention of the intruders, that the one addressed was deeply abashed, asked forgiveness, and vowed never to participate in such an attack again.

Adolf Baltzer, William Binner, Kaspar H. Bode, and Mr. Rauschenbusch.

When Reverend Rieger went back to the Charette to find a suitable dwelling for his family, he experienced great difficulty in finding any house at all. The parishioners were willing enough to build a log cabin for him adjoining the log church. This, however, required time, and the winter was at the door. Almost all the members of the church had only one-room cabins. A blacksmith boasted the only two-room cabin in the community. One of these rooms he generously offered for the use of the pastor's family. Since the blacksmith's family was large, however, the offer could not be accepted. Finally an old log cabin was found, which the owner had deemed unfit for human habitation, and used it as a storeroom for all sorts of things. This Rieger agreed to take as his dwelling, and by cleverly draping carpets and blankets along the walls made this humble place quite inhabitable.

At that time there were only three wagons in the entire settlement. The owners of these agreed upon a time when they would drive to Gravois to get the pastor's belongings. This was done in November and the journey required four days. The nights the teamsters spent in the woods beside campfires. On the 19th of November Rieger and his family started from Gravois for the backwoods. They were met by a large concourse of the parishioners, who, with genuine frontier hospitality sought to give the newcomers all the comforts in their power and to bid them heartily welcome.

The pastor's faithfulness, earnestness and industry soon won the admiration and confidence of all the members. In a very short time the church building proved too small for the congregation. From the very beginning the building of a parsonage had been resolved upon. It was agreed that on every Wednesday the members should assemble for the purpose of erecting this structure. By a strange coincidence there was not a single Wednesday on which the work on this new structure was hindered by inclement weather. Still work proceeded slowly. The forest had to be felled, logs had to be

hewn, stone quarried, windows made, cistern dug, shingles split and flooring sawed with hand-saws. Several carpenters in the congregation agreed to make one or two doors or windows, whereby, in the absence of a definite design and pattern, a certain variety and independence of style was attained. The window-panes, nails and paint were furnished free of charge by a merchant of English descent. The pastor himself set the glass and did the painting.

There was much pastoral work to be done. The members lived widely scattered among the hills. In addition Rieger agreed to preach in two other places on every Sunday afternoon, namely in Marthasville and at Smith Creek. He took a lively interest in the building up of the Sunday School, devoted much time to instruction in singing, especially among the young people, and during several months each year, when the roads were in the best condition, he taught school, which work was ably carried on by his wife, when other work compelled the pastor to be absent. No tuition was charged at this school, and all, regardless of confession, were allowed to attend.

Since the demand for preachers among the German settlers in the West had become greater and greater, and since this demand could no longer be supplied by clergymen who had immigrated from Germany, the Evangelical Association resolved in February, 1849, to build a theological seminary near Marthasville. Rieger's energy and practical insight did much to bring this institution into being, and to sustain it after its founding. The great confidence which he enjoyed among English speaking churchmen brought to the seminary considerable pecuniary assistance, without which it would not so soon have risen to prominence. Of all his English speaking friends, his benefactor, Mr. Richard Biglow of New York City, gave the greatest assistance.

Midway between Femme Osage and Marthasville, Missouri, the seminary was erected on a sixty-acre tract of land, which a few friends of the cause presented for this purpose. In later years Rieger was often criticized and reproached for having lent his influence to have the school located in

such an out-of-the way and isolated spot.* There were three reasons why the theological institution was put among the hills north of the Missouri. In the first place it was argued that provisions there were so ridiculously cheap, and no one then anticipated that after a few years this would change so completely, when the Pacific (now the Missouri Pacific) railroad was built on the south bank of the Missouri. In the second place this region was at that time considered one of the greatest hotbeds of opposition to Christianity in all of Missouri, and it was hoped that the seminary would help to break this stronghold. In the third place it was held generally at that time, that removal from the diversions and temptations of the world was wholesome for students of theology.

The Evangelical congregations were still relatively small and poor, but they showed great willingness to make sacrifices. The pastors worked unceasingly. The pastors' wives gave every assistance, some of them selling the jewelry which they had brought from the old country, and contributed the income to the building of the seminary. Rieger was particularly untiring. From the Charette he conducted the building operations. He succeeded in eliciting the aid of the farmers along the Charette and at Femme Osage, who did much of the work on the building free of charge. In spite of shortage of funds, the cornerstone of the building was laid on July 4, 1849, and the building was occupied on June 28, 1850, tho at that time only one room and the kitchen were ready for occupancy. The Reverend William Binner was named director of the new institution. On the above mentioned date, June 28, Professor Binner and six students entered the new seminary. In the order of their admission, the latter were the following: K. Witte, G. Maul, H. Hanrath, W. Kampmeier, K. Sautter, P. Welsch. These were joined on

*In time the demand for a more convenient location of the Evangelical Theological Seminary became more and more urgent. In 1880 the directors of the synod were authorized to take the necessary steps to effect the change. They chose St. Louis as the best location. On April 8, 1883, the cornerstone of the new seminary building was laid. A farewell gathering and services at the old seminary near Marthasville was held on July 25, 1883. Thus closed an interesting chapter of the growth of the Evangelical Church in Missouri.

July 6 by K. Nestel. K. Sautter cancelled his registration soon after his admission, and H. Hanrath died on September 10, 1850.

Just before the seminary was about to be opened, Rieger sent two students with teams and wagons to collect provisions among his parishioners for the new institution. They met with the most generous response.

In the spring of 1850 the officers of Association requested Rieger to make a trip to the East, to solicit aid for the seminary among the German and English friends of Christian education. It was a difficult task. He wrote at that time: "Indeed it is a hard task. When I awake in the morning, a load rests upon my heart, and I wish that I might not have to go out. Then, however, I pull myself together, commend my cause to God, and—then it goes well beyond all expectation."

In September, Rieger returned to his family and to his charge in Missouri. During his absence the cholera had raged there, and many valued members of his congregation occupied their silent hall in the city of the dead. He was deeply grieved.

Early in 1855 his church was destroyed by fire. Sadly the people looked upon the charred remains of their house of worship. Then some one spoke the mind of all. "Well, what does this loss amount to, since we still have our pastor. It is much easier to build a new church than to get such a pastor." With resolution they went to work, and in due time there stood a brick church with a tower and a bell in it, on the same spot where the humble log church had stood.

Not only was Rieger untiring in his efforts for his church, for the seminary, but also for the Association, and until his health failed him, there was nothing of importance done without his council and participation. Rieger, Wall and Nollau were the leading spirits in the church at that time.

For thirteen years Rieger was pastor on the Charette (now Holstein). He himself stated that it was time that a new preacher, preferably a young, vigorous man should be chosen, who might arouse the congregation to renewed activity and might work especially among the young people.

In July, 1860, he went to Jefferson City, where he labored for nine years. In 1865 he made a second trip to the East in the interest of the finances of the seminary. In spite of his declining years and failing health he took an active part in all the upbuilding enterprises in Jefferson City. He was a zealous member of the Bible Society and its treasurer for several years. He was a trustee of Lincoln Institute. During the Civil War he labored as a missionary among the soldiers who came and went to the camp at Jefferson City. He visited the camp daily, talked with the men, and distributed books among them. He took sick soldiers to his home and gave them his best room, and waited upon them, seeking thus to do his duty to his country. The state penitentiary was an object of deep concern to him. Soon after his arrival in Jefferson City he concerned himself as to the best means to gain admittance to that penal institution. How that was accomplished was related by the warden of the penitentiary at the time of Rieger's death in these words: "My first meeting with "Father" Rieger, as we ordinarily called him, I shall never forget. A pale gentleman, dressed in black, and carrying a basket, came to my office. After mentioning his name, he asked me to examine the contents of the basket, and asked permission to be allowed to take it to the sick ward of the prisoners. I opened the basket and found therein the most beautiful flowers, neatly put up in small bouquets. These he intended for the poor patients. How this tender love for these most wretched outcasts of humanity touched me. I looked thru these bouquets into his very heart, which beat with sympathy and pity for those forsaken and repelled by all. I pressed his hand and gave him permission to come and go at any time without a guard." From then on Rieger visited the penitentiary regularly every week when his own health permitted him to do so. Since during the war no chaplain was appointed by the state, he preached there every other Sunday in the English and the German language. The penitentiary did have a library of English books and also some English song books, but for the German convicts no song books in their language were provided. The Evangelical

churches had just then adopted a new song book. Rieger therefore had the various churches send him their discarded books, which the convicts not only used during the services, but were also allowed to take to their cells.

On the twentieth of August, 1869, he died of pulmonary tuberculosis. On August 22nd he was buried. The following article from Jefferson City appeared in the 'Missouri Democrat' of St. Louis: "The funeral obsequies of the Reverend Joseph Rieger, for many years the venerated pastor of the German Evangelical church of this city, took place today. It was attended by a large concourse of citizens, both German and American, by whom the deceased was held in equal exalted esteem and affection. The services were in both German and English, the pastors of the various religious denominations of the city participating in them. The funeral scene was deeply affecting. Every eye was wet with the tears of mourning. "Father" Rieger presided over a church embracing a large portion of the German population of the city and of our most useful citizens. His pure Christian life and character, however, extended his influence far beyond the pale of his church, and made him an example and a leader whom all Germans and Americans alike delighted to honor and revere, and whose position for usefulness there is no German or American left to fill. His death is deeply lamented by all. He leaves a wife and seven children, five of whom are girls, and whom he was zealously training for lives of usefulness. He was treasurer of the Cole County Bible Society and trustee of Lincoln Institute,* a colored school here. His career has been cut short, and a life of usefulness ended."

In keeping with the writer's custom of tracing the descendents of the Followers of Duden, I wrote to Reverend Nicolaus Rieger of Kansas City, Missouri, one of the sons of the Reverend Joseph Rieger. His letter is here, in part, subjoined: "My mother continued to live in Jefferson City till 1884, when she moved to Washington, Missouri, where she died May 5, 1885, and was buried in Jefferson City.

*Now called Lincoln University.

"My sister Henriette died twelve years before, on May 5, 1873, at Jefferson City.

"Julia married Dr. O. A. Wall, June 29, 1871. He was the oldest son of the Reverend G. W. Wall, father's companion, who crossed the ocean with him the first time he came to America. Dr. Wall was professor of materia medica at the Missouri Medical College, lecturer at the St. Louis College of Pharmacy and otherwise prominent in the medical profession. He died February 13, 1922. They had three children. O. A. Wall, Jr., who also was a successful doctor and professor at the College of Pharmacy, but died in 1919 at the age of forty-six. A daughter, Henriette, married Chester Stith and was left a widow after six very happy years. She and her younger sister, Irene, are the comfort of their mother.

"Clara married Reverend A. Berens, October 3, 1878, and was left a widow about fifteen years ago, with three children: Frida, married to Professor Powell and now lives somewhere in Georgia; Helmut, teacher in one of the Chicago high schools, and Robert, superintendent of construction in an automobile factory in Detroit.

"Emma married Mr. Adolph Huebner, August 9, 1883. He died in 1893 in Appleton, Wisconsin, where he had been superintendent of the public school. Their daughter Bertha is married and lives near Milwaukee. Sister Emma and her younger daughter, also named Emma, now live at Los Angeles, California.

"Lydia married the Reverend William Bonekemper, August 18, 1885, who for nearly thirty years was pastor of the Reformed Church at Sutton, Nebraska. They now have their home in Long Beach, California. Of their three daughters, Erica, Vera and Hedwig, the elder is married and lives in Nebraska.

"My brother Joseph became a minister of the gospel and is now pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical church in Quincy, Illinois. He married Miss Lillie Quinius of Waco, Texas, April 14, 1886. They have three sons: Paul, Herman, and Joseph, Jr., in various business careers.

"I, Nicolaus Rieger, also chose the ministry. My wife was Miss Emma Buetow of DeSoto, Missouri. We have journeyed together since July 2, 1889, and have three children, who are the joy of our life: Julian, Gertrude, and Erna. They are in business in Kansas City, Missouri. For four years I have lived in retirement in Kansas City, and preach every Sunday in some church that is temporarily without a resident pastor."

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

An Unwritten Leaf of The War

John N. Edwards

ELEVENTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XX.

The Empress Charlotte was a woman who had been twice crowned—once with a crown of gold, earthly and perishable, and once with a crown of beauty as radiant as the morning. When she arrived in Mexico, this beauty, then in its youthful splendor, dazzled all beholders. Her dark auburn hair was heavy, long and silken. Her eyes were of that lustrous brown which were blue and dreamy at times, and at times full of a clear, penetrating light that revealed a thought almost before the thought was uttered. Her face was oval, although the forehead a little high and projecting, was united at the temples by those fine curves which give so much delicacy and expression to the soul of women. Her mouth was large and firm, and her teeth were of the most perfect whiteness. About the lower face there were those lines of firmness which told of unbending will and great moral force and decision of character. Beneath the dignity of the Queen, however, she carried the ardor and the joyfulness of a school girl. Her nose was aquiline, the nostrils open and slightly projecting, recording, as if upon a page, the emotions of her heart, and the dauntless courage which filled her whole being. At times her beautiful face wore an expression impossible to describe—an expression made up of smiles, divinations, questionings, the extreme and blended loveliness of the ideal and the real—the calmness and gravity which became the Queen—the softness and pensiveness which bespoke the woman.

The gallery that contained the portrait of Maximilian would be incomplete without that of his devoted and heroic

wife. She was a descendant of Henry IV., of France, the hero of Ivry, a ruler next in goodness and greatness to Louis IX., and the victim of the fanatical assassin Ravaillac. Her father was Leopold I., of Belgium, one of the wisest and most enlightened monarchs of Europe. An Englishman by naturalization, he married the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of George IV., the 2nd of May, 1816. His English wife dying in childbirth, in 1817, Leopold again married in 1832, uniting himself with Louise Maria Theresa Charlotte Isabella de Orleans, daughter of Louis Philippe, King of France. Of this marriage was the Empress Carlota born on the 7th of June, 1840, and who received at her christening the names of Maria Charlotte Amelia Auguste Victoire Clementine Leopoldino. Her father was called the Nestor of Kings, and her mother the Holy Queen, such being her charity, her purity, and her religious devotion. The first died in 1865, while the Empress was in Mexico, and the last in 1850. At the time when she most needed the watchfulness and advice of a father, she was suddenly bereft of both his support and his protection.

No monarch on earth ever had a more ambitious and devoted consort. The daughter of a king, and reared amid thrones and the intense personal loyalty of European subjects, she believed an Empire might be established in the west greater than any ever founded, after long years of battle and state-craft, and she entered upon the struggle with all the impassioned ardor of her singularly hopeful and confiding nature. Her unrivalled beauty won the enthusiasm of cities, and her unostentatious and christian charity erected for her a throne in the hearts of the suffering and unfortunate. When the yellow fever was at its height in Vera Cruz, and when all who were wealthy and well-to-do had fled to the higher and healthier uplands, she journeyed almost alone to the stricken seaport, visited the hospitals, ministered unto the plague-stricken, ordered physicians from the fleet, encouraged the timid, inspired the brave, paid for masses for the dead, and came away wan and weary, but safe and heaven-guarded. The fever touched not even the hem of her garments. Fate,

that sent the east wind and the epidemic, may, like the stricken sufferers, have thought her angel.

There was pestilence, and famine, and insurrection in Yucatan. The Indians there, naturally warlike and enterprising, rose upon the government and cast off its authority. Tribes revolted and warred with one another. The French, holding the large towns, fortified and looked on in sullen apathy, sallying out at times to decimate a province or lay waste a farming district. In a few weeks the insurrection would be civil war. It was decreed in council that the Emperor's presence was needed in Yucatan. His affairs at home, however, were not promising, and he tarried a little to arrange them better before leaving. Of a sudden the Empress besought leave to go in his stead. It was refused. She persevered day after day and would not be denied. Inspired with more than a woman's faith, and heroic in all the grandeur of accepted sacrifice, she made the perilous journey, taking with her only an escort and a confessor. Her arrival at Merida was like a coronation. All the state arose to do her homage. She went among the tribes and pacified them. She redressed their wrongs, brought back the rebellious leaders to a strict allegiance, cast herself into the midst of pestilence, opened the churches, recalled the proscribed and scattered priests, and came away an angel. Unto the end the faith she founded in her husband's empire remained unshaken. After Queretero, Yucatan relapsed into barbarism.

The year 1865 was spent by the Emperor and Marshal Bazaine in vigorous attempts to pacify the country and consolidate its power. The Liberal cause seemed hopeless. Nowhere did Juarez hold a seaport, an outlying mine, a foot of grain-growing territory, a ship, an arsenal, a field large enough to encamp an army. Yet he held on. That sluggish, tenacious, ferocious Indian nature of his was aroused at last, and while he starved he schemed. A sudden dash of cavalry upon his winter quarters at El Paso drove him into the United States. He went to San Antonio a fugitive President without a dollar or a regiment, and waited patiently until the force of the blow had spent itself. As the French

retired he advanced. Scarcely had his adieu been forgotten in El Paso when his good day greeted its good people again. Everywhere, also, were his guerrillas at work. Once in a speech upon the annexation of San Domingo, Carl Schurz exclaimed: "Beware of the tropics!" And why? Because the tropics breed guerrillas. They do not die in war times. Malaria does not kill them. They can not be found and fought. All nature is in league with them—the heat, the bread-fruit, the bananas, the orange-groves, the zepotas, the mangos, the cocoanuts, the monkeys. These last, sentinels through imitation, chatter volubly at the pursuers and cry out in soldier fashion and in words of warning: *"Guien vive!"* Wherever the Spanish blood is found there is found also an obstinacy of purpose impossible to subdue—a singularly ferocious and untamable resolution that dies only with annihilation. It will never make peace, never cease from the trail, never let go its hold upon the roads, never spare a captive, never yield a life to mercy, never forgive the ruler who would rule as a Christian and make humanity the law of the land.

All the following that Juarez had now was one of guerrillas. Porfino Diaz lived by his wits and his *prestamos*. Escobedo, constitutionally a coward and nationally a robber, preyed alone upon his friends. Try how they would, the French found him always a runaway or a thief. Negrete, with six thousand blanketed *ladrones*, abandoned a captured train and fled as a stampeded buffalo herd before a battalion of Zouaves. Lozado preserved in the mountains of Nayarit an armed neutrality. Corona, in the delightful possession of his beautiful American wife, sat himself down in Sonora and waited for the tide to turn. For his country he never so much as lifted his hand. Cortina prayed to the good Lord and the good devil, and went alternately to mass and the monte bank.

They all held on, however. An unorganized Commune, the goods of other people were their goods—the money of other people was their money. As long as the rains fell, the crops matured, and cattle kept clear of the murrain, and

bread-fruit got ripe, and the maguey made mescal, they were safe from pestilence or famine. The days with them meant so many bellyfuls of *tortillas* and *frijoles*.

With the French it was different. Red tape has a dynasty of its own—a caste, a throne, an army of field and staff officers. Each day represented so many rations, so many bottles of wine, so many ounces of tobacco, so many cigars, so much soup, and bread and meat. Failing in any of these, red tape stepped in with its money commutation in lieu of rations. Then for each decoration there was an annuity. Some Zouaves drew more pay than generals of brigade. The Malakoff medal so much, the Inkermann medal so much, the Chinese Emperor's Palace medal so much, the Fort Constantine medal so much, the Magenta and Solferino medals so much, the Puebla medal so much, and so much for all the rest of the medals these many laurelled and magnificent soldiers wore. When they were paid off they had monthly a saturnalia.

To make both ends meet, Napoleon's great finance minister, Langlais—loaned as an especial favor to Maximilian —did the work of a giant. One day he died. Apoplexy, that ally and avenger of the best-abused brain, laid hands on him between the Palace of Chapultepec and the office of the treasury. In two hours he was dead. All that he had done died with him. Of his financial fabric, reared after so many nights of torture and trouble, there was left scarcely enough of pillar or post to drape with mourning for the single-minded, sincere and gifted architect. In the dearth of specie the church was called upon. The church had no money, at least none for the despoiler of its revenues and the colonizer of its lands. Excommunication was again threatened, and thus over the threshold of the altar as well as the treasury, there crept the appalling shadow of bankruptcy.

Bazaine threatened—the Emperor prayed—the Empress threw into the scale all her private fortune at her command. Outside the cabinet walls, however, everything appeared fair. Brilliant reviews made the capital gorgeous and en-

chanting. There were operas and fetes, and bull-fights, and great games of monte in the public square, and duels at intervals, and one unbroken tide of French successes everywhere. Napoleon sent over in the supreme agony of the crisis two ship loads of specie, and there was a brief breathing time again. Meanwhile they would see, for when it is darkest it is the nearest to the morning.

Inez Walker, the rescued maiden of Encarnacion, was too beautiful to have been lightly forgotten. Free once more, and with the terrors of that terrible night attack all gone from her eager eyes, she had continued with the Expedition to the capital, courteously attended each day by an escort of honor furnished as regularly as the guards were furnished.

In the City of Mexico, at the time of her arrival, there was an American woman who had married a Prussian prince, and who was known as the Princess Salm Salm. Once, when she was younger, she had ridden in a circus, several of them, and as Miss Agnes LeClerc was noted for her accomplished equestrianism, her magnificent physique, a beauty that was dark and over-bold, a devil-may-care abandon which won well with those who sat low by the footlights and felt the glamour of the whirling music and the red flames that flashed on golden and gaudy trappings of acrobat or actor.

Miss Le Clerc had met the Prussian in Mobile after the American war was over. The Prince had been a Federal general of brigade whose reputation was none of the best for soldierly deeds, although it is not recorded that he either shunned or shirked a fight. Still he was not what these parvenu Americans of ours think a prince should be—he did not clothe himself in silver or gold, in purple or fine linen, and conquer armies as Rarey might have conquered a horse. There were some stories told, too, of unnecessary cruelty to prisoners whom the fortunes of war cast upon his hands helpless, but these did not follow him into Mexico with his American wife, who had married him in Mobile, and who had got this far on her way in search of a coronet.

She was told the history of Inez Walker, and she was a brave, sympathetic, tender-hearted woman who loved her

sex as all women do whom the world looks upon as having already unsexed themselves. They became fast friends speedily, and were much together at the opera and upon the *passeo* during those last brief yet brilliant days of the Empire.

The Prince Salm Salm was on duty with a brigade at Apam, in the mountains towards Tampico. Guerrillas had been at work there lately, a little more savage than usual, and Bazaine sent forward Salm Salm to shoot such as he could lay hands upon and disperse those that could not be caught. He acted with but little of energy, and with scarcely anything of ambition. He was recalled finally, but not until his wife had been grossly insulted and a Confederate had avenged her.

One day, in a *cafe*, several groups of Belgian officers were at the tables sipping their wine, and jesting and talking of much that was bad and useless. At other places there were Austrians and French, and a few Spaniards, who even then were beginning to avoid the foreigners, and a single American, who was sitting alone and at his leisure.

Dr. Hazel was a young physician from South Carolina, who had gone through the siege of Sumpter with a devotion and a constancy that had found their way into general orders, and that had returned in the shape of a rain more precious to a soldier than sunlight to flowers—the rain of official recognition. In addition to the compliments received he was promoted. As he sipped his claret, several ladies entered, some attended and some unattended. French custom makes a *cafe* as cosmopolitan as the street. All sexes congregate there, and all stratas of society; custom simply insists that the common laws of society shall be obeyed—that those of the *demi-monde* shall not advertise their profession, that the gambler shall not display his cards, the guerrilla uncoil his lasso, the grand dame exhibit her prudery, the detective his insincerity, and the priest his protests and his confessional. Appetite admits of no divided sovereignty, and hence, at meal time, the French recognize only one class in society, that of the superlatively hungry.

The Princess Salm Salm returned the salutation of several French officers as she entered, and bowed once or twice in acknowledgment of salutes rendered by the Austrians of her husband's brigade. Beyond these she seemed to prefer isolation and privacy. Among the Belgians there was a Major who had a huge yellow beard, a great coarse voice, a depth of chest like an ox, a sword-belt whose extent would girth a hogshead. In French *cafes*, gentlemen very rarely speak above the low conversational tone of the drawing room. To be boisterous is to be either drunk or a blackguard. This Belgian, Major Medomark of the Foreign Legion, did not seem to be drunk, and yet as he looked at the Princess Salm Salm, his voice would change its intonation and deepen harshly and gratingly. If he meant to be offensive he succeeded first rate.

The Princess pushed back her plate and arose as one who felt that she was the subject of conversation without understanding the words of it. As she passed through the door, Medomark boisterously and in great glee, called out a slang term of the circus, and shouted:

"Hoop la!"

The Agnes Le Clerc that was of the sawdust and tights, the Princess Salm Salm that is now of the titles and diamonds, heard the brutal cry and felt to her heart the studied insult. Turning instantly, she came again half into the *cafe*—her eyes full and discolored with passion, and her face so white that it appeared as if the woman was in mortal pain. She could not speak—though she tried hard, poor thing, but she looked once at Medomark as if to crush him where he sat, and once to Hazel, who understood it all now, and arose as she again retired.

He went straight to his American countrywoman. At the cowardly inference of the Belgian the French officers had laughed and the Austrians had applauded. Even those of her husband's own brigade had not uttered protest or demanded apology. Hazel found her in tears.

"You have been insulted," he said. "I know it, or rather, I may say I saw it. Not understanding German, if,

indeed, the Belgians speak German, I have to rely for my opinion more upon the manner than the matter of the insult. Your husband is away, you are an American lady, you are a countrywoman of mine, you are in trouble and you need a protector. Will you trust your honor in my hands?"

This actress was a brave, proud woman, born, perhaps, to rule men as much by the force of her will as the bizarre style of her beauty and her physical development. She took Hazel's hand and thanked him, and bade him chastise the insolent bully. She knew very well what chastisement meant in the language of a soldier, and she was a soldier's wife. She never referred to the future, however. She did not even evince interest enough to be curious. Perhaps her passion kept her from this—at least her champion bowed low to her as he entered, thinking her the coldest woman a man ever put his life in jeopardy for. Cold she was not. She simply considered what was done for her as being done because of her inalienable right to have it done. She was not familiar, she only tolerated.

Hazel, in stature, was very slight. As he stood up before Medomark the huge Belgian glowered upon him as Goliah of Gath might have done upon David.

"Do you speak English?" he asked of the Major.

"A little."

"Enough to understand the truth when I tell it to you?"

"Perhaps, if it is not so plain that for the telling I will have to break every bone in your body."

Medomark's voice was one of that uncontrollable kind that run away with a subject in spite of itself. He meant to be quiet so as not to attract attention, but he was so rude that many of the spectators quit eating to look on.

"That lady," Hazel continued, "who has just gone out is a countrywoman of mine. She may have been an actress just as you may have been a hangman's son, but whatever she has been she is a woman. We do not insult women in the country where I once lived, nor do we permit it to be done elsewhere. Will you apologize to her?"

"I will not."

"Will you accept this card and let me send a friend to you?"

"I will with pleasure."

"Then I wish you good day, gentlemen," and Hazel bowed to all as he went out like a man who had just finished his dinner.

Medomark was brave—besides, he was an officer. There were, therefore, but two courses left to him—but two things to do—to accept Hazel's cartel or to refuse it. In preference to disgrace he chose the duello. Hazel found his second speedily. He, too, was a soldier—one of Shelby's best, James Wood—who would go to any extreme on earth for a friend.

When two men mean business, the final arrangements are simply matters of form. On the morning after Medomark's insult in the *cafe*, Wood called upon him early. During the day the preliminaries were all amicably agreed upon, and at sunrise the next morning, about a quarter of a mile southeast of the American burying ground, Hazel and Medomark met at ten paces with dueling pistols. The Belgian's second was a young French Lieutenant named Massac, who won both the position and the word. When the men took their places, Hazel had the sun in his eyes, and this annoyed him at first, for it was very hot and penetrating. They fired twice at each other. The first time both missed—the second time Hazel struck Medomark upon the outside point of the right shoulder, injuring the bone greatly and severing an artery that bled as if the man would bleed to death. Prompt and efficient surgical skill, however, saved his life. The duel ended after the second fire, the Princess Salm Salm, so splendidly vindicated at the hands of her young countryman, was the toast thereafter of the officers of the garrison. The Prince on his return could not render thanks enough, nor seek to show his appreciation of the chivalrous act by too many evidences of a more substantial gratitude. The city being under martial law, a court-martial was soon convened for the trial of all who were engaged in the duel. A sentence, however, was never reached. Upon the request of Bazaine, the court was dismissed and the prisoners set at liberty. Medomark re-

covered fully only to be desperately wounded again at Queretero, where after long and devoted attention on the part of Dr. Hazel, a surgeon in the Republican army, he was restored to both health and liberty. From this little episode a friendship sprung up which has remained unbroken to this day.

The colony at Carlota grew apace and was prosperous. The men began to cultivate coffee and sugar, and from a jungle the plantations soon bloomed and blossomed like another Paradise. As an especial favor from Maximilian, Shelby was permitted to pre-empt the *hacienda* of Santa Anna, not a *hacienda*, however, that had belonged to this prince and chief of conspirators, but one that had been named for him. Spaniards once owned it, but in the massacres of the revolution all had perished. About the ruins of the fortress which still abounded, there were signs which told of the fury of the onslaught and the scorching of the flames that followed when the rapine and the ravishments were done. Situated two miles from Cordova, and in the very purple heart of the tropics, it might have been made at once into a farm and a flower-garden. Twelve acres were put in coffee, and coffee well cultivated and permitted to grow in a land where there is law and protection, pays to the raiser a minimum price per acre of fifteen hundred dollars. It seems, however, that nature is never perfect in the equilibrium of her gifts. There, where the soil is so deep, the air so soft, the climate so delicious, the trade winds so cool and delightful, the men alone are idle, and come in the night to the plantations of the foreigners to break down their coffee trees, poison their spring water, wound their dumb stock, and damage everything that can be damaged and that comes in their way.

In the mountains in the rear of Shelby's plantation a robber band rendezvouzed. Its chief, Don Manuel Rodriguez was a daring leader, who descended to the plains at intervals with a reckless following, and made headway for hours at a time in his work of gathering up supplies and levying *prestamos*. In a month after Shelby's arrival a friendly relationship was established, and thereafter, until the end, Rodriguez protected Santa Anna, and lived at peace with all who were

settled round about. Just how the negotiations were commenced and consummated which led to a truce so satisfactory and so necessary, none ever knew, but true it is that in the cool of the evenings, and when the French drums had beaten tattoo at the fort only half a mile away, Rodriguez would come down from his fastenesses as a peaceful visitor, and sit for hours among the Americans, asking of the Yankee country, and the ups and downs of the Yankee war, for to a Mexican everything is Yankee which is American.

Ex-Governor Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, also a settler, might have been designated the Alcalde of Carlota. The Confederates looked upon him with a kind of reverence. By the side of Albert Sidney Johnston when he got his death-wound, he had taken him in his arms and held him there until the mist came into his sad, prophetic eyes, and until the brave, fond heart, broken by his country's ingratitude, and the clamor of despicable and cowardly politicians, had ceased to beat. Brownlow especially wanted Harris, and so Harris had come to Mexico. He knew Brownlow well—a bitter, unrelenting, merciless fanatic, and a fanatic, too, who had come in on the crest of the wave that had drowned the cause for which Harris fought. He believed that if the old Pagan failed to find a law for his capital punishment, he would succeed certainly through the influence of gold and political power over an assassin. Unwilling at all events to risk the tyrant, he found penniless asylum at Cordova, poor only in pocket, however, and courageous and proud to the last. He was a cool, silent, contemplative man, with a heavy lower jaw, projecting forehead, and iron gray hair. In his principles he was an Ironside of the Cromwellian type. Perhaps the intense faith of his devotion gave to his character a touch of fatalism, for when the ship stranded he was cast adrift utterly wrecked in everything but his undying confidence in the success of the Confederacy. He believed in Providence as an ally, and rejected constantly the idea that Providence takes very little hand in wars that come about between families or States—if, indeed, in wars of any kind. With his great energy, his calm courage, his shrewd, practical intercourse with the

natives, his record as a governor and a soldier, he exerted immense influence for good with the soldier-settlers and added much to the strength and stability of the colony.

Col. Perkins, of Louisiana, a Judge of great fame and ability, and a lawyer as rich in triumphs at the bar as he was possessed of slaves and cotton-bales upon his plantation, abandoned everything at home but his honor and isolated himself among his coffee-trees and bananas. When the war closed he took a week to speak his farewells and burn his dwelling-house, his cotton presses, his stables, barns, outhouses, and to make in fact of his vast possessions a desert. He had a residence rich in everything that could amuse, instruct, delight, gratify. Painting, statuary, flowers, curiosities, rare plants, elegant objects of vertu and art were there in abundance, and when from the war he returned crushed in spirit and broken in health, he rested one night brooding amid all the luxury and magnificence of his home. He arose the next morning a stoic. With a torch in his hand he fired everything that would burn, leaving nowhere one stone upon another to tell of what had once been the habitation of elegance and refinement. In his Mexican solitude he was an aristocratic philosopher, complaining of nothing and looking back with regret upon nothing. Sufficient unto the day for him had been the evil thereof.

Gen. Sterling Price was another settler. Many of his escort company had taken lands around him. The patriarch chief in a new country, he sat much in the shade about his tent, telling the stories of the war and hoping in his heart for the tide of persecution and proscription in Missouri to run itself out. Politics was as necessary to his mental equilibrium as sleep to his physical. In the old days he had succeeded well. Nature gave him a fine voice, a portly frame, a commanding front, a graceful and dignified carriage, an *aplomb* that never descended into nervousness, and hence, as the Speaker of a legislative body he was unexcelled. He dreamed of a speakership again, of a governorship, of a senatorship, and he, therefore, cultivated more corn than he did coffee, for it takes three years for coffee to grow and bear, and three

years might—well, he did not choose to put himself into the hands of three years and wait.

It would at least be curious, if it were not interesting, to go in among these colonists in Carlota and learn their histories while displaying the individuality of each. A common misfortune bound them all together in the strength of a recognized and yet unwritten covenant. The pressure of circumstances from without kept them indissolubly united. Poverty, that dangerous drug which stimulates when it does not stupefy, lost its narcotism over men whom war had chastized and discipline made strong and reflective. They strove for but one purpose—to get a home and occupy it.

The privateer Shenandoah—that mysterious cruiser which was seen rarely at sea, yet which left upon the waves of the South Pacific a monstrous trail of fire and smoke—sent her officers into the colony with their ship money and their cosmopolitan hardihood. Lieutenants Chew and Scales took valuable land and went enthusiastically to work. Around the *hacienda* of Santa Anna there was a cordon of strange pioneers who had histories written in characters impossible to decipher. The hieroglyphics were their scars.

And so affairs prospered about Carlota, and the long, sunshiny days went on, in which the trade winds blew and the orange blossoms scented all the air. It was near three days long journey to the capital, but rumors travel fast when every ear is listening for them and a report deepened all along the route from Mexico to Vera Cruz that a staff officer of the French Emperor had left Paris for the headquarters of Marshall Bazaine. A multitude of reasons were assigned for the visit. Napoleon might desire, for the purposes of information, the direct observations of one who was intimately acquainted with his views and intentions. It might be, again, with a view to increasing the forces of the expedition, or to the employment of more active and rigorous measures in the pacification of the country. Accordingly, as men were hopeful or depressed, they reasoned concerning this visit of the French staff officer, even before the officer himself was half across the Atlantic.

From first to last, the treasury of Maximilian had been comparatively empty. He curtailed his own personal expenses, abandoned the civil list, lived like a plain and frugal farmer, set everywhere an example of retrenchment and economy, but it availed nothing. Mexico, with all of her immense mineral resources, is, and has been, usually poverty-stricken. There is no agriculture, and, consequently, no middle class. At one extreme is immense wealth, at the other immense misery. Ignorance and superstition do the rest.

His exertions to pay his soldiers and carry forward a few vitally necessary internal improvements, were gigantic. Pending of the arrival of the French envoy extraordinary, he had negotiated a loan at home, which was taken by patriotism—a strange work for a Mexican—and which had already begun to flow into his empty coffers.

Things, therefore, were not so dark as they had been when Gen. Castelnau, personal aide-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon, arrived at Vera Cruz.

Gen. Castelnau kept his own secret well, which was also the secret of his master, Napoleon III. A magnificent review was held in the city of Mexico at which he was present. Soldiers of all arms were there, and a great outpouring of the people. Everything looked like war, nothing like evacuation, and yet Gen. Castelnau brought with him definite and final orders for the absolute and unconditional withdrawal of the French troops.

The Empress penetrated the purpose of his mission first and again came forward to demand a last supreme effort in behalf of the tottering throne. She would go to Europe and appeal to its chivalry. The daughter of a king, it would be to monarchs to whom she would address herself face to face. She was young, and beautiful, and pleading for her crown, and why would not armies arise at her bidding and march either to avenge or reinstate her? Poor, heroic woman, she tried as never a woman tried before to stem the tide of fate, but fate was against her. First the heart and then the head, until with hope, faith, ambition, reason all gone, she staggered out from the presence of Napoleon dead in all things but a

love that even yet comes to her fitfully in the night time as dreams come, bringing images of the trees about the Alameda, of the palace where she dwelt, of Miramar and Maximilian.

In the summer of 1866 she sailed for Europe. She knew Castelnau's mission and she determined to thwart it. There was yellow fever at Vera Cruz and pestilence on the ocean. Some of her attendants were stricken down by her side and died at Cordova—others on board the ship that carried her from port. She bore up wonderfully while the mind held out. Nothing affrighted her. The escort marching in the rear of her carriage was attacked by guerrillas. She alighted from it, bade a soldier dismount, got upon the back of his horse and galloped into the fight. Here was an Amazon of the 19th century who had a waist like a willow wand, who painted rare pictures, who had a husband whom she adored, who sang the ballads of her own exquisite making, who was struggling for a kingdom and a crown, and who had never in all her life seen a drop of blood or a man die.

The fight was simply a guerrilla fight, however, and from an Amazon the woman was transformed into an Empress again—tender, considerate, desperate in the wild emergency upon her, and joyous with the fierce eagerness of her longings and her despair.

Never any more in life did the blue eyes of her husband and her lover gaze upon that fair Norman face, almost colorless now and set as a flint in the stormy sunset of the night when she sailed away to her destiny.

Bazaine took his time to obey his orders—indeed, he had margin enough and leisure enough to contract his lines pleasantly. Not always over-bold in retreat, the French had yet learned well the nature of Mexican warfare and would turn sometimes viciously when galled to wincing on flank or rear, and deal a few parting blows that unto this day are recalled with shudderings or impotent vows of vengeance.

One at Matamoras is worth a mention. The Sixty-second of the Line did garrison duty there under Col. Lascolat. He was to Dupin what the needle-gun is to the smoothe-bore. Dupin destroyed singly, at short range, in ambushments, by

lonesome roads, in sudden and unmerciful hours—from the depths of isolation and the unknown. Lascolat, an Algerian officer of singular ferocity, hunted in regiments. Even the physique of his men was angular, rakish undulatory like the movements of a greyhound. They would march thirty miles a day fighting, bivouac anywhere, sleep if they could—very well, if they could not, still very well. With them was a priest who wore five medals he had won in battle. When he had time he shrived all alike. In his hands the cross was good enough for the dying who spoke Spanish and the dying who spoke French. In the presence of the sceptre he took no thought of nationality.

As Lascolat came out from Matamoras, a portion of Escobedo's forces pressed him inconveniently. His orders from Bazaine were to take his time, fight only when forced, be dignified, patient and discreet, but to make sure of his egress out with everything that belonged to him or his. Lascolat had under him two battalions of one thousand men each. The third battalion composing the regiment of the Sixty-second had already been sent forward to Jeanningros at Monterey. Escobedo attacked with five thousand. He knew of Lascolat's ferocity—of his terrible doings about and along the Rio Grande, and he meant to take a farewell, the memories of which would last even unto Algeria again.

One afternoon late the line of Lascolat's march led through a ravine which commenced broad like the mouth of a funnel, and tapered down to a point, as a funnel would taper. Near the outlet Escobedo fortified the road with loose boulders. Behind these, and upon the sides of the acclivities on either side, he placed his men in ambush. He had no artillery, for he so shaped the fight as to make it face to face and deadly. Lascolat entered into the trap listlessly. If he knew what had been prepared for him he made no sign. Suddenly the loose, disjointed, impassive wall outlined itself. Some sharp skirmishing shots came from the front. The shadows of the twilight had begun to gather. It looked ugly and ominous where the stones were.

Lascolat called a halt, and rode back along the ranks of his men. They were weary, and they had seated themselves upon the ground to rest. His presence fired them as a torch passing across a line of ready gas-lights. He spoke to them pleasantly in his Algerian vernacular:

"The Arabs are ahead. We are hungry, we are tired; we want to go into camp; we have no time to make a flank movement. Shall we make quick work of the job, that we may get some supper and some sleep?"

The men answered him with a shout. The charge commenced. It was a hurricane. The barricade of rocks was not even so much as a fringe of bulrushes. Those who held it died there. The hill slopes, covered with prickly pear and dagger-trees, hid a massacre. The Sixty-second swarmed to the attack like bees about a hive in danger. Paralyzed, routed, decimated, torn as a tempest tears, Escobedo's forces fired but one fair volley, and fled as shadows flee when the wind pursues. The dead were never counted. Lascolat's farewell was taken, but those who came out well from the hand-shaking slackened march not a step until the rout had passed into Matamoras, and over against a river that might be crossed for the wading. Thereafter the Sixty-second foraged as it pleased, and took its own time toward the coast.

Col. Deprueil was in danger—Shelby's old antagonist of Parras—and it remained for Shelby to save him. In the marchings and counter-marchings of the evacuation, Depreuil commanding six hundred men of the Foreign Legion, was holding a post twenty leagues northwest of San Luis Potosi. Douay, with inadequate cavalry, was keeping fast hold upon this most important strategical point, awaiting the detachments from the extreme north. Shelby was a freighter now, and had come from the City of Mexico with a strong guard of Americans, and eighty wagons laden with supplies for the French. After reporting to Douay he was sent forward with twenty men and ten wagons to Cesnola, the outlying post garrisoned by Depreuil. The guerrillas, emboldened by the absence of cavalry, had risen up some two thousand strong

and were between San Luis and Cesnola. As Shelby marched on into the open country his advance, under James Kirtley, was fired upon, and two soldiers—James Ward and Sandy Jones—severely wounded. He countermarched to an abandoned *hacienda*, encamped his wagons within the walls, fortified as best he could, and sent Kirtley back with two men to report the condition of affairs to General Douay. Kirtley was not well mounted, he had served awhile in the Third Zouaves, the hostile Mexicans were swarming about all the roads, it looked like death to go on, it certainly was death to be taken, and so he started when the night fell, having with him two comrades, tried and true, George Hall and Thomas Boswell.

It was thirty good miles to San Luis Potosi, and those who waylaid the roads had eyes that saw in the night and were not baffled.

Capt. James Kirtley, burnt almost brown by exposure, and by four long years of struggle with the wind and the sun, had the face of a Mexican and the heart of an English lancer who rode down to the guns with Cardigan and the Light Brigade. Peril affected his spirits as wine might. Ambition and adventure with him were twin mistresses—blonde to his eyes, beautiful, full of all passionate love, fit to be worshipped. Always brave, he had need to be always generous. Danger, when it does not deter, sometimes gives to those who fear it least a certain kind of pensiveness that is often mistaken for indifference. When aroused, however, this kind of a pensive man rides harder and faster, fights longer and more desperately, will hold on and hang on under greater stress, reach out his life in his open hand oftener, and die, if so the fates desire, with less of murmur and regret than a regiment of great roystering soldiers whose voices are heard in songs in the night with the mighty roll and volume of the wind among the pines.

Kirtley, even under the tawny paint the sun had put upon his face, would blush like a girl when, to some noted deed of soldierly daring, public attention directed the eyes of appreciation. Praise only made him more reticent and re-

tired. As he never talked of himself, one could not hear aught of his valorous deeds from his own lips, for these were a part of himself. To compliment him was to give him pain—to flatter was to offend; and yet this young hero, not yet a man, surrounded by all things that were hostile, even to the language, known to have been a soldier in the Third Zouaves, the terror of the Empire, badly mounted for pursuit or escape, came with a smile upon his face for the perilous venture, and rode away and into the night and the unknown, in quest of succor for Depreuil and his beleagured garrison.

It was a long thirty miles he had to go, the three men, Kirtley, Hall and Boswell. On every side there were guerrillas. The night was dark, although the road was plain, for it was the great national highway which ran from Monterey to the Capital. The danger, however, came from the fact that it was too plain. Others knew of it, and rode along it, and crouched in ambushment upon it, and made it a torment for small parties by day as well as by night.

Kirtley, even in the darkness, advanced in skirmishing order. First, he of the three went alone in advance; behind him was Hall, and in the rear of Hall, Boswell. Between each was the distance of twenty yards. It was necessary to get word through to Douay, and Kirtley argued the less risk taken the greater chance there would be for one of the party getting through.

"We must keep apart," he said, "just far enough to succor each other, but not too close to be killed by the discharge of a shotgun, as out of a flock of partridges one might kill a bagfull."

The ride was a silent and grimly tenacious one. Three times they turned from the high road to avoid a scouting party of guerrillas, and once, in going past a little group of four or five huts by the wayside—a place, indeed, where *mescal* is sold, and where, upon all the roads in Mexico, huts are concentrated for this purpose alone—Kirtley, who had kept his position fixedly in front the whole night through, was fired upon from an angle of a house. The bullet missed his left thigh barely, and imbedded itself in the flank of his

poor, tired horse that had borne himself staunchly through it all. One drop of blood was more really than the weary animal could afford to give up, but this wound bled freely, and the horse staggered as he went. It was yet three leagues to San Luis Potosi, and the night had turned. By dint of much coaxing and walking to relieve him, Kirtley managed to get over some further ground slowly. He felt for his horse, as all cavalry soldiers do, and from the wound to his abandonment he never struck him once with the spur, though it might be that his life hung upon the gait the horse went, weak and crippled as it was. The wound was deeper than any one of the three thought, and so, when near the bottom of an abrupt descent, the gallant steed lurched forward suddenly, caught as it were by his fore feet, reeled blindly, and fell forward, too helpless to arise again, too far gone for leech or surgeon-craft.

Kirtley murmured not. Looking once at his faithful companion, as if in infinite pity, he strode on under the stars on foot, keeping his place still in the advance, and keeping his pensive face fixed in the iron mould of its energy and determination.

It was daylight when the three dauntless scouts reached the French outposts at San Luis Potosi—tired, safe, proud of the perils passed, ready to return at a word and to carry back the succor Shelby so much needed at this time himself, and the succor Depreuil had needed, without knowing it, for a week.

Douay gave to the three soldiers a soldier's welcome. His old gray head, inclined a little forward, heard all the report through that Shelby had sent, and it was brief enough even for him who dealt mostly in gestures or monosyllables.

"You have ridden all night," he said, "and you need food, sleep, brandy, horses, Captain."

An aide came.

"Your pardon one moment, General," said Kirtley, "while I correct you. We do not need any sleep. As we return we can sleep as we ride. That was once part of our drill. We left our General in danger, and he in turn sent us forward to notify you of the danger of your Colonel. We

will take the food, the brandy and the horses, but the sleep, no, General, with many thanks."

Douays keen brown eyes opened wide at this frank and ingenuous speech. It pleased him more than he cared to say—more than he admitted then. Afterwards when a soldier led up a magnificent Arab stallion to the *meson* where Kirtley was eating and presented it to him in the name of Douay, the young American felt in his heart the gratified pride of one whose perils and frankness had merited recognition at the hands of him who had fought in the four quarters of the world, and who had grown up from childhood to old age a hero beloved by the army and revered by a nation.

Before the sun rose three squadrons of Chasseurs, a section of flying artillery, and the three Americans thrown forward as guides, were galloping back towards the *hacienda* at which Shelby was fortified and fighting. Each American had been supplied with a splendid horse by Douay, and although they had ridden ten leagues the night before, they pressed on indifferent to fatigue and impervious to the demands of sleep.

It was time. Shelby, of his whole force of twenty men, had only fifteen left. Two had been wounded, and three had been sent back to San Luis Potosi for succor. Of the wagons he had formed a corral. Between the wheels and in front and rear he had piled up sand-bags. Among the freight destined for Dupreuil's outpost were several hundred sacks of corn. These were emptied, filled again with sand and laid two deep all about the wagons. No musket ball could penetrate them, and the guerrillas had no artillery.

A summons came to him for surrender.

Shelby parleyed all he could. He dreaded a charge where, from sheer momentum, five hundred sheep might overrun, and, perhaps, crush fifteen men. A renegade priest named Ramon Guitierrez, having the name of a bloodthirsty priest and the fame of a cowardly one, too, commanded the besiegers. Before Shelby would talk of surrender he wanted to see some show of force. His honor did not permit a capitulation without his reason was convinced that to resist would

be madness. In other words, he wanted on his side the logic and the reasonableness of war.

Guitierrez took a look at the sandbags, and thought Shelby's propositions very fair. He took another and a closer look, having in his vision this time the gleaming of fifteen rifle barrels and the rising and falling of rough, hairy faces above the parapets of the hastily constructed fort, and he concluded to accept it. To be very certain of passing in review all the men he had, he marched about in various directions and in the most conspicuous places for several hours—precious hours they were, too, and worth a week of ordinary time to those who never meant to surrender, but who expected to fight desperately, maybe unavailingly, before the friendly succor came.

When the parade was over Guitierrez sent word to ask if Shelby would surrender.

No, he would not. He had counted some five hundred illy armed *rancheros*, and he meant to fight them to the death. Firing at long range commenced. The Americans did not reply to it. The sun was too hot for the kind of work that did not pay in corpses. Emboldened by this silence, the Mexicans crept closer and closer. Here and there a bullet found its way into the fort. Volley answered volley now, and then the noise died out into calm, cold, cautious skirmishing. Shelby had mounted two darklooking logs at either angle of the *coral* and these, from a distance, looked like cannon. It might not be best to charge them, and so Guitierrez crept backwards and forwards until the day wore well on its way. Suddenly he gathered together his followers and made a little speech to them. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon. Both Ward and Jones, who had been wounded the day before, had insisted on holding an embrasure between them. They had strength enough to load and fire their breech-loaders, and they were not refused. Every bullet counted in the desperate melee.

With a shrill, short yell the Mexicans dashed forward to the attack. Had the wave held on its course it would have inundated the earthwork. It broke, however, before it

reached half way across the open space behind which it had gathered for the onset. Those in front began to fire too soon, and those in the rear, not seeing from the smoke what was really in front, fired, too, and without aim or object. With unloaded guns they dared not go on—the fire of the Americans was distressing beyond endurance—the wave broke itself into fragments—and the sun sunk lower and lower.

"Nearly out of the wilderness, boys," Shelby said, as his wary and experienced eyes took in the outline of the spent charge as it made itself clear against the range of hills in rear of it.

"We need water greatly," Ras Woods ejaculated, his mouth parched and his face black with powder-smoke.

"In an hour you shall drink your fill," replied Shelby, "for in an hour the French will be here."

"But if Kirtley has fallen."

"He will not fall. Luck goes with him everywhere. What's that?"

He pointed as he spoke to a sudden agitation and fluttering among the masses of the besiegers, who were now galloping furiously to and fro, utterly without a head and heedless of all threat or command.

"Ah!" and Shelby's face cleared up all at once, as he turned to Woods, "you can go out for water now, the fight is over."

Before he had finished, the full, ringing notes of the French bugles were heard, and in a moment more the squadrons emerged from the trees, galloping straight and in beautiful order towards the guerrillas.

There was no combat after the French appeared. What killing was done was done solely upon those who were too slow in the race, and who could not reach the rocks in time that rose up on three sides as a series of walls that had once been laid with much symmetry and had fallen in rugged yet regular masses in some great convulsion or upheaval of nature. Nowhere in fair fight was a Mexican cut down, nor at no single time did even a squad rally among the rocks and fire back upon the pursuing cavalry. The panic at last degener-

ated into a stampede, while the impenetrable groves of cactus shrubs and the broken and uninhabitable country swallowed up the fugitives. The chase soon ended and the French returned.

These two rescuing squadrons were led by Captain Mesillon whose orders were very full and explicit. He was first to cut Shelby out from the hostile forces which surrounded him, and next to report to Shelby and march whithersoever Shelby directed.

The French rarely put faith in foreign officers. Their vanity—a kind of national inheritance—recognized no merit like French merit—no superiority in war, politics, diplomacy, love or religion like French superiority. Hence, where Frenchmen are concerned, they invariably insist that Frenchmen shall alone be responsible. In this instance, however, Douay wrote this manner of a note to Shelby:

"To complete the conquest of Colonel Depreuil, of whose bearing towards you at Parras I have been duly informed by Gen. Jeanningros, I choose that he shall owe his life to you. Capt. Mesillon awaits your orders. I need not advise you to be circumspect, and to tell you to take your own time and way to reach Cesnola and bring my Frenchmen back to me, for whom, I imagine, there is no great love in the hearts of its inhabitants."

Mesillon reported, and Shelby put himself at the head of the Cuirassiers.

"Since Depruil has to come out from Cesnola," Shelby remarked to the young French Captain, "and since Gen. Douay expects us to make haste and bring him out, there is no need to take our wagons further. Guitierrez has been too badly frightened to return here much under a month, and beyond his forces I can hear of no others in the mountains round about. We will let the wagons, therefore, remain where they are, forage and rest here until the night falls, and then—strengthened and refreshed—cut through, ride down or ride round everything that opposes us. So make these resolutions known, Captain."

The Frenchman bowed and retired. He saw in a moment that the soldier who was talking to him knew more of the warfare ahead in a moment than he had ever seen in his life. He knew, furthermore, that if the worst came to the worst, it would not be the fault of the commander if Depreuil was not rescued.

The night came and the column started. Between the road where the wagons were left and Cesnola, the entire country was alive with guerrillas. Beyond Cesnola, there were no Imperial troops of any kind, and between Cesnola and San Luis Potosi there was neither garrisoned town nor fortified village. It was a stretch of ambush sixty miles long.

When the night came Shelby put himself at the head of his detachment and never drew rein until Cesnola was reached. The column was ambushed seven separate and distinct times and fired upon from hedgerows, from behind houses in villages through which it passed, and from a variety of places that were inaccessible to the sudden dash of cavalry. Twenty-eight French soldiers were killed and wounded. Twice the Captain solicited the privilege of making a charge upon the unseen enemy crouching by the roadside, and twice he was refused.

"You lay too much to heart these mosquito bites," Shelby said to him kindly, "when there is danger of centipedes and tarantulas before we are done with it. A man is bound to fall out here and there, hard hit and may be killed, but the balance will be enough to get through. When one gets surrounded as Deprueil has done, one must expect to pay the penalty of the rescue. Sometimes it is extremely costly, but the night favors us and there is no moon. Keep with your men, Captain, encourage them, expose yourself freely in front of them, talk to them calmly, and my word for it you shall reach Cesnola with fewer depletions in your ranks than if you charged into the unknown every time a musket volley came from it."

Depreuil did not know of his danger. The succoring party appeared to him as an apparition. Well fortified at Cesnola, and having at his command no cavalry with which

to ascertain what existed beyond the range of his cannon, he ate, and slept and drank absinthe with the same nonchalance his life in Parras manifested. Safe for the day, he took no thought of the morrow. He was one of those officers who believed that one French battalion was stronger than destiny—more powerful than fate.

Mesillon awoke his reverie rudely. When there had been explained to him all the risk Shelby had run in getting cavalry to him, how he had fought, and marched, and planned, and endured solely for his sake and for the sake of humanity, Depreuil's heart softened quickly. He came to Shelby as one who felt that he had a great debt of gratitude to repay, and took his hands in both of his.

"Never mind the past," he commenced, "nor the rude things said and done in Parras. I see it all now. Perhaps I owe my life to you—certainly the lives of many of my soldiers, for whom I am responsible. In future let us remember each other only as brave men and soldiers. I, too, like Captain Mesillon, put myself under your orders. When shall we evacuate Cesnola?"

Shelby had his revenge at last—that kind of revenge which is always sweet to noble minds—the revenge of returning good for evil. He answered him:

"Would you take your heavy cannon with you?"

"I don't know. Would you?"

"In my military life I never left a trophy in the hands of my enemies. Were I a Frenchman I would surely carry off my French guns."

"Then in a day we can march."

"Let it be so, but make haste, Colonel. This country breeds guerrillas as the marshes do miasma."

Still leading, Shelby came away from Cesnola in command of the whole French force. Depreuil's men wondered a little, but Depreuil, in the height of his gratitude, thought no compliment sufficiently high to pay the rough-clad, quiet American fighter, who did not even so much as have a red sash around him as insignia of rank or authority.

Fighting commenced almost as soon as the evacuation of Cesnola took place. Heading always the Americans and Cuirassiers in person, however Shelby was enabled by several sudden and bloody repulses to put such a wholesome fear of punishment in the minds of the pursuers that they gave him ample time to carve out for the train a safe road in front while protecting amply the perilous road in the rear.

For three days and nights he held on his course, fighting constantly and caring alike for his dead and his wounded. The morning of the fourth day brought him to the French lines of San Luis Potosi and to an ovation. Gen. Douay turned out the whole garrison under arms, and, as the detachment which had been doing garrison duty at Cesnola marched in—worn by much fighting—weary from long marching—dusty and faint, yet safe and victorious—it was saluted with sloping standards, presented arms, and the long, exultant roll of triumphant music.

In the evening Douay called upon Shelby.

"I have come to reward you," he said, in his usual bluff and sententious manner, "and would be glad to know your price."

"Your friendship, simply," was the reply of the proud American.

"That you already have," the good old General continued, "but you are poor, you are an exile, you can have no refuge more in this country when it is known that you rescued a French garrison, you have been turned aside from your business as freighter, and I demand the privilege of paying you at least for your time, and for your losses in mules and wagons."

"Very well, General," Shelby replied, "but as you are leaving the country you must wait until we meet again in the City of Mexico. Until then remember your promise."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS.

If one wants to view the past in Missouri in one of its best phases, read Mrs. Rogers' article, "The Model Farm of Missouri and Its Owner." I have not seen in prose or verse a more perfect picture of Arcady—and this pastoral scene, located in central Missouri, was the fruit of Nature's bounty and man's brawn and brains. It was not the product of mere prosperity, for this generation has not seen such times as Boone county farmers saw in the '60s and '70s, but was the result of an ideal carefully, laboriously, and lovingly consummated. That ideal in turn was the product of generations of a soil-loving people and the training at home and in business of a man whose mind was fertile and whose spirit was young.

Blood and training produced John Woods Harris *and* Model Farm. Blood might have failed unaided, but as Mark Twain observed, there is no way to beat training, don't bet against it. When young Harris began to work for others, he first served under a certain A. J. Williams of Columbia. This man was exceptional. He was State senator and acting governor of Missouri. He was a bachelor and a cripple. "He was a successful shoemaker, merchant, farmer, and tobacco manufacturer and amassed a large fortune." When he died in 1839, after living twenty years in Missouri, he left a stainless name. What is interesting and to the point is that this man Williams, under whom young Harris worked for years, was president of the first agricultural fair organized at Columbia in 1835. When he died he left nearly one thousand acres of land, including a farm on which he had built a brick residence.

How interesting would it be to have preserved today the conversations between the idealistic young Harris and the shrewd, one-legged cobbler who a century ago governed a State, built a brick residence in the country, and directed the first agricultural fair in Columbia. Fortunate is Missouri

to have nurtured such men. Fortunate is Missouri history that Mrs. Rogers has left this clear account of a Model Farm and Model Home, and a succint life of its founder. How regrettable, though, that we do not know more about a man who as our governor uttered in simple language in his sole message to the Legislature these words: "A strict observance of industry and economy in our domestic and public concerns will insure to the farmer a just reward for his labor, and to the statesman the good will of his country." It is solely through the efforts and labors of Hon. E. W. Stephens that the life of Governor Williams has been preserved to posterity. He is the only Missouri governor of whom there is no picture.

One could write a book on The Model Farm and not unduly dilate on it or its founder. Among the many striking features is the almost total absence of crop failures. Crop failures were precluded by the feeding of the soil and the rotation of crops. This man Harris not only fed his cattle and hogs but his soil as well. He imported the first Jersey cattle in Missouri. He was director of the old State Bank of Missouri and president of the State Board of Agriculture. He served in the Legislature and on the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri. He was one of the examiners of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. He was self-educated, had a fine library, and was given the degree of "Master of Agriculture." Such a man should be known.

How few men know the past when comparing it with the present. The seer is no rarer that the sage. In reading Dr. Walter B. Stevens' article in this issue, one must be impressed with conditions fifty years ago. Today moral degeneracy is proven to many. But is it proven? Contrast gambling conditions in St. Louis fifty years ago with present conditions. Would one dare advance the argument today that the suppression of gambling hurts business? This was done by able advocates half a century past. History may be studied profitably by many who would understand and appreciate the present. On the other hand, learn why Missouri, despite her large industrial centers, has stood for law and order. Labor and capital had its first struggles years ago. At the inception

of these, Missouri journalism demanded law and order regardless of the merits of the controversy. The right of labor to parade, to make demands, and to present publicly its program, was upheld, but such right carried with it the duty of law and order. Above both labor and capital was the law. Again, how queerly did the county separation victory of St. Louis city result. Fifty years ago the city was separated from the county and its boundaries, seemingly ample, were prescribed. Today these boundaries are too restricted and for over a decade many have striven to undo at least partially the triumph of '75 and '76. St. Louis seers of 1875 were as lacking as sages of 1924.

APPRECIATION

I think *The Missouri Historical Review* is the most satisfactory publication of its type and enjoy every number.—Mrs. Ethel Massie Withers, Liberty, Missouri, September 20, 1923.

I don't want to miss the *Review* which is getting better all the time.—Mr. W. F. Dyer, St. Joseph, Missouri, September 18, 1923.

I get more real compensation from this dollar than from any other dollar I invest anywhere. The recent numbers of the *Review* have been particularly valuable. I wish that it were possible to be of more service to you than I have been in the past.—Prof. I. N. Evrard, Dean, Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Missouri, October 1, 1923.

Please enroll Dr. L. M. Anderson, of Lake City, Florida, as a member of The State Historical Society. Dr. Anderson is a native of Marion county, Missouri, and moved to Florida in 1884. In my work as district president and state vice-president at large of the Missouri Federation of Women's Clubs, I have consistently recommended membership in the Society, thereby insuring our club members material for several programs on Missouri in their year's study. I make it a rule in conversation to endorse the Greater Missouri Association and to interest former Missourians in our Historical Society.—Mrs. Katherine Lincoln (R. L.) Motley, Bowling Green, Missouri, July 5, 1923.

I wish to express my delight in having received my membership in the Missouri Historical Society after having just received the October number of the *Review*. I take great pleasure in reading the various articles, particularly the one entitled "Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks." It generally contains much valuable information. I sincerely hope the Society will continue its valuable work.—Mr. V. Carl Ilgen, Pershing School, University City, Missouri, October 18, 1923.

I am very much interested in the articles published in the *Review* and think it merits the widest distribution possible.—Mr. John H. Frick, Warrenton, Missouri, October 18, 1923.

Nothing can make better citizens of our boys and girls than to teach them a just pride in this great commonwealth. No institution can do this better than our State Historical Society. Certainly every Missouri teacher should be a member of the Society.—Mr. Elmer D. Harpham, Superintendent, Corning Public Schools, Corning, Missouri, October 20, 1923.

The July number of *The Missouri Historical Review* has many times paid me for all of the membership dues that I have contributed.—Mr. Charles F. Hatfield, St. Louis Convention Publicity and Tourist Bureau, St. Louis, Missouri, August 22, 1923.

I read with a great deal of interest each number of *The Missouri Historical Review* and assure you I would not be without it for ten times the price.—Mr. Jesse P. Crump, Kansas City Title & Trust Company, Kansas City, Missouri, August 22, 1923.

I received the recent issue of *The Missouri Historical Review.* It is certainly a most excellent publication, and I hear it spoken of much more frequently than formerly. I do not know what methods of advertising you have adopted, but it does seem to me that every family in Missouri should take *The Missouri Historical Review.* Furthermore, I think the newspapers of the State, by some sort of comity, ought to give the *Review* space in advertising.—Mr. Virgil M. Harris, National Bank of Commerce, St. Louis, Missouri, August 23, 1923.

The Missouri Historical Review is and always has been valuable to me and it is with pleasure I observe that my children are becoming more and more interested in it.— Mr. Ralph O. Stauber, Attorney & Counselor, St. Joseph, Missouri, September 4, 1923.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL CELEBRATIONS

The increased interest of Missourians in their local history is seen in recent historical celebrations. Three of these were noteworthy. The city of St. Joseph presented a historical pageant depicting its life story which was a credit to the enterprise and civic consciousness of its people. This pageant was only one of the educational features of the Pony Express Celebration, held in St. Joseph from August 25th to September 1st. An interesting historical booklet was prepared, local historical collections were displayed in merchants' windows, pioneer costumes and dances were seen again in a grand ball, and the carrying of the mail across the continent

by pony express was actually accomplished in 1923, and time and distance records were compared with the Pony Express of the '60s and the railroad, auto, and airplane of today.

Educational and historical was every phase of this grand fall festival held in the city of Joseph Robidoux. The pageant with its remarkable scenic background of river hills and trees, rocks and waterfalls, with its historic customs and portrayal of pioneer history by hundreds of citizens, with its music by bands, choruses, and soloists, and its striking displays of lights and fireworks—such a pageant was worth the trouble and expense to any visitor coming even hundreds of miles. And visitors were there who had journeyed long distances from other states to view this offering to the past. More important, however, was this celebration to those living in St. Joseph and the Platte Purchase country. It was educational, inspiring, and filled with the spirit of love for home, country, and ancestors. To the public spirited enterprise of the leaders in this undertaking, to the civic organizations which backed it, to the merchants, tradesmen and professional classes who contributed so unstintingly, and to the fine co-operation and patronage of the citizens of St. Joseph and the surrounding country—all merit unstinted credit. The city of St. Joseph has performed one piece of work this year which will be long remembered and which, in the lessons of civic consciousness given, will prove a safe and wise investment.

Commemorating the founding of Fayette, Missouri, in 1823, was given on October 10, 1923, another type of celebration in the former political center of central Missouri. The centennial exercises were sponsored by the Fayette Commercial Club, with all of the city's organizations and educational institutions co-operating. A long, historic parade picturing the one hundred years of progress was given in the morning. The evolution of the Boone's Lick country from the pioneer settlements of 1823 to the modern farms and towns of 1923, from the days of stump speaking and covered wagons to the days of the radio and auto, and from the pioneer sub-

scription school to the progressive public school and endowed college, was strikingly presented by those whose forefathers laid the foundations.

Then came a custom which despite its age is to a real Missourian as enjoyable today as it ever was—an old-fashioned basket dinner. Here is one historic gathering which loses nothing with age and there is no other which so lends itself as an aid to a successful commemorative celebration. A real Missouri basket dinner outrivals a city banquet in food, enjoyment, and sociability. One cannot remain a stranger at such a dinner. A newcomer without friends or relative will be feasted. He will make a dozen acquaintances. He will eat more, feel better, enter more quickly into wholesome conversation than at any other place or feast. This is one historic custom which will live in Howard county, judging from the success of the last one on October 10th, 1923.

After the noonday "lunch" on the forest covered campus of Central College, the thousands of visitors gathered around the courthouse square. On one side was an old fiddlers' contest; on another, a band concert; but the largest crowd was around the speaker's stand. Here were old and new politicians, receptive and declared candidates, and others who held office or didn't want honors of state. Fayette, the home of governors and generals and congressmen, could hardly have a large historical or patriotic celebration in keeping with the past without a garnish of politicians and prominent public men. Somehow, although the day had the old flavor of the Leonards, Jacksons, Clarks and their companions in statecraft and war, it also had another. There was present everywhere the modern spirit of education and progress. Just as the old courthouse and the basket dinner represented the past, so did that section of the parade, blocks long, of college and public school boys and girls symbolize the present. The people talked politics, but it was the statecraft of education and good roads. The merchants talked trade, but it was trade based on better farming for which they stood ready to advance their quota of funds. A group of farmers were discussing farm conditions with a banker. The corn crop

was good, the price right, but cattle and hogs were too low. The banker told them their poultry deserved even greater attention and that they had not begun to exploit their rich bluegrass and loess hill alfalfa resources in dairying. He said that he stood ready with his fellows to make old Howard as great in dairy products as she had been in war and politics. Something will come of that part of the celebration. Others spoke proudly of their schools and colleges, of progress in equipment, teachers, and enrollment. These are some of the impressions brought back from Fayette's Centennial Celebration. It was commemorative of a city's birth, and posterity in honoring the past was preparing contributions for the future.

The Bowling Green Centennial and Homecoming was observed from October 11th to the 13th. The exercises were similar to those at Fayette. In addition to a parade, there was presented an open-air historic pageant, which was finely attended. In the courthouse was an exhibit of agricultural products of Pike county and in one of the business houses was a remarkably interesting and extensive display of historic relics. Besides public speaking and old fashioned dancing, one feature of the celebration was a souvenir booklet on Bowling Green edited by Mrs. Robert L. Motley. Delay in reaching Bowling Green and inclement weather after arriving there prevented a personal contact with the celebration. From related accounts of others, however, the first two days were very successful. How could it be otherwise? Few counties have had as interesting a history as old Pike with a galaxy of such public men as Henderson, Dyer, Clark, Broadhead, and others. Few towns of its size are known as well over the nation as Bowling Green, Missouri. A cradle of history, its century of being merited all honor given it. It is appropriate that this year the 52nd General Assembly of Missouri provided funds for the erection by the State of Missouri of a monument in Bowling Green in honor of her great citizen, the late Honorable Champ Clark. So did this capital city of old Pike honor and receive honor on her hundredth birthday.

MARK TWAIN'S AMAZING SALE

(*The Kansas City Star*, November 24, 1923.)

November 30th is Mark Twain's birthday. The extraordinary, continued popularity of Mark Twain is probably one of the most remarkable things in the whole book world. In a year, beginning October 1, 1922, and ending October 1, 1923, the American public paid $1,493,702 for Mark Twain's books. Without a doubt, the works of no other American author achieve such extraordinary figures.

THE MOTHERS OF THE FRONTIER

(From *The St. Joseph Observer*, September 1, 1923.)

We had two of them with us this week—Pony Express celebration week—just two—mothers of the frontier—out of hundreds—for all of the others of this section are either removed from this territory or are sleeping in their last sleep in quiet graveyards. These two—mothers of the frontier—were here on pioneer day and were given that recognition and welcome which God bless 'em! they so fully deserve—and those who are gone—their memory will be enshrined forever in hearts of manhood, for it was the mothers of the frontier who worked wonders in making the west what it is—a land of plenty, happy homes and smiling faces. It was they who glimpsed the future and saw, just beyond the horizon, a better day for their children and their children's children. Their lives knew nothing but loving toil, days and nights of suspense, and in their hearts they realized they were living and acting for those to come after them; that some day the frontier they knew would be as were the homes they left, far to the east.

The "mothers of men" long have been praised, but the mothers of the frontier too often seem forgotten.

"PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN MISSOURI"

Few would have ventured the prophecy a decade past that Missouri history and government would eventually furnish the subjects for doctorate dissertations in Eastern universities. This year has witnessed two such contributions from Columbia University (New York City) alone: "Public Administration in Missouri," by Dr. Eugene Fair, of the department of political science in the State Teachers College, Kirksville, Missouri; and "The Bank of the State of Missouri," by Dr. John Ray Cable, associate professor of finance and banking in Washington University, St. Louis.

Professor Fair is already known to the teachers of Missouri and to that part of the scholastic world interested in American government. His reputation as teacher, legislator, and author is well sustained in his "Public Administration in Missouri." The work covers 265 pages of subject matter and 4 pages of index, all in eight-point type. The eight chapters are clearly outlined and treat of General Administration, Financial Administration, Public Education, Public Utilities Administration, Agricultural Administration, Health Administration, and Highway Administration.

The author is concise in statement and inclusive in treatment. He considers each subject from three main points of view—the historical, chronological factual, and commentary. These are blended to a large degree even in treatment of subtopics. The result is a unified presentation, which, despite the astonishing amount of detailed information, enables the reader to keep a grasp on any subject considered. The book is not hard to read aside from the size of the type but it is not to be read for mere amusement. It is a serious and sane presentation in scholarly and systematic form. It blazes new paths. It lays the foundation for several more doctorate dissertations.

As a reference work for the student of Missouri history and government it is invaluable. Even a single reading of it makes one aware of the large amount of research work involved. It is authoritative. The author has studiously restrained himself in his commentary purpose although he has not lacked the courage of making such comments as appear to him to be warranted by facts and conditions.

A Missourian can find much in this work. He will be surprised at the slow progress made in some of the fields of state and local government and he will also be surprised at the rapid strides taken in the last two decades. One is impressed by the strength of local community resistance to centralized state control even though the administration activities in question were inherently statewide if successfully performed. He will also be impressed with the many makeshifts adopted, then discarded to be replaced with new

ones, before a real solution was courageously or necessarily put in force. In no instance were panaceas of value, in no instance was success sudden. Solid progress in every line is found based on gradual development. And still there are some who care nothing for history, sneer at research work, and believe in nostrums.

CORRECTION

In the list of historic articles in Missouri newspapers which appeared in the October, 1923, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* credit was given the *Carrollton Republican Record* for the publication on November 9, 1922, of the excellent article "The Sinking of the River Steamboat 'Dugan' at old DeWitt in 1878." *The Republican Record* reproduced this article from and gave credit to *The DeWitt Herald.* The article first appeared in *The DeWitt Herald* in its issue of November 2, 1922.

THE MISSOURI ASSOCIATION

The Missouri Association with headquarters in Jefferson City is issuing a *Service Bulletin.* Every Missourian should read this bulletin. It contains much information which should be more widely known. While most of the statements are along the lines of exploiting the state's economic development, many other facts are presented. In the November 1st issue was emphasized the significance to Missourians of the state road program and the free bridges across the Missouri river. These will enable the citizens of all sections to become acquainted, will break down many provincialisms and prejudices. Without ease of communication it is difficult to obtain unity in state or nation. Missouri has been unfortunate in her division into two parts by a river which greatly restricted communication and transportation. These restrictions will now be largely removed. It is hardly too much to say that one of Missouri's greatest educational forces today in the making of a state consciousness is the state road program and the free bridges across our rivers.

MARK TWAIN LIBRARY IS SPLENDID COLLECTION

(From *The Columbia Missourian*, November 13, 1923.)

The Mark Twain Library of the State Historical Society of Missouri is one of the most complete in existence, according to the secretary of the society. It lacks only autographed copies of Mark Twain's works to place it among the best collections in the country.

Mark Twain is a favorite of collectors. It is surprising how many men are engaged in getting together early editions of his works and books and clippings about his life.

The State Historical Society's collection is the result of the efforts of two men, who, working independently of each other, built up two fairly complete collections.

The late Colonel F. A. Sampson, who for many years was secretary of the State Historical Society, began collecting in the sixties, shortly after his removal to Missouri. The Sampson collection is the result of fifty years' work on the part of one of Missouri's most famous collectors and bibliographers. It was given to The State Historical Society in 1903.

The other collection is the result of forty years' work on the part of Purd B. Wright, head of the Kansas City public library. Mr. Wright began collecting in the seventies, during his residence in Hannibal. His collection was purchased by the State Historical Society this fall. It included 135 books, 122 clippings, 979 separate cartoons, and 174 sheet cartoons. It is comprehensive in embracing not only the American issues of Mark Twain's works, but also those of foreign countries.

The combining of these two collections gives a library of that rank which is merited by Missouri as the home state of Mark Twain. The collections are now in the process of being cataloged. On completion of cataloging and indexing a separate case will be provided for keeping the collection under lock and key in the State Historical Society library.

Mark Twain Memorial Park Association

Toward the little village of Florida, Missouri, are turned the eyes of tens of thousands of Missourians today, nor is the interest in this almost forgotten hamlet confined to Missouri. Editorials on it are appearing in metropolitan newspapers of the East and of Canada. A new town, nearly a century old, has risen to public notice. Missouri is receiving valuable publicity, long merited but too long delayed. This advertising is refined. Moreover it is based on that kind of assets of which Missouri has an abundance—eminent citizens. The nation is giving the State a hearing. Florida, Missouri, has

presented a subject that commands interest. We are now "pointing with pride" to Mark Twain, native-born and native-reared Missourian, and we are now proposing to found in his memory a living and lasting memorial—A Mark Twain Memorial State Park embracing the waters, hills, rocks, soil, and trees of his childhood heath. A Missourian who will not freely and liberally endorse this spirit of commemorating our greatest son and our most widely known citizen—well, if there is such a Missourian, he had—but there isn't. A Mark Twain Memorial Park will be established at Florida and fifty years from today descendants of its founders will "point with pride" not only to Mark Twain but to the Mark Twain spirit of their ancestors.

The Mark Twain Memorial Park Association, with headquarters at Moberly, Missouri, was organized in 1923. Its officers are president, H. J. Blanton, of Paris; first vice-president, E. E. Swain, of Kirksville; second vice-president, W. C. Van Cleve, of Moberly; secretary, F. B. Lamson, of Moberly; assistant secretary, Miss Frances Wise, of Moberly; publicity director, Edgar White, of Macon; treasurer, Omar D. Gray, of Sturgeon. Mr. Wm. Rufus Jackson, of Mexico, is field representative. The honorary vice-presidents are Walter Williams, of Columbia; E. Lansing Ray, Frank F. Glass, Homer Bassford, and Geo. S. Johns, of St. Louis; Ralph Stout and W. S. Dickey, of Kansas City; and C. D. Morris, of St. Joseph.

The purpose of the association is to obtain state-wide contributions to purchase and improve one hundred and fifty acres of land adjoining Florida, Missouri. This land on which will be placed the log cabin of Mark Twain's birthplace will be highly improved for a public park. It will be called The Mark Twain Memorial State Park and will be donated to the State of Missouri. It has been examined by experts who pronounce it rich in river bluff and hill scenery. The association through its field representative is organizing interested sections of the State. Mrs. Clara Clemens Gabrilowitch, of Detroit, Mark Twain's daughter, has expressed her will-

ingness to co-operate with the association by giving her services at several concerts in Missouri.

The movement has met with a hearty response. Neighboring counties and the cities were the first to effect local organizations. The association desires state-wide contributions rather than a few donations from wealthy persons. The purpose is to secure a general interest in what will be the heritage of all. The purpose of the association and its personnel should commend its work to all lovers of Mark Twain. Missouri has been tentatively approaching the subject of State parks for over a decade. Perhaps the Mark Twain Memorial State Park will be the harbinger of a system of state parks for Missouri such as reflect so much credit on Eastern commonwealths. If so, again would the spirit of Mark Twain be pioneer.

STATUE FOR MARK TWAIN PARK

(From *The Missouri Publisher*, September, 1923.)

The Baltimore, Md., News and the *Boston Transcript* are authorities for the statement that there is a movement on foot whereby the city of Hartford, Conn., where Mark Twain made his home for years, will erect a "Huckleberry Finn" statue in a commanding location in the proposed Mark Twain Memorial Park at Florida, Mo., as a tribute to the memory of the well-loved author.

The Toronto Canada World, in its Sunday supplement of August 5th, carried pictures of the birthplace and the bust erected by the State of Missouri, with the following comment:

"The campaign for a Mark Twain Memorial Park is arousing great interest throughout the country and many of the nation's notables are doing their bit toward making it a reality soon."

The Philadelphia North American says, "America has produced no more popular writer than Mark Twain and it is entirely fitting that one hundred acres at Florida be made a state or national park to preserve the birthplace of the famous creator of Tom Sawyer, so this and the coming generation may possess a fit shrine in honor of an unforgetable American."

EVERY MISSOURIAN SHOULD KNOW MISSOURI

(From *The Kansas City Times*, November 13, 1923.)

A more powerful Missouri, a bigger and better state, with the amplification of its natural resources within a few years, is seen by the Missouri Association.

Carl J. Baer of St. Louis, speaker for the Missouri Association, tonight addressed approximately a hundred members of the Lions Club, the Kiwanis Club and the Get-It-Done Committee of the Commercial Club, meeting at the Elms hotel.

By the successful co-operation of the community clubs of the cities of Missouri, Kansas City and St. Louis will become the gateways of industry of the West; Excelsior Springs ,with its natural health-giving waters, will become more famous, Mr. Baer declared.

He made three significant points about the Missouri river in the development of the state.

He predicted that, within a year, there would be navigation on the Missouri river. The river is one of the great potential powers of the latent assets of the state, he said. By its usage the entire production of the western states would move through Kansas City and St. Louis.

"Every Missourian should study the assets of his state," Mr. Baer declared. "We must learn our state and then tell of it to other states. We must become enthusiastic about Missouri, cultivate it, improve it, make it a greater state, and then other states will realize its greatness.

"First, every Missourian must be for Missouri.

"All small town organizations should band themselves together and work for the betterment of the community. Nothing should be put before the community's welfare. 'What can I do for my town?' every man should ask himself. In answering it he will answer the question, 'What will my business do for me?' because if he improves his town his business will improve."

In Re REV. JOSEPH RIEGER

Jefferson City, Missouri,
October 23, 1923.

I have been following with interest the articles of Mr. Wm. G. Bek entitled, "The Followers of Duden," and I noticed in the October issue of the *Review* that he mentioned among the early Evangelical ministers, the name of Rev. Joseph Rieger, but said nothing concerning his work or career.

As a small boy I had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Rieger, and one of his daughters, Miss Clara Rieger, was one of my teachers in the public schools of this city, while two of his sons, Joseph and Nicholas, now both ministers of the same faith, were my schoolmates.

Two weeks ago the Evangelical Congregation of this city celebrated the 65th anniversary of its existence and during the proceedings the early history of the congregation was gone over; some of this might interest your readers and I give it to you to do with as you may think best.

The Evangelical congregation was organized here in 1858 and during the first year the members met for worship at the homes of the various

members; the first meeting was held at the home of George Bauer, whose descendants still live here.

In the fall of 1859 the erection of a small church, 30x40, was completed, the cost of which was $1,177; there were forty-three male members in the congregation at this time, and the services were, in the absence of an ordained minister, conducted by the lay members.

In April of 1860 the Rev. Joseph Rieger arrived to take charge and he became the first pastor; according to the story he was a tireless worker in the vineyard of the Master, and he was one of the founders of the Evangelical synod.

During the Civil War he served without pay as chaplain at the state penitentiary in this city, and during the days of the war it was not an uncommon thing to have his home turned into a hospital where sick or wounded soldiers were cared for; he was an ardent Union man and an abolitionist and he was a warm friend of the colored people; he worked for the establishment of the Lincoln Institute, a school for colored children, which was established here, and became a member of its first board of regents. He passed to his reward on August 20, 1869.

About 600 members now compose this congregation, and it owns a handsome church, parsonage, Y. M. C. A. building, and one of the finest organs in the city.

Very truly yours,
Julius H. Conrath.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN MISSOURI.

By J. B. Gwin, Director, Chapter Service, American Red Cross, Southwestern Division.

The history of the development of the American Red Cross is one full of pioneer impulses.

The first visible glimmer of this great humanitarian movement was seen in 1864 when at Geneva the International Conference was held and the "Geneva Convention" was officially adopted for the relief of the sick and wounded on the battlefield. Previous to this date, as early as the 14th century, some steps had been taken to protect women and restrict pillage in the "Covenant of Sempach." The "Cartel de Francfort," the "Ecluse Treaty" and the "Treaty of Brandenburg" were all steps in this direction by one or two states.

In America this trend first showed itself in the formation in 1877 of a self-appointed committee in the interest of the Red Cross. This committee, enlarged, was incorporated in 1881 under the name "American Association of the Red

Cross," and twelve years later re-incorporated as the "American National Red Cross." In 1900 a National Charter was granted the organization and in 1905 Congress reorganized the Society and granted a National Charter to the new agency.

In 1906 the "Geneva Convention" was revised and with the added force of the Hague Conference the Red Cross formally began.

The organization of the American National Red Cross was carried on by a Central Committee with members from various parts of the country elected by delegates to the annual convention. Chapters grew up in various parts of the country. The program, at this time, was Military and Disaster Relief and First Aid Instruction. As the organization developed, Divisions were formed, and Missouri was governed by the Central Division with offices at Chicago.

As early as 1906 Missouri was assisted in Disaster Relief. In 1906 the First Aid car traveled over the St. Louis and Southwestern and Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad lines. Somewhat later than 1906 the St. Louis Provident Association became an institutional member of the American National Red Cross and gave assistance in sundry disasters in the Central Division.

In 1913 the State was organized, with the Governor of the State as Chairman of the State Board and Mr. Walker Hill of St. Louis as Treasurer. The first formal Chapter to be organized was that of Kansas City, Mo., on October 6, 1914. The officers were: chairman, Mrs. I. R. Kirkwood; secretary, Mr. Jacob Billikopf; treasurer, Mr. W. T. Kemper. Headquarters were maintained at 717 Commerce Trust Bldg. The purpose of this first Chapter was to gather funds for European War Relief.

St. Louis followed in the early part of 1915 with an informal organization called "Women's Relief Committee" with Mrs. Frank Hammar as its organizer and head. This consisted of a committee of fifteen women whose object it was to produce garments for European Relief. Refugee and hospital garments were made and also hospital supplies for home and abroad were produced. A by-product of this or-

ganization was the relief of the unemployment situation as women were employed in the workshop and paid by benevolent women, each "Captain" for the day securing the money for the day's payroll.

These two Chapters did effective work during the Mexican border trouble. In July, 1916, Kansas City reported $25,000 raised for the relief of its citizen soldiers and their families on the Mexican border. They carried on a hospital supply bureau as well as a supply department for fighting men and their families. Kansas City was established as the Red Cross depot for receiving and distributing supplies for soldiers of the Mexican trouble.

At the same time Hospital Unit Nc. 21, later very active in the Great War, was organized under Miss Julia Stimson, then Superintendent of Nurses at Barnes Hospital, St. Louis. Two nurses of this unit were sent to the Mexican border for service.

By 1916 eight Chapters with numerous branches had been formed; these included Carthage, Chillicothe, Columbia, Joplin, Kansas City, Springfield, St. Louis and Webster Groves. There were at this time 250 Chapters with an enrollment of 300,000 in the United States, so Missouri had already a fair proportion. The program now included town and county nursing, sanitation and hygiene, child welfare and dietetics.

After the United States' entrance into the war the growth of Chapters was more rapid. In 1917 two Directors under the Central Division, Mr. Geo. R. Robinson and Mr. Geo. W. Simmons, were appointed and offices at 2061 Railway Exchange Bldg., St. Louis, Mo., were opened. By the beginning of 1919, Missouri had 123 Chapters in 114 Counties, with a membership of 924,444 or 26.81 per cent of the population. The Junior membership was at the same time 342,900 or 64.92 per cent of the school population.

As indicative of the activities carried on in Missouri a summary of the activities for the year 1919 to 1920 has been made up, as follows:

No. of towns granted permission to do civilian relief..... 16
(Towns where no other relief-giving agency existed.)
Public Health Nurses in service.... 23
Junior Red Cross:
(a) Auxiliaries.....1063
(b) No. Chapters carrying on special Junior Community Activities..... 17
(c) No. of Chapters responding to National Children's Fund.... 20
Health:
(a) No. Chapters carrying on some health activity..... 48
(b) No. of Health Centers..... 12
(c) No. of Infant Welfare Clinics. 6
Disaster Preparedness—No. Chapters reporting..... 5
First Aid Classes..... 41
Home Hygiene Classes..... 838
Dietetics Classes..... 19
No. Chapters doing Nutrition work.. 2
No. Chapters maintaining health Information Service..... 9
No. peace-time volunteer Motor Corps 1
No. Chapters recorded as doing some recreation..... 3
No. Chapters maintaining Rest Rooms 1
No. Chapters still maintaining war work..... 106
No. Chapters employing R. C. Institute Graduates..... 17

These activities have, of course, varied since that time as peace-time activities became more fixed; for example, instead of two Chapters doing Nutrition work there are now

six Chapters employing a full time Nutrition Worker and several others where Nutrition instruction is given by the nurse or where hot-lunch projects are being carried on.

ST. JOSEPH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(From *The St. Joseph News-Press*, September 27, 1923.)

The St. Joseph Historical Society has taken a step forward in securing a room in the Washington Park Library in which to store historical relics. The Pony Express pageant gave impetus to the revival of interest in St. Joseph history and the historical society should now take on new life and be placed upon a practical working basis. This society was organized some years ago, with a small membership, but no real effort was made toward the collection of historical data and material. There is plenty of both and it is the highest time for gathering and piecing together the many fragments that are rapidly disappearing.

There is only one way to do this practically and that is by employing a competent person to give personal attention to the job. It is axiomatic that when everyone is expected to do a thing, nobody does it. So in this case.

The St. Joseph Historical Society should have a large membership, willing to pay a small sum annually for the maintenance of an agency that will collect material. This material should be tagged and catalogued and stored against the day when there shall be a museum in St. Joseph. Every community of consequence has a museum and every community of consequence has its history told by relics of the past. Few communities have such a wealth of material as this one. It would be shameful to permit this material to go to waste.

Presently there will be a call for membership and this should appeal immediately to all who have community pride. A historical society that just exists is of no value. To fulfill its mission it must do something. The best way to get something done is to hire it done by someone who knows how. It is a duty to begin now and it should be deemed a privilege to contribute.

TWO COLLEGE STORIES

By Professor C. A. Green, Sedalia, Mo.

CENTRAL COLLEGE, FAYETTE, MISSOURI.

In the '80s and '90s the Central College Faculty had a regulation that required that each student should deliver a declamation before the faculty and student body four times a year. There was a classmate of mine named William Bruce,

and popularly known as "Pap." Pap didn't believe in spending too much time on committing to memory some new declamation. He thought a good selection was worth repeating, and attempted to render the same declamation sixteen times. The first two sentences of Pap's declamation ran as follows:

"I call upon all those who will to stand up for the dignity and nobility of labor. Let not that great ordinance be broken down."

One day when Pap had recited the first sentence of his declamation, by a preconcerted plan a full half dozen boys arose at his call to stand. This so disconcerted Pap that he could not finish his speech. He at least had a seeming evidence that his opening sentence had met with a responsive chord in his audience. It resulted, however, in the faculty's requiring Pap to commit another declamation for delivery.

MISSOURI UNIVERSITY, COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

The last portal through which to pass to get out on the dome of old Academic Hall (now known as Jesse Hall) was a narrow steel tube that was lined with nuts and ends of bolts that made it difficult for stout people to pass. One Halloween this passage way was plugged up by the engineer students. The faculty's discipline committee found out that the engineers had done this plugging job, and assessed a fine of $24 against the class, the cost of removing the plug in the passage way. The following April Fool's day, which the students always termed Independence day, some fun lovers removed a toolhouse out in to the quadrangle from where it was beside an addition that was going up to the Physics building. When the engineers discovered this prank on the morning of the 1st, they set all hands to removing the toolhouse to where it originally and properly belonged. They then very promptly sent in a bill of $24 to the faculty for house moving. The same, however, was never so much as acknowledged, let alone being paid.

TEACH CITIZENSHIP

(From *The Kansas City Star*, Saturday, November 17, 1923.)

In a statement calling for observance of education week, beginning tomorrow, General Pershing calls attention to the apparent unreadiness of more than half the American people to share the responsibilities as well as the benefits of American citizenship. General Pershing points out that fewer than half the eligible voters express enough interest in their government to cast their ballots. He sees it as the duty of the schools to deal with this condition and to teach boys and girls their obligations as future citizens.

The condition may be even more deplorable than failure to exercise the right of suffrage would indicate. Voting is only a part of the duty of citizenship. The primary need is an intelligent expression of opinion at the polls, and the act of voting should be followed by an active interest in the conduct of government and public affairs. Only by that course can representative government or democracy exist.

The best hope of America here is through instruction of the young. No child should be allowed to grow up or to go through school unmindful of the daily demands that citizenship in America makes upon the individual. There must be developed a sense of responsibility to the nation that is as strong as a sense of responsibility to one's self. It is neglect of this duty in training of the young that opens the way for the parade of the demagogue, the unbalanced radical and the lukewarm patriot. These elements have a dangerous hold on America today. A sturdy patriotism, mindful of its obligations, should rout them.

A LIVING TRIBUTE

I had known him five years, and now on this 11th day of October, 1923, he has been dead five years, but this afternoon we were brought together. The messenger was a little book, clean from the press, simple, unadorned, without pretentiousness or embellishment—a book that somehow resembled him.

In two hours I had read every word and every word was his word. The book was a collection of letters to his parents from the date of his enlistment in the navy. While in training he wanted cookies, cake, and pie. When sick he asked them to send him bananas and apple butter. Always he begged for the home paper. He approved their buying a Liberty Bond because it would be a good example and he

asked them to put his little salary into Liberty Bonds. He told of letters from boyhood friends, and gifts and letters from girl friends. He spoke well of his comrades, highly of his officers, and could see only good in every service of his country. And he served his country and his superiors said his ten months of service was "one of unbroken perfection."

His name is Ivan Hollis Epperson. He served this Society faithfully, he served his country and gave it his life, and now as like begets like his parents serve us all who knew him by having preserved his last thoughts.

To Mr. and Mrs. W. O. Epperson of Atlanta, Missouri, will the hundreds of friends of their son feel indebted. The book is edited by Ivan's closest friend, Mr. Edgar White, of Macon. Somehow much of the sting of death is taken away by such a work. It is a living tribute.

THE U. D. C. OF MISSOURI

To collect and preserve in two years the biographies of 7,500 Missourians, all born over three-quarters of a century past, is a considerable undertaking. To do this within a limited professional or trade circle makes the task more difficult. And, to accomplish this within a class which had a life of only four years and which lost a large percentage of its membership during those years, is a work that merits comment. Such is the labor that has been performed by the Missouri Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy during 1922 and 1923.

One of the most regrettable phases of Missouri's history is the inadequate, almost absence of, records of her Confederate soldiers. This is so pronounced that not even a fair approximation has been agreed upon regarding the number of Confederate soldiers contributed by Missouri. The figures range from 30,000 to 70,000 and higher. Such a condition is regrettable. The citizen is confounded in meeting the claims of other states. The growing generation is handicapped in establishing proof of their ancestors' contributions to the cause for which they fought.

To remedy in part this condition the U. D. C.'s of Missouri established a committee on Confederate veteran records. Mrs. Bernard C. Hunt, of Columbia, was appointed chairman. The work was inaugurated during the presidency of Mrs. S. C. Hunt, of Columbia. A four-page record blank was printed, which covered all important biographical and historical data on the Missouri veterans of the Confederate States army. Thousands of copies of this blank were distributed among the U. D. C. chapters in Missouri. The task of filling in the blanks was begun. The work was directed entirely by Mrs. B. C. Hunt and her committee and was carried out entirely by the descendants of the Confederacy veterans of '61-'65. Few of the veterans remained. The living were consulted, obituaries in newspapers were read, inscriptions in cemeteries were copied, and county histories were searched. The result was the record of 7,500 Missouri Confederates. The blanks have been deposited for safe-keeping in The State Historical Society of Missouri. The names, classified for quick and easy reference, are filed in steel cases.

The work itself is not finished. It probably will never be complete. But what a remarkable beginning, despite the lapse of over six decades. Coming generations will find in these thousands of records biographical facts unobtainable elsewhere. These facts relate to many subjects. In one record appears the names of twenty-five persons, with dates and places of birth. A mine of information for the genealogist are these 7,500 sheets. Ancestors who fought in the war of the Revolution, of 1812, and of 1846, and descendants who fought in the Spanish-American and the World War, are given.

How original are some of the comments. Many set forth that neither they nor their fathers owned slaves in 1860. Many more state that they didn't vote in 1860 because they were "too young to vote." One son of the Ozarks was fourteen years old when he enlisted and hundreds were in their 'teens. A veteran records that he was one of seventeen men, the nucleus of the First Missouri Brigade, who enlisted in December, 1861, and were sworn in "*for forty years or the dura-*

tion of the war." Sadness and humor, pathos and wit, are there in these valuable records. A relative records of one man, "He wrote a letter to his mother on the eve of his last battle." Another was shot in the face and breast. A third is remembered as a brave man, who while in camp took the measles and died. One veteran of over eighty, who says he is *still* a live wire, writes: "Before the battle I asked the good Lord to keep me from harm and let us whip the Yanks, and we could do so but they would not stay whipped." Most of the records contain the barest outline of facts but many are filled with information which throws light on many subjects. These records will be a treasure house for the historian and genealogist, for the biographer and novelist. More important still will they be to the tens of thousands of descendants of these men and to their generations of the future. This work of the U. D. C. of Missouri will live. Mrs. S. C. Hunt and the officers in charge of that organization, Mrs. B. C. Hunt and her committee workers, and the hundreds of co-workers over the State, merit the gratitude of all who believe in cherishing and preserving the records of our people.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS.

Compiled By J. Willard Ridings.

A SHRINE AT ARROW ROCK.

From *The Kansas City Star*, September 25, 1923.

"It's ivy'd walls contain the sweet dreams of those who built the western empire and helped mould the motto of our great state."—Inscription on the bronze tablet to be placed in the Old Tavern by the D. A. R. Thursday.

Arrow Rock, this quaint little river town of eastern Saline county, once the social and commercial capital of the old Santa Fe Trail, is preparing for one of the most inspiring events in the more than one hundred years of its civic life. Next Thursday several hundred visitors will come here from all parts of Missouri to witness the ceremonies when the famous Old Tavern is formally turned over to the State, which in turn is to pass it on into the keeping of the Missouri chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Old Tavern, built in 1830 by Judge Joseph Huston, is one of the few landmarks in the State to connect the stirring frontier days before the Civil War with the present. The D. A. R. will preserve the building as a historical museum, and provide a gathering place for those interested in the Golden Age of Kit Carson, Washington Irving, George C. Bingham, the Jacksons, the Sappingtons, the Marmadukes and others, once familiar figures in this historic old town.

The Old Tavern was owned by Mrs. Nettie M. Dickson and Mrs. Annie Hickerson. The last legislature appropriated $5,000 to buy the famous inn. The money was paid a few days ago.

Governor Hyde will be here, accompanied by Mrs. Hyde. Senator James A. Reed has written that he hoped to be present; also ex-Governor Gardner and Mrs. Gardner. National and state officials of the D. A. R. will also be here to attend the celebration.

The celebration will be in charge of the local chapter of the D. A. R., assisted by the state officers and the Sedalia chapter, which aided in obtaining the $5,000 appropriation bill by the last legislature. The townspeople will serve a barbecue dinner. Talks will be made by Representative R. L. Hains of Slater, Mrs. A. H. Connelly of Kansas City, Mrs. Crete Rose Botts of Mexico, Mrs. Paul D. Hitt, Chillicothe, Mrs. John Trigg Moss, St. Louis, Mrs. C. C. Evans, Sedalia, and Mrs. Dickson. Mrs. Frank P. Morris, regent of the Arrow Rock chapter, will preside. The

Rev. John Alexander of Marshall will offer the invocation. A flag salute will be led by Miss Katharyn Biggs, daughter of Paul Biggs, local banker.

No more suitable place could have been found than in this little Santa Fe Trail town of four hundred population to establish a shrine for the pioneers, who were active participants in the winning of the West. The town is much the same as when George C. Bingham, the famous artist, painted "The County Election" and other famous works which gained recognition in Europe.

The Old house in which Bingham did some of his best paintings still is standing. On the main street is the macadam paving and rock curbing laid by slaves before the Civil War. The first girls' boarding school in Missouri remains. Three governors—Jackson, John S. Marmaduke and M. M. Marmaduke—are buried here; also four wives of governors.

The Old Tavern is much as it was in the days when Kit Carson first met Washington Irving. Leading into the old taproom is the broken stone step, where a barrel of whisky was dropped in surprise when Irving was seen inside.

In the largest guest room upstairs is the huge four-poster, canopied bed—the Sappington bed—in which George Washington once slept at Philadelphia. There is also the bed of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, the war-time governor; the musket used by John S. Marmaduke in the war of 1912 and his dueling pistols.

On the walls of the old Tavern is a bill of sale dated May 2, 1831, by which Joseph Huston sold a slave for $400. A proclamation of Governor Jackson mobilizing Missouri's fifty thousand state troops to repel the federal soldiers hangs near by:

"It is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your state, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this state."

The Old Tavern, with all its historical associations, has been operated continuously since 1830. Nearly ever Missouri governor has been a guest there.

SOME PATHFINDERS IN SOUTH MISSOURI JOURNALISM FIELD.

(A paper by E. A. Wright, Portageville *Southeast Missourian*, read at the meeting of the Southeast Missouri Press Association held in Farmington August 3 and 4, 1923.)

The pathfinders, Mr. President, of Southeast Missouri journalism form, in my opinion, a mighty host, a great caravan of noblemen who have borne the brunt of crude newspaper life and cleared the rough and rugged road sufficiently to make possible our gratifying progress and prosperity of today.

If I should attempt to enumerate them I would have to start down the pathway of time from the milestone of 1818 (1819), when Southeast Missouri got its first newspaper at the town of Jackson, the child in swaddling clothes being named the *Missouri Herald*, with Tubal E. Strange its daddy, editor and publisher. And this one pioneer paper, which was, like others, born not to live long, was succeeded late by the *Patriot*, and in 1825 (1821) the *Ste. Genevieve Correspondent and Record* was born.

These were our first papers actually published in Southeast Missouri. Before their time the first paper in Missouri, established at St. Louis in 1808, called the *Missouri Gazette*, with its limited circulation in Southeast Missouri, supplied the scant field of journalism; in this new territory it was made impossible to secure subscribers and to pay the expense of publication, and the pathfinders got to work.

Thereby hangs the tale—the great and inexhaustible story of the plodding pathfinders who form the multitude too numerous for history to find or memory to apprehend for roll call. But the successors that followed that day and time, at least a few, no doubt some of you may recall.

We are mindful of the fact that the Hillsboro *Democrat* has gone past the half century mark, beginning its life in the hands of Brother R. W. McMullin and starting in the town when it only provided 221 inhabitants. It is today a live paper, and its beloved editor and publisher, who was one of us, was an exemplary pathfinder and pioneer.

In 1846 John T. Scott published the first paper in New Madrid county —the *Gazette* at New Madrid. Charles E. Barroll published at Fredericktown the *Bee* in 1875, and it was afterwards bought by E. P. Carruthers and its name changed to the *Plaindealer*.

Butler county's first paper was the *Black River News*, in 1869, by Poplin and Bartlett, afterwards becoming the *Citizen*.

In 1860 the *Southern Missouri Argus* was the first to give Farmington a newspaper, by Nichol, Crowell and Shuck. In 1872 it became the Farmington *Herald*, and in that year the *Times* was born, with Ware and Rhodehaven as father of the offspring, which later passed to the proprietorship of T. D. Fisher. In 1884 T. P. Pigg produced the *News* in pica, to feed the literary and news desires of the Farmington people. * * * *

In the first papers on the historic grounds of our realm it is good to observe their tenacity to cling to their own loved locality in county or state, as we find many of them named *The Missourian*, or known by such names as in Butler county the *Black River News*, snd so on through the list, with the name of the town preceding the title words, such as the Sikeston *Star*, the New Madrid *Record*, the Dexter *Messenger*, etc.

We are today, August 3, 1923, as an association, in our thirtieth annual meeting, dating from its organization at Poplar Bluff in May, 1893. From that date to 1901 its presidents were: J. R. Hoag, Poplar Bluff; H. W. Holmes, Greenville; B. F. Caruthers, Kennett; J. F. Martin, Charleston;

Ed. A. Wright, New Madrid; James Flynn, Cape Girardeau; J. F. Mitchin, De Soto, and Eli Ake, Ironton.

In 1900 this association was given first publicity and recognition by Secretary of State A. A. Lesueur in the official manual (Blue Book).

WHY THE "BOOT" IN MISSOURI?

From the Fulton *Gazette*, March 1, 1923.

The question, "Why the 'boot' in Missouri?" has been answered by Dr. Walter B. Garnett of Caruthersville, who has called attention to a newspaper clipping containing the account of a speech by the late Senator G. W. Carleton, made a number of years ago.

The "boot" refers to that portion of southeast Missouri which extends below the northern boundary of Arkansas.

The clipping says:

"John Walker, at the time of the earthquake in 1811 and 1812, owned an extensive plantation near the town of Caruthersville in Pemiscot county. The place was called 'Little Prairie.' It was a considerable village in 1811 and was a few years before a Spanish fort. Walker owned immense herds of stock and was a man of more than ordinary ability.

"At the time all that country was known as Missouri Territory. It was a great trading post. An immense trade was carried on between the French and Spanish settlers in New Madrid and the various types of immigrants in southeast Missouri and western Tennessee.

"When Missouri applied for admission into the Union the parallel of 36 degrees, 38 minutes north latitude was suggested as the southern boundary of the new state. Colonel Walker knew that if this line was adopted he would be left in unorganized territory, as the line crossed the Mississippi river north of his holdings. He wielded his influence to change it.

"He interviewed the commissioners selected to define the boundary line of the state, and so eloquently did he plead his cause that the commissioners agreed to take Colonel Walker into the state of Missouri. To that end it was agreed that the state should be defined as set out in the act of admission, approved March 6, 1820."

EARLY DAY KANSAS CITY RAILROADS.

From the Kansas City *Times*, January 1, 1924.

Fifty-eight years ago last September the first railroad train in Kansas City, pulled by a wheezy little locomotive, steamed out of the East Bottoms near the levee, for Pleasant Hill, Mo

At Pleasant Hill, five days before, the last spike had been driven in the ties of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, now the Missouri Pacific Railroad, completing the road between Kansas City and St. Louis.

It was a whooping big day for Kansas City, and all of the town and most of Westport was down to see the first train out.

The early day histories give the date of the completion of the first railroad into Kansas City as September 25, 1865. The records of the Missouri Pacific, however, show the first through train was not operated from St. Louis to Kansas City until October 2, a week later.

The completion of the line gave this city a decided advantage over its larger rival, Leavenworth, Kan. When the Hannibal bridge was completed July 3, 1869, there was no longer any question which city was to be the railroad and commercial center of the Missouri Valley.

The first railroad built out of Kansas City was the Kansas Pacific, now the Union Pacific. It was completed to Lawrence, Kan., December 19, 1864, and later extended to Denver, Cheyenne and Ogden.

In December, 1855, the legislature incorporated the Kansas City, Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company, the inception of the road to Cameron, Mo. The survey was completed July 11, 1857. Later an attempt was made to divert the road to Leavenworth, Kan. The line was not completed until August 22, 1867.

The Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs railroad was completed February 17, 1869.

Harlem, on the north bank of the Missouri River, was the terminus of the Burlington system. Passengers and freight were transferred to Kansas City by ferry until the Hannibal bridge was completed.

The Kansas & Neosho Valley Railroad, later the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis line, was projected August 4, 1865.

The Santa Fe reached Kansas City over its own rails in December, 1874, and in April, 1888, the line to Chicago was completed.

In 1870 the Chicago & Alton built a bridge across the Mississippi River at Louisiana, Mo., and completed its road to Mexico, Mo., running trains over the Wabash road from that point to Kansas City.

The Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific in 1871 used the tracks of the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs road into Kansas City, but in 1880 switched to the Hannibal & St. Joseph tracks from Cameron, Mo.

These roads were here forty years ago:

Missouri Pacific; Hannibal & St. Joseph; Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs; Chicago & Alton; Union Pacific; Santa Fe; Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; and Kansas City, Springfield & Memphis.

The last named road had just been completed to Kansas City.

These lines were proposed, or being constructed, to Kansas City:

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, completed to Ottumwa, Ia.

Texas, Oklahoma & Kansas, from southwestern seaboard of Texas to Kansas City.

Kansas City & Southern Railroad, proposed.

Rock Island air line from Kansas City to Chicago, by way of New Boston, Ill.

Belt Line around the city.

Eastern extension of the Santa Fe to St. Louis, by way of Clinton, Mo.

Central of Missouri from Hannibal to Kansas City, by way of Columbia, Mo.

Burlington, southwest extension to Kansas City.

Completion of the Missouri Pacific's double track between Kansas City and Independence.

A MISSOURIAN WHO WAS PRESIDENT FOR ONE DAY.

From the Montgomery City *Montgomery Standard*, January 8, 1897.

There have been twenty-three men in the office of president of the United States, and one of them wore the honor for only one day.

March 4, 1849, came on Sunday, a day that the constitution does not recognize as legal in the transaction of such official business as administering the oath of office. On that day, at noon, President Polk's term of office ended and President-elect Zachary Taylor could not take his place, or at least did not think he could. The prospect of the country being without an official head for twenty-four hours, or there being doubt about who would be the head, created discussion in Congress and in the press.

When General Taylor arrived in Washington, a few days before his inauguration, he was besought to take the oath of office on Sunday, so as to avoid confusion and what some persons believed to be danger. It was in the hot days of the "Free Soilers" and "Barn Stormers" and the storm of slavery was brewing. During Saturday and Saturday night there were a half-dozen fights in Congress. The capitol was a camp of turmoil, but General Taylor held out that he would not become president on Sunday.

David R. Atchison of Missouri was president pro tempore of the senate, and it was held by Congress that the functions of president must devolve upon him from Sunday noon until Monday noon, and for these twenty-four hours he had the distinction of being president of the United States, having all the functions and powers of the office. The oath of office was not administered to him, for the same reason that it was not immediately administered to General Taylor, but Atchison, being virtually vice-president, it was not considered necessary.

That President Atchison considered himself president there can be no doubt, for on Monday morning, when the senate reassembled, he sent to the White House for the seal of the great office and signed one or two official papers as president. These were some small acts in connection with the inauguration ceremonies that had been neglected by President Polk.

There was much fun and good-natured badinage indulged in among Atchison's friends and himself during his short presidential term. He was a Democrat, while the president-elect was a Whig. A majority of the senate was Democratic and his friends jokingly proposed to him that he usurp the office by calling the army to his back and preventing "Old Ironside" from being sworn in.

PERSONALS.

T. C. Beasley: Born in Jasper county, Missouri, September 16, 1855; died at Chillicothe, Missouri, October 25, 1923. As a young man he entered the mercantile business at Pattonsburg, Missouri, organizing and developing the Pattonsburg Mercantile Company. He removed to Chillicothe in 1906 to become president of the First National Bank. In 1919 he bought an interest in the Botts-Minteer Dry Goods Co. of Chillicothe. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Dr. J. J. Bentley: Born in Chautauqua county, New York, in 1840; died at St. Joseph, Missouri, July 1, 1923. Dr. Bentley began to preach in the Erie, Pennsylvania, conference of the M. E. Church when only 20 years old. In the closing days of the Civil War he was sent into the Missouri Ozarks to direct the work of the church in that pioneer region. Later he served as pastor at Springfield, Jefferson City, Sedalia, St. Louis, Glasgow, Cameron and Kirksville. He was at various times presiding elder of the Springfield, Kirksville, St. Joseph and Maryville districts. For a time he served as head of Lewis College at Glasgow, Missouri.

Benson B. Cahoon, Sr.: Born July 7, 1846, at Smyrna, Delaware; died November 5, 1923, at Fredericktown, Missouri. He studied law privately as a young man and was admitted to the Delaware Bar in 1868. During the Civil War he served with the First Regiment of Delaware Volunteer Infantry and was wounded twice. He came to Missouri in 1868 and located at Fredericktown. He served as county attorney and circuit attorney and in 1896 was a candidate for the nomination for governor on the Liberal Republican ticket. He was a member of the board of managers of the Farmington Hospital under Governor Hadley. The Cahoon Memorial Park at Fredericktown was presented by him to that city. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Hon. John Combe: Born in Scotland in 1854; died at San Diego, California, September 5, 1923, He came to St. Joseph

with his parents when a boy and established a business which became the Combe Printing Company. He was active in Republican politics and served as alderman from 1892 to 1894. In 1900 he was elected and served one term as mayor of the City of St. Joseph.

Judge Samuel Daniels: Born in Morgan County, Missouri, May 21, 1860; died at Versailles, Missouri, November 14, 1923. He was educated at St. Louis University and entered the profession of law. His public career began with his service as county school commissioner, and included service as probate judge and prosecuting attorney of Morgan county and mayor of the city of Versailles. In 1886 he became publisher of the Versailles *Leader* and continued as such until his death.

Hon. Chauncey I. Filley: Born at Lansingburg, New York, October 17, 1829; died at Overland, Missouri, September 24, 1923. He was elected mayor of St. Louis in 1863 on the Republican Emancipation ticket and immediately sprang into prominence as a leader of the Republican party. He was one of the men who played a leading part in Missouri during the reconstruction days. He was delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention which nominated Lincoln in 1864 and was a presidential elector on the Grant ticket in 1868. After that he was a delegate to every Republican national convention up to and including 1896. He was chairman of the state Republican committee in 1876, 1880 and 1898. He served on the Republican national committee from 1876 to 1892. He was appointed postmaster of St. Louis in 1873 and served five years. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Virgil M. Harris: Born at Columbia, Missouri, in 1862; died at St. Louis, December 29, 1923. He was a son of John W. Harris, owner of the famous "Model Farm of Missouri" in Boone county, and was educated at Kemper Military School, the University of Missouri and the University of Virginia. He began the practice of law in St. Louis in 1891 and served at different times as a member of the state board of agriculture and the board of curators of the University of

Missouri. He was nationally recognized as an author, his most noted work being, "Ancient, Curious and Famous Wills." He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Cassius M. Jaqua: Born November 8, 1865, at Frier, Iowa; died September 7, 1923, at Warrensburg, Missouri. In 1890 he entered the newspaper field in Missouri, purchasing the Ridgeway *Journal*. He edited this publication until 1906, when he moved to Warrensburg and became the owner of the *Standard-Herald*. He was the publisher of this paper at the time of his death.

Hon. Chester H. Krum: Born in Alton, Illinois, in 1840; died at St. Louis, October 19, 1923. He was admitted to the bar in 1864 and in 1871 was appointed United States district attorney by President Grant. He was a member of the first graduating class of Washington University and finished law courses at the Harvard Law School. He also served for a short time as circuit judge, resigning from the bench to devote his time to his law practice. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Charles Kunkel: Born at Sippersfeld, Germany, July 22, 1840; died at St. Louis, December 3, 1923. The family emigrated to America in 1848 and Charles Kunkel came to St. Louis in 1868, establishing himself in the music trade. Here his fame as a pianist attracted to the city many of the leading musicians of the world. As a music publisher he gained fame with his editions of the classics, and his Beethoven redactions are used quite generally today. In later years Kunkel devoted himself mainly to piano instruction.

Hon. Robert Lamar: Born at Edgar Springs, Missouri, March 28, 1866; died at St. Louis, August 11, 1923. He taught school in Texas county as a young man, while studying law, and was admitted to the bar in 1889. He was elected prosecuting attorney in 1890 and 1892. In 1892 he was elected as the first representative in Congress from the newly-formed 16th district, was defeated in 1904 and re-elected in 1906. During 1921-22 he served as president of the Missouri Bar Association. At the time of his death he was serv-

ing as a member of the State Constitutional Convention from the 22nd district. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Hon. John G. Slate: Born in Cole county, Missouri, January 26, 1860; died in St. Louis, November 25, 1923. He was educated in the public schools and at Amita College, College Springs, Iowa. He was admitted to the bar at Fulton, Missouri, November 28, 1887. He served as prosecuting attorney of Maries county twice, representative in the state legislature from Maries county in the 39th and 40th General Assemblies and as prosecuting attorney of Cole county for two terms. He was elected judge of the fourteenth judicial circuit in 1912 for an unexpired term and re-elected in 1916.

Hon. Edward T. Smith: Born in Andrew county, Missouri, April 5, 1856; died at Savannah, Missouri, July 2, 1923. He was educated at the Kirksville normal school and taught school for a time. He served as circuit clerk and recorder of Andrew county from 1890 to 1898 and was a delegate to the Republican national convention in 1904. He represented Andrew county in the 51st and 52nd General Assemblies.

Hon. Harold H. Tittman: Born at Belleville, Illinois, in 1843; died at St. Louis, October 9, 1923. In 1873 he was appointed to the consular service at Lyons, France, by President Grant and a year later made consulate-general at Rome. He returned to St. Louis in 1884 and engaged in the manufacturing business. He was elected president of the board of education in St. Louis in 1912.

Hon. W. I. Wallace: Born in Massachusetts, December 25, 1840; died at Lebanon, Missouri, November 7, 1923. He moved with his parents to Wisconsin at the age of 15 and was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1864. He took a degree in law at Ann Arbor College in 1866, moving to Lebanon, Missouri, the same year and making his home there until his death. He was elected state senator in 1876 and served four years. In 1884 he was elected judge of the 14th judicial circuit for an unexpired term, and re-elected in 1886. He was a veteran of the Civil War, having enlisted

in Company D, 40th Wisconsin Infantry, and served until the close of the war.

Hon. Thomas J. Wornall: Born in Jackson county, June 28, 1865; died at St. Louis, December 5, 1923. He was educated at William Jewell College in Liberty and was a great friend of the school. Wornall Hall was named in his honor because of his gifts to the institution. He was a prominent stockman and served for several years as secretary of the American Royal Show at Kansas City. He served from 1905-09 as state senator and from 1911-17 as a member of the board of curators of the University of Missouri.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. XVIII April 1924 No. 3

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. The subscription price is $1.00 a year. A complete set of the REVIEW is still obtainable—Vols. 1-17, bound, $67.00; unbound, $33.00. Prices of separate volumes given on request. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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Daniel M. Grissom, a native of Kentucky, came to Missouri in 1853. From that year to 1888 he engaged in journalistic work on the St. Louis city newspapers. He served on the "Evening News," was editor of the "Union," worked on the "Dispatch," and for nearly two decades held a position on the "Missouri Republican." His historical articles on Missouri have received the widest circulation. His home is in Kirkwood.

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John N. Edwards (deceased), one of the most widely known journalists of Missouri, was a member of Shelby's expedition to Mexico. He is regarded by some competent authorities as having been the greatest master of journalistic writing that the State has produced.

MISSOURI VERSE AND VERSE-WRITERS

BY M. M. BRASHEAR

PART I

Is Missouri developing a literary tradition? The long roll of her authors would indicate that she is. Such writers as Mark Twain, Eugene Field, Winston Churchill, Sara Teasdale, Fannie Hurst, Zoe Akins, Mrs. Constance Faunt LeRoy Runcie, Jessie Gaynor, Harris Merton Lyon, Rupert Hughes, Augustus Thomas, Denton J. Snider,—and these are only some of her foremost literary men—merit the serious consideration of Missouri's literary claims. The compilations on Missouri authors would also indicate that Missouri is developing a literary radition. The work of Mr. J. S. Snoddy on Missouri verse, the extensive Missouri author bibliography compiled by Mr. F. A. Sampson, the compilation by Drs. R. H. Jesse and Edward A. Allen, the excellent Missouri author work by Dr. Alexander N. DeMenil, and the present interpretative work by Miss Brashear furnish further evidence of this fact. And again, the literary movements and "schools" in Missouri give a significant sidelight. The famed St. Louis philosophical movement of the '60s and '70s, the Reedy "school" of the later 19th and the early 20th century, the work of The Missouri Writers Guild since its organization in 1915, and present and prospective development of this subject in the English department of the University of Missouri would seem to indicate something permanent and traditional in the field of Missouri letters. To aid in advancing this phase of work the readers of the Review are requested to cooperate. If persons knowing of published verse that has not received recognition in Miss Brashear's study will inform The State Historical Society of its existence, the work will be facilitated. Missourians should welcome this opportunity to make complete a phase of their cultural life which has been interesting and valuable. One of Missouri's greatest assets may prove to be her literature.—The Editor.

The first part of this discussion will be something of a survey of verse written in Missouri before 1900, chiefly of that which was published in books. The second part will deal with verse published since 1900. Part Three will venture some conclusions.

It is not easy to determine what a Missouri writer is. Even birth and education in the state often leaves a case somewhat doubtful. Kate Chopin was born in St. Louis, was educated there, and died there. But she spent her married life in Louisiana, where she wrote important stories about the bayou folk. Those stories are of greater significance in the literature of Louisiana than of Missouri. Sara Teasdale is a resident of New York City, but such is the detached character of her verse that, inasmuch as she spent thirty-two years of her life in the state, it may be assumed that her Missouri training at least did not discourage her genius. It is more difficult, naturally, to fix the status of writers in Missouri who have come from outside her borders. One author of recent best-sellers has written his novels in Columbia, and has seemed, in one of them, to describe professorial life at the University, but it would savor of presumption to call him a Missouri novelist. Maude Radford Warren lived in the state five years; she would doubtless be surprised to find herself advertised as a Missouri writer. But it is not quite fair to ourselves to shut out all but native writers. An examination of the Directory published by the Writer's Guild in 1923 leads to the inference that there are almost as many degrees of Missouri author as there are writers. The term is not yet so nearly definable as Indiana author.

In general this paper has included amongst Missouri authors those who were born in the State, or whose work shows some influence of Missouri training or Missouri spirit.

What Missouri spirit is will be indicated chiefly by implication. Perhaps, as a Washington's birthday speaker said of Americanism, it is not a definable thing: if it is a living thing, development and change in its trend are inevitable.

The data for this study have been secured from the collection of works of early verse-writers in the library of

The State Historical Society of Missouri. They are examined, not in order to determine what Missouri has contributed to the World's Book of Classics, but to ascertain what, up to 1900, it had accomplished in verse that broke ground for writers of the future. The attempt has been merely to record what beginnings had been made in verse-writing. If the commonwealth develops poets of its own they must rise on the shoulders of those who have gone before them. Even if the immediate inspiration come from the outside, it cannot grow unless the atmosphere for its nurture is favorable. So it is worth while to discover what centers in the state developed traditions potent to cultivate writers.

The case of St. Joseph is an example of what may be expected from such centers. Its favorable situation on and near main lines of travel Westward caused it to acquire wealth and to have an atmosphere of culture by the last half of the nineteenth century. As a result a good many people were writing verse there as early as the Civil War period. That St. Joseph is now the "Poet's Corner" that one writer calls it is due largely to those early beginnings. Jessie L. Gaynor, the writer of children's songs of national reputation, and Mary Alicia Owen, an international authority on folk-lore, are among those who have "carried on" in that corner.

In 1873 Edwin Arthur Welty, a young man just out of the St. Joseph High School (the second high school in the state it was), wrote a ballad entitled, "The Trapper at Bay," hich was published in an Eastern magazine in 1876. When in 1896 it was published in a volume of ballads[1] by the same author an enthusiastic Eastern critic spoke of him as "undeniably the greatest purely ballad writer in America—one who has seemingly been willing to allow literary ability of a pronounced and decided order to *rust within the confines of a little Southern village*".[2] Mr. Welty lived most of his life a short distance north of St. Joseph at Oregon, Missouri. The earliest is rather the best ballad in the collection. It

[1] *Ballads of the Bivouac and the Border*, Buffalo, 1896.

[2] Introduction by W. W. West, Philadelphia.

represents an Indian telling the story of how he with a band of warriors attacked two trappers. When one was killed the other took refuge at the mouth of the cave, which was their rendezvous. The old Indian apparently had strange power of speech:

> I was under fierce old Red-knife at the crossing of the Loop,
> When that brave and gallant warrior fought Kit Carson and his troop;
>
> All these scenes of blood and carnage I would gladly meet again,
> Sooner than to face that trapper in his ghastly mountain den.

More convincing evidence that St. Joseph had become a literary center by the last quarter of the nineteenth century is to be found in *Poems, Dramatic and Lyric* by Constance Faunt LeRoy Runcie.[3] The introductory poem, *Two Gifts—Poetry and Song* promises well for the lyric quality of the volume:

> A star came falling from the sky,
> I caught the lovely thing;
> It was a song sent from on high
> Flashed from an angel's wing.
> * * * * * * * *
> Who sang—who wrote—I do not know,
> Nor how they lost their way;
> I only caught them to my heart,
> And whispered to them "stay."

The inference may be warrantable that it was pioneer conditions that brought Mrs. Runcie to such a realization of what living means as "If I may" indicates:

Part First.

> I will not take the joy that brings a sorrow,
> If I may
> Put both away,
> I will not learn to love a smile, a voice,
> If glance and tone,
> Once mine alone,
> Shall in some hour lose all their strongest power.

[3]Published by G. P. Putnam's, New York, 1888.

I will not choose that in my life may come
The deep unrest,
Tho' it were blest
With joy; for I would wish my soul should be
As if asleep,
If God will keep
Me safe within His holy arms, and let
Me never know
The bitter woe
Of what it means to say—"I must forget."

Part Second.

Yes! I will welcome all, nor will refuse,
Or joy or pain,
If I may gain,
Through all the changing light and deepening shade,
One step nearer,
One hope dearer,
That out of all my soul may rise the purer,
And find the path,
Which ever hath
Brought, them, who suffer, on their way the surer."[4]

Mrs. Runcie is not an unworthy predecessor of Sara Teasdale. If the following lines from "First Love" have not the later writer's singing quality, they have a sentiment like hers:

O Youth! O love! O soul!
Never again to be the same! Hast thou
Laid this thy gift, thy gift unspeakable,
Here at my feet? For this, O friend, I thank thee,
Thou crownst me queen indeed; I am more fair
Because I wear the jewel of thy first love.
I will arise and purify myself,
Will kneel and say unto my God: "My Father,
Hold, hold me closer to thy heart, for I
Would learn of Thee how I may keep
This noble treasure of a first great love."

About the time of the Civil War, Lafayette county developed as another literary center. Central College at Lexington was a popular seminary with a literary atmosphere before the Civil War. Elizabeth Cobb, who was educated there, cele-

[4]From "If I May," p. 52 in *Poems, Dramatic and Lyric.* See also J. S. Snoddy: *A Little Book of Missouri Verse,* pp. 78 and 190.

brated the natural attractions of Missouri in a poem "A Star in the West," dated 1856.[5] Mrs. Sarah Austin Arnold McCausland, born at Arnoldfels, Virginia, related to Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, was married in Lexington in 1860 and spent the rest of her life there. She describes a Missouri August as the time when the year is taking its siesta:

> .....the quivering heat-haze
> Through whose shimmer the brown quail wades,
> A-list to the moist corn voices
> Speaking from wind-moved blades[6]
> .....
> O slumbrous month, thou art prone and a-dream.

Walter A. McCausland, born in Lafayette county in 1859, and educated in Lexington, describes a Missouri winter:

> The clouds hang low in the winter sky,
> The beasts in the barn-yard low and cry,
> The cold wind sighs through the dead, brown leaves,
> The ice hangs thick from gable and eaves.[7]

Will Ward Mitchell[8] of Higginsville, Lafayette county, published in the early 90's a volume of verse entitled *Harry Lisle and Other Rhymes*. In the preface he says, "should this little book of mine wander out into the great world, I hope that it will not reflect discredit on my loved home town, or her sister city, my birthplace, fair old Lexington, beside the great Missouri....I have found the world better than many claim it is, and people kindly, brave, and true....I have little sympathy with pessimists. Hope is a handy thing to keep about the chambers of the heart." His most important verses celebrate friendship between men. Of the friend to whom they are dedicated he says:

> A gentle, winsome man was he
> .....his voice was blithe
> And musical. I used to while
> Delightful hours with Harry Lisle.

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[5] J. S. Snoddy, *A Little Book of Missouri Verse*, pp. 17 and 178.
[6] *Ibid* pp. 104 and 186.
[7] *Ibid* pp. 23 and 186.
[8] Mitchell, Will Ward: *Harry B. Leary*; A Life Picture, 1895; *Harry Lisle and Other Rhymes*, n. d.; *Jael and Other Rhymes*, Higginsville, Mo., 1898; *Voice That is Still*, Higginsville.

At Richmond, in a county adjoining Lafayette, Woodson Institute seems to have fostered a literary atmosphere. M. L. Hoffman, a teacher of mathematics there published in a volume entitled *St. Helena and Other Poems*[9] a tribute to Missouri. In the closing lines he says that she:

> . . . . . stands in her place,
> And with confidence turns to the future her face;
> And the circle of states, as they watch her move on
> With her head in the day, like a mountain at dawn,
> Her motto will catch, and respond to her call,—
> "United we stand, divided we fall."

In 1897 J. S. Snoddy, a teacher of literature at Woodson Institute, published *A Little Book of Missouri Verse.* In the "Editor's Note" he says that the book grew out of studies that his students were making in Missouri verse. In Plattsburg in the same part of the state John William Ellis, President of Plattsburg College, published, in the 80's and 90's, three booklets of verse.[10] In the same college J. Breckenridge Ellis, for several years head of the Department of English, has been writing novels and verse since the early 90's. In "Another Birthday" published in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, he says:

> A few more years,—a few more years,
> My past will lie behind;
> Sweet in the shroud of purest hopes,
> Dear to my inmost mind.
> I think 'twill haunt my after life,
> That spirit young and bold,
> Taking me back to the long ago,
> Ere I was growing old.

At Platte City, also near St. Joseph, William A. Paxton,[11] a lawyer in the town from 1839 until his death, collected a library of Missouri authors, himself an author of three volumes

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[9] Privately Printed, 1896.

[10] Ellis, J. W.: *Life Mission*, St. Louis, 1876; *Metrical Translation of the Antigon of Sophocles*, St. Louis, 1872; *Song of Songs*, Columbia, 1897.

[11] Paxton, Wm. M.: *Century Hence and Other Poems*, Kansas City, 1879; *Poems*, Kansas City, 1887; *Vision of Narva*; *A Legend of Parkville*, Buffalo, N. Y., 1891.

of verse. That he was possessed of prophetic temper is indicated in the *Vision of Narva* in which he sees the white race developing strength by mixing with the red. The chief Narva dying says:

> The union of the White and Indian,
> Will make a new and nobler race;
> And back to us, the great and worthy
> With pride, their pedigree shall trace.

In "Woman's Sphere" he declares:

> Men give her no voice in enacting the laws,
> But tax her as much as they choose;
> And then as the jurors they sit in her cause,
> And frequently justice refuse.

A series of twenty-nine tributes to the departed, in the same volume, he entitles "Platte City Cemetery." Of J. V. Cockrill he says:

> I knew him when in manhood's pride,
> And always found him just and brave.
> I stood beside him when he died
> And helped to lay him in the grave.
>
> He was a man of sterling sense
> And managed well his house and farm;
> Was slow to give or take offense,
> And to his friends was kind and warm.

The point of view is opposite from that in the *Spoon River Anthology*, which was probably intended to satirize such "poetry." Both reflect natural stages in the development of the Middle West. The former is nearer to the pioneer time when sturdy citizens spent their lives in wholesome physical activity. They had but little time to question the existing order. That order was not the best, but they whose fathers were responsible for it knew that it was no small achievement compared with wilderness conditions. They found comfort in safe and stable ideas and ideals. The Spoon River book represents the restless period of assured prosperity, when the want of a physical task commensurate with

their mental and spiritual vigor turned the energy of the sons into a brooding, ingrowing pessimism.

The town of Chillicothe has had an interesting literary history. Two young men from Livingston county, who afterwards became lawyers in the county-seat published pamphlets of college verse while they were students at the University. George W. Warder, who is remembered by the older citizens of Columbia as a student during the Civil War, in *Poetic Fragments or College Poems*, (1873) records his impressions of fair ladies and of the charms of poesy. Such lines as these indicate that he conned his classics well:

> The mind of youth, enchanted by the golden-tinted
> Sunrise spreading o'er the ever-blooming fields,
> And gilded prospects of the coming years and
> The boundless universe beyond, seems startled at
> The wide elastic sweep of its own mystic powers
> And like the proud eagle, that bathes his plumage
> In the bursting dawn, and cleaves with fearless
> Wing the radiant pathway of the burning sun,
> . . . . . .
> It seeks to rise, to struggle up to broader views
> And brighter skies, and leave the dull reality
> Of real life and sordid cares behind.
> This causes poetry.

Mr. Warder was later mayor of Kansas City and founder of the Warder Opera House. He published there two thick volumes of verse, *Utopian Dreams and Lotus Leaves*, 1885, and *Eden Dell and Other Poems*, 1878.

L. A. Martin, while he was in the University in 1887, wrote *Huxter Puck, His Epic*, the story of a Missouri boy of the middle of the Nineteenth Century, born in Livingston county. In the Preface he says:

> For why should not Missouri be the land
> Of inspired song or happy minstrelsy,
> When every heart is but a smouldering brand
> Of burning passion, throbbing wild and free
> To burst in song, and breathe with words of fire
> A strain immortal from her unstruck lyre.

During his life as a lawyer in Chillicothe Mr. Martin published numerous pamphlets of verse, since bound together in a large volume by The State Historical Society. He records his impressions of current happenings and of the natural charms of rural central Missouri.[12] About the same time Johnson and Kiergan of Chillicothe published for Marie Richter Nelson her poem *Elleine, a Leaf from a Life of To-day.*

Lulu Spears Dearing's volume *Lost Chords* is the record of an eager soul:

> Oh that we had not ambitions
> If 'tis not to be satisfied;
> This straining to attain
> To our ideal————————
> ————we but know we're human,
> Endowed, it seems, with a power
> To endure, that is infinite.[13]

And the muse visited not only towns of central western Missouri, but the country also. *Rural Rhymes* is a large volume of verse published in Kansas City in 1882 by Martin Rice. As a lad the author had learned his grammar in Lindley Murray and taught school in Tennessee. In 1833 he came to Jackson county where he was a farmer for the rest of his days. In the Preface he declared it to be his purpose to "give an account of the manners and customs of the western men and women of fifty years ago, and to contrast the old times with the present ones. Among his rhymes are "An Old Settler's Tale," "The Old Minister's Reminiscences," "The Old Captain of 1838 and the Roll-Call," "The Exodus of Eighteen Sixty-three or Order Number Eleven" (22pp.) The following lines are taken from a fourteen-page "poem" on the evils of drink, "when women tipple too:"

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[12]Martin, L. A.: *Halloe'en and Other Poems*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1893; *Huxter Puck and Other Poems*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1895.

[13]Dearing, Lulu Spears, *Lost Chords*, Chillicothe, 1900; The Sampson *Bibliography of Missouri Authors* lists also; Cope, Samuel: *Songs of Praise*, Chillicothe, Mo., 1894.

Oh fair Columbia, while the sword
Of Britain's high, imperious lord
In vain would slay thy pride,
Shall liquid stuff, more powerful
Than all the horns of Johnny Bull
The fruits of all our freedom pull,
And scatter far and wide?

It is interesting to note in this how near to those people in pioneer Missouri was the sense of the menace that the war of 1812 allayed. The type of conventional morality that satisfied the practical life of early pioneers is reflected on every page; it is the tone of the pioneer who has settled down to enjoy the fruits of his labors.

In the northern part of the state Kirksville was early a center of literary life. The oldest Normal School west of the Mississippi, except one in St. Louis, now the Northeast Missouri State Teachers' College, fostered intellectual zeal from the 60's. J. M. Greenwood of Kansas City, well known in the United States for his writings on educational subjects, and John R. Kirk, now president of the institution, were two of a group of vigorous thinkers under President Baldwin, the founder of the school. In the 80's under President J. P. Blanton, himself a Virginian possessed of excellent taste, an atmosphere of being at ease in the world fostered literary production. President Blanton lectured all over Northeast Missouri, urging people to cultivate the reading habit, and reciting Burns to them. Miss Mary Prewitt of Fayette,[14] a teacher of literature in the "Normal," married an attorney in the town, and later edited a magazine which she called *The Norns*, which encouraged the ambition of verse-writers in the vicinity. Mary Prewitt Doneghy herself during her life wrote verse of some distinction. It was published in magazines, though some of the best of it merely circulated among her friends. Of the grave she wrote:

What art thou, Grave? a sea
Between my love and me?
Thy waves though high and deep,
Not us apart can keep.

[14]See Snoddy, pp. 137 and 179.

What art thou, Grave? a veil
Thrown o'er Love's face grown pale?
Thy folds the spirit stirs
And half reveals, half blurs.

What art thou, Grave? a box
That o'er our treasure locks?
Our Lord Christ holds the key
Will open it for me.

She had an ear for reports that her senses brought to her of what was lovely in nature:

Ay, my blue-bird sing to me!
Other lovers long have ceased,
Valentines come not my way,
For my hair is turning gray
And the wrinkles have increased
Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me!

Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me
For thy song hath witchery;
Bring back long stray thoughts of youth,
Binding broken troth with truth,
Mending life right happily
Ay, my blue-bird, sing to me.

After Mrs. Doneghy was an old woman she was young enough in spirit to be delighted with the possibilities of the new verse. The following lines to youth were inspired by Thorwaldsen's "Youth and Age:"

Step not so arrogantly
Not thine
To have and hold
Young wife and babe,
Pleasure,
Spoils,
Love.
Time only lends them—
She takes them one by one
Out of thy grasp,
And life shall be
A grape
Shriveled in the drought
With odor clinging
Of the red wine.

Mrs. Doneghy's assistant editor on *The Norns* was Grace Hewitt Sharp,[15] the daughter of a pioneer Presbyterian minister, whose verses have had considerable magazine publication. Her verses have a wistful sincerity:

"Life is beautiful, life is dear!"
The maiden said in the spring of the year
When the hawthorn blooms and the plumtree's white,
And the heart, with hope, beats warm and light.

"Life is a burden, life is gloom"
The woman thought in her lonely room;
Nor love, nor rest had cheered her way,
But sacrifice had marked each day.

The maid saw clouds pass over the sun,
And love found the woman ere life was done.
For sorrow and joy must strive forever;
No heart holds all; they blend together.

Troy in Lincoln county seems to have offered some encouragement to writers. Childers and Townsend there published in 1895 a volume for George E. Trescott which he entitled *Chirps*. It sets forth homely wisdom in somewhat the manner of Poor Richard's Almanac:

Wouldst thou be useful, learn the charm
Of doing good by shunning harm.
Blest is the man whose pathway gleams
A fitting mean between extremes.

In the wicked I've found virtue,
In the righteous I've found sin;
If I had this world to judge o'er
Where, oh where should I begin?

Hattie E. Battson, born near Troy in 1865, received her preparatory education at Edward's High School, Troy; and graduated at St. Charles College, St. Charles, Missouri. She published a book of verse, *Dust or Diamonds*, in 1886.[16] "Aglaia," a poem in two cantos, blank verse, suggests Enoch

[15]See Snoddy, pp. 114, 134, 154 and 190.
[16]Snoddy, pp. 110 and 177.

Arden. Aglaia's husband, De Lancy, having eloped with Nelly Bird, Aglaia, dying of sorrow, gives her girl baby to an old suitor, who tells the story.

That ladies' problems were not different forty years ago from those today is indicated in "An Old Maid's Soliloquy" in the same volume, dated 1880:

Do maidens there
With anxious care
Use peroxide to bleach their hair;
With lips of red vermilion
Are trained to smile
Or pout the while,
And the unthinking to beguile,
While lisping of the red cotillion?

Do young men smoke,
Talk slang and joke,
And young mustaches fondly stroke?[17]

In Columbia the University and the Stephens Publishing Company, together with a high type of southern idealism in its old families, early fostered the gentler arts. In 1901 President Jesse and Dr. Edward Archibald Allen, head of the English Department, published there an anthology of Missouri literature, prose and verse. Dr. Allen was possessed of a discriminating taste and a charming sense of humor. He published verse in various magazines. The following is taken from *The Critic*:

Concerning heretics you make
An argument too hard;
They were suspended from a stake,
Not only from a chair.

Dissenters from the standards then
The pious churchmen roasted;
Today by milder mannered men
You know, they're only toasted.

If then an age of stern Belief
Did such like deeds beget,
The age of Doubt, despite your grief,
May make us Christians yet.

[17] *Dust and Diamonds*, p. 77, Dayton, Ohio, 1886.

His "Prayer for Charity" was published in *The Chautauquan*:

Open our eyes, O Lord! We do not see
The languid step, the sunken cheek that cries
For food that satisfies, the silent plea
For sympathy. O Lord, open our eyes!

Open our ears, O Lord! We do not hear
The stifled sigh, foreboding sobs and tears
Of childhood orphaned by strong drink, the fear
That haunts in sleep. O Lord, open our ears!

Open our hands, O Lord! We close them tight
In greed of selfish gain of houses, lands,
Against the widows' call for help, the right
Of the oppressed. O Lord, open our hands!

Open our minds, O Lord! We do not read
The thoughts of God aright; the truth that binds
Us back to Thee we miss, lost in a creed
That men devise. O Lord, open our minds!

Open our hearts, O Lord! We do not feel
For others' woes; the priest within us parts
Us from the fallen on life's way—reveal
Again thy Christ! O Lord open our hearts![18]

Mrs. Clara Ward Watson and Mrs. Rosa Ingels published pamphlets of verse in the 90's. But student verse has always made a large part of Columbia's output. The following is in strange contrast with that modern verse published in the 1923 volume:

A little case, the dust now covers;
A worn-out clasp, a broken hinge
Some velvet of a faded tinge—
While memory round it sweetly hovers.

Within there is a gentle face—
The soft brown eyes, the glossy hair,
The peaceful brow, serene and fair,
Are all within the old-time case.

[18]See Snoddy, pp. 28, 123, 129, 162, 175.

With sweet simplicity so rare,
A soul so pure, a heart so gay,
The picture shows in girlhood's day
Our mother's face so young and fair.[19]

One type of "literature" yet to be mined from North Missouri is the peoples' ballad. Some such book as the Lomax cow-boy ballads will doubtless be collected containing such songs as those of the James boys and the Younger brothers. Distinguished in such a collection will be the epic of the Missouri Argonaut, Joe Bowers:

My name it is Joe Bowers,
And I've got a brother, Ike;
I came from old Missouri,
And all the way from Pike.
I'll tell you why I left there,
And why I came to roam,
And leave my poor old mammy
So far away from home.[20]

Doubtless material exists to show that Kansas City had the same type of early verse, but very little of it is to be found here. It is for the most part newspaper verse that Snoddy's book quotes from Kansas City Writers. That writing in other towns in western Missouri was stimulated by available publishing companies in Kansas City is doubtless true.

Nor is there material to show what South Missouri has done in verse of the more ambitious sort. There is some indication that the district where railroads are sparse may be rich in ballad lore. In the Foreword in Colonel Rollingpin's "Duck Creek Ballads" is expressed the same attitude toward life which is found in "The Houn' Dog" song, that Ozark classic made famous by Champ Clark:

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[19]Snoddy, pp. 48 and 175.

[20]For a discussion of the origin of this ballad see Connelley; *The Doniphan Expedition.*

. . . . . the birds air singin' there
Notes that can't be heard elsewhere,
Voicin' natur' unaware.

Keep your culture, if ye will,
It's a purty thing, but still
Let me hear the whipperwill

Warblin nigh the everglade,
Where no teacher yit 'haz strayed
'Cept the one that music made.

Simple rhymes o' simple things
Jes a nes' o' mutterings
Hatch-ed out an' given wings.[21]

"Out Here, in Ol' Missoury," by the same author reveals strong Riley influence:

Out here in ol' Missoury's plenty good enough fur us,
An although we hev our troubles, yet we know they might be wus.
Our crops are alus bounteful—our graineries are full,
An we kin git enough to eat, although the times air dull,
Out here, in ol' Missoury.

Out here in ol' Missoury, the climates jes about
The finest 'at you ever see, an' where there is a doubt—
Ez when it seems to threaten rain, it's apt ez not to clear,
An' then you see ol' Sol come out and shed his lustre here
Out here, in ol' Missoury.

Out here in ol' Missoury—well, our scenery is sech—
Our rivers, vales an' mountains, you can't look at 'em too much—
'Specially in springtime, when all natur's on a boom,
An' spreads herse'f an' seems to say, "Jes all I ast is room,"
Out here in ol' Missoury.

Out here in ol' Missoury, we have ev'rything at's good.
Were bankin', too, on Providence—'ats alus understood.
We see Him in the fertile fields, the fruits and flowers too—
An' thank Him fur each blessin', ez our fathers ust to do—
Out here, in old Missoury.

[21] Carter, John Henton (Colonel Rollingpin): *Duck Creek Ballads*, New York, 1894; *Log Cabin Poems*, St. Louis, 1897; *Out Here in Ol' Missoury*, St. Louis, 1900.

Out here, in ol' Missoury—thar air other states aroun—
But we ain't gredgin' 'em a thing they hev on top o' groun',
We're common es the commones', ez good, too, ez the bes'—
An' don't ast any better place in futur an the res'
Out here, in ol' Missoury.[22]

The ballads themselves are in the vernacular also. Of "The Member from Ozark," he says:

The news that he printed war some ter behold,
He'd bury a critter afore he was cold,
An spin out an epitaph forty lines long
'Fore his victim 'ould know thar' was anything wrong.
.....
But he's a law maker now in Jefferson Cit',
And warms like a statesman a seat in the pit
Got his lamps on the White House.....

At Pacific, Missouri, in Franklin county, C. L. Phifer, a Missouri newspaper man for thirteen years, editor of the Pacific *Transcript*, published the *Franklin Quarterly* for a dozen or more issues from 1894. In *Under the Shadows* he celebrated the hawthorn before it became the Missouri flower:[23]

Walnut trees and sarvus bloom
Sweetly showing, richly growing;
Hawthorn in the forest's gloom
Sweetly, richly growing.

Often in my dreams I stray
Down and through a flowery way
Where a brook talks all the day,
Flowing through the shadows.

So our days are hurrying on;
As they sparkle they are gone;
Sliding through the gloom they run,
Flowing through the shadows.

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[22]Elly Drake Cobb: "A Star in the West" (Mo.) July, 1856.

[23]Phifer, C. L.: *Annals of the Earth*, Chicago, 1890; *Love and Law, A Series of Sonnets*, California, Mo., 1889; *Two Volumes of Verse*, California, Mo., 1889; *Weather Wisdom*, California, Mo., 1889; *Franklin Quarterly, A Literary Magazine*, Pacific, Mo., 1894.

By the breathing flowers of spring,
Where the birds in rapture sing,
Where dry leaves in winter cling,
Flowing through the shadows.

Budding trees and meads abloom
Sweetly showing, richly growing;
Hawthorn in the forest gloom
Sweetly, richly growing.

In "Heart-House" he appears as a forerunner not only of makers of free verse, but also of psycho-analysts:

Each heart is a house,
And we furnish it day by day.
Some fill the rooms with things useful
And beautiful images of great thoughts;
Others with sodden and sensual things
That as the years grow turn to hideous forms;
And each must live, not in the world outside,
Not in the house that others have builded,
But in his heart-house.
And what, when God the holy,
Shall come to visit us?
In every heart-house there are hidden chambers,
And the dead are there,
But they are not dead,
Sometimes we visit them,
Even in dreams,
And the past and the dead live again in the heart-house.

Even the most cursory reading of these volumes arouses a good deal of admiration for the courage of the people whose voice they are. It is as human documents that they are most valuable. Nearly all are by people for whom verse-writing was an avocation merely. G. H. Walser came to Missouri from Illinois during the Civil War, and in 1880 founded the town of Liberal in Barton county. Two sizable volumes, *Poems of Leisure* and *The Bouquet*, published at Lamar record the thoughts of a patriarch in his leisure hours. The preface to the former shows that he was not of the improvident kind that caused a district judge in Missouri, whose son had literary ambitions, to say that he didn't want any "long-haired poets" in his family:

> Mine has been a busy life, devoted to
> the first duty of providing for my
> family and the winters of old age.
> Through industry I am now able
> to think that I have enough to
> keep the wolf from the door of myself
> and wife (my family now) provided
> we act with prudence and economy.
> All persons at the age of fifty should
> have that; to have less is a mistake, to
> have more is a sin.

Referring to his literary labors he says:

> I am sure the public does not know me as a
> rhymester, much less as a poet, the honor of
> which I can scarcely hope of receiving—
> Poetry consists of clothing elevated thoughts
> in chaste and rhythmic language. If I
> have succeeded in doing that, the presentation
> of this volume is not presumptuous. If I
> have failed. . . . yet . . . . I will have enough left for
> our family.

One poet frankly confesses to a safety-first policy:

> The title "Poet" gives a man no business
> distinction. For that reason I have always
> been timid in my aspirations in that line,
> and whatever pieces I have published
> have not had my name attached.

Perhaps it was for some such reason that one considerable volume of creditable verse was published in Kansas City in 1879 with no name to acknowledge the authorship.*

But art for art's sake seems never to have been the motto of these earnest folk. One authoress declares:

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*The Sampson Bibliography of Missouri authors lists an anonymous volume of verse entitled *Fantasma* with Mr. Warder's publications also. J. S. Snoddy's *Little Book of Missouri Verse* says (p. 178) that Mary Bryant, a teacher of English of Central College, Lexington, was the author of the publication. Evidence in the poems themselves seems to confirm the second statement. The author had apparently lived in Virginia before coming to Missouri, and Miss Bryant came to Lexington from Virginia. Mr. Warder never lived outside the state.

My aim has ever been to better humanity
A higher standard of virtue, morals, and
life is the crying need of the world to-day. May
this book help to fill that vacuum.

Most prevalent was the conventional apology of Scott's "Lady of the Lake:"

Yet if one heart throb higher in its sway
The wizard note has not been touched in vain.

The patriarch mentioned above in the preface to *The Bouquet, the Language of Flowers*, says:

If the association of sweet thoughts with fragrant
flowers be the means of lifting some sorrowing
heart to the sunlight of joy, or making
the path of duty plainer to any struggling soul,
my labors will not have been in vain.

The foreword of the same kind in one volume contains a touch of real poetry:

Go, little book, and if to any soul
You bring one transient glimpse, one vision fair
Of that bright world of dreams which round us lies
Concealed, except where here and there the light
Breaks through the mists which wrap our earthly lives,
Then not in vain will you have wandered forth.

Of literary manners of the more obvious sort, those of Longfellow, Scott, Riley, and Poe are most often adopted, with occasionally, in the St. Louis verse, distinct suggestions of Matthew Arnold and Wordsworth. Metrical romances bear evidence of Longfellow and Scott traditions. The much quoted lines from *Marmion* seem to have inspired the following:

If in your heart you feel no fire
Of love of country burn,
Go malcontent to foreign lands—
A patriot return.

The following shows that the writer knew Longfellow—possibly from his McGuffey's reader:

The flag of March is wide outflung
A banner all of ice
. . . . . .
Unfolds prophetic device.

But there are numerous tributes to Poe, and it was apparently easier to catch the trick of his verse than of any other:

How the wintry wind is wailing in the eaves!
How it weeps with sigh and moan!
How it sinks to sob and groan,
While it grieves, while it grieves!
Are those whisperings in the eaves
But soft threnodies of gloom,
Liberated from the tomb,
Of a soul that ever grieves—
Ever grieves, with sigh and moan,
Ever weeps, with sob and groan?[24]

"Autumn" has seven stanzas with the rhythm of the following:

But the dark and dismal, dripping
Autumn rain!
I am weary of the dreary,
Ceaseless, moaning, droning, dripping
Of the rain![25]

My spirit sits dreaming forever
The sorrowful dreams of old,
The passionate dreams of old,
Yes, wildly it dreams of the river
The river I loved of old,
The sorrowful, dim, haunted river, the river I
worshiped of old.[26]

One author assures the public that he has "committed no intentional plagiarism. If there is anything in my book similar to what someone else has written before me, I do not know it now."

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[24]Snoddy, p. 118.
[25]*Ibid*, p. 68.
[26]*Ibid*, p. 83.

It is difficult to generalize about the types of subjects represented. Nature, patriotism, the conduct of life are frequent. The local option agitation of 1887 called forth a good many verses on temperance:

O whiskey, whiskey—'Tis a curse!
Both to the health and to the purse;
For nothing is or can be worse
Than whiskey.

Often religious stanzas are in the same volume with impassioned love rhymes. Interest in beliefs is often shown in such lines as these, taken from a tribute to "Tom Paine:"

"I groaned as a child, beneath tyranny's ban,"
Liberty replied with disdain
"But now I defy you, I grew to a man,
Through the magical powers of Paine.

But the rule is that sincere orthodoxy is voiced by these writers:

You wonder why I love him
Who never saw his face,
But I have felt his presence
His love and tender grace.
* * * * * *
He has led me long and tenderly,
In sorrow been my friend,
And he's promised to be with me,
To help me to the end.

The same writer in "When Jesus Was a Little Boy," says:

I know he loved his mother, and loved her until death,
For he spoke to John about her with almost his latest breath,
I just expect he ran and played and maybe made a noise,
For you know that none of them are men until after they are boys.[27]

For convenience early verse-writers will be listed in Part III as those of the 60's, 70's, 80's, and 90's, but it is difficult to see any dividing line other than chronological among them.

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[27]Mrs. Mary E. Welch: *Present Truth*, pp. 36 and 88, published at Stanberry, Missouri, no date.

That bearing the earliest dates, 1840-1852 by Edward Stagg of St. Louis, is suggestive of the same literary traditions as that written in the 90's:

> My country, my country, thou beautiful land!
> Like Canaan, the favored of Heaven, dost stand:
> With thy lakes so immense, and thy rivers so grand:
> Thy fields teeming rich with the husbandman's hand
> The envied of all.

Perhaps a little freer from conventional phrasing is this written in the 90's:

> America was never mine
> Until I left her shore;
> With every league away from home
> I loved my country more.
> * * * * * * *
> I never valued liberty
> Until beneath a king
> Where "Freedom" was an awful word
> Reserved for whispering.

The author of the former speaks of the "females, like the lilies of the field," as the author of the latter would not do, but both have strong suggestions of Bryant's method of observing nature for the moral or religious reflection she inspires. Practically all of these writers represent recognized traditions in English ideas and modes of expression.

No mention has so far been made of the contribution of St. Louis to the literature of the state. That verse of considerable distinction was written there before 1900 is proved by many examples published in the Jesse and Allen anthology and by many volumes in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The names of William Vincent Byars, Edward Robeson Taylor, Alexander N. DeMenil, Denton J. Snider, Ernest McGaffey, and Paul Elmer More are only a few examples. "A Century of Missouri Literature" by DeMenil[28] shows a much fuller acquaintance with those writers

[28]Alexander N. DeMenil: "A Century of Missouri Literature," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1, October, 1920.

than it would be possible to secure outside of St. Louis.[29] Their work, it may be said, is to the rest of the state what that of the Emerson-Longfellow period is to the rest of the United States.

But there was born in St. Louis the man who, in one way or another, was to give a good deal of fame to Missouri. Eugene Field's parents were from Vermont, but he declared that he could not live in the East. On five counts, besides the mere accident of his birth within her borders, Missouri is entitled to call Eugene Field her own. (1) When colleges in New England and Illinois proved inadequate for his free spirit, he entered the University of Missouri. (2) He found people in the state of his father's adoption so congenial that he married a Missouri girl, who, with rare understanding as the years passed by had the grace to become his friend. (3) His first years of experience as a journalist were on papers in St. Louis and St. Louis. (4) He wrote more about Missouri than any other poet that has got national

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[29]The following books, published in St. Louis before 1900, are representative of those in the library of The State Historical Society:

Stagg, Edward: *Poems*, St. Louis, 1852.

Colony, Myron: *Manomin*, St. Louis, 1866.

Stone, Richard C.: *Poems*, St. Louis, 1876.

James, C. L.: *Religious Meditations and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1871.

Wardell, Fannie Isabel Sherrick: *Love or Fame and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1880; *Star Dust*, Chicago, 1888.

Scott, Laurence W.: *The Mooted Question and Other Rhymes*, St. Louis 1880.

Watson, Rev. George A.: *St. Casimir's Hymn to the Blessed Virgin*, St Louis, 1881; *Poems*, St. Louis, 1882; *St. Louis, the Future Great*, 1882.

Reavis, Rebecca Morrow: *Consider the Lilies and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1883; *The Builders*, St. Louis, 1884.

Rhodes, M., D. D.: *The Throne of Grace*, Philadelphia, 1887.

Adams, G. A. S.: *Aunt Peggy and Other Poems*, St. Louis, 1888

More, Paul Elmer: *Helena and Occasional Poems*, New York, 1890.

Watts, Florida E.: *The Varied Grace of Nature's Face* n. p., 1895.

Garrison, J. H.: *The Heavenward Way*, St. Louis, 1896.

Litzsinger, Louisa E.: *Violets Under the Snow*, Clayton, Mo., 1898.

Terry, Howard L.: *A Tale of Normandie*, St. Louis, 1898.

Snider, Denton J.: *Agamemnon's Daughter*, St. Louis, 1892; *Delphic Days*, St. Louis, 1880; *An Epigrammatic Voyage*, Boston, 1886.

Byars, W. V.: "Babble of Green Fields" and "The Isle of Dreams" in *Studies in Verse*, South Orange, N. J., n. d.; *Tannhauser, A Mystery*, St. Louis, n. d.; "The Glory of the Garden" and other Odes, Sonnets and Ballads in *Second Studies in Verse*, n. p., n. d.

acceptance. (5) And, finally, whatever Missouri spirit is, it came more nearly getting itself expressed in his verse than in that of any other writer of the period.

His "John Smith" expresses the point of view. It is that of the onlooker. The Missourian sits at the cross-roads of the nation, perhaps, as his most recent apologist has said, with the consciousness of a civilization of his own, and bestows upon encircling states a glance of tolerance and humorous inquiry.

John Smith.

To-day I strayed in charing cross, as wretched as could be,
With thinking of my home and friends across the trembling sea;
There was no water in my eyes, but my spirits were depressed,
And my heart lay like a sodden, soggy doughnut in my breast.
This way and that streamed multitudes, that gaily passed me by;
Not one in all the crowd knew me, and not a one knew I.
"Oh for a touch of home!" I sighed; oh for a friendly face!
Oh for a hearty hand-clasp in this teeming, desert place.
And so soliloquizing, as a homesick creature will,
Innocent I wandered down the noisy bustling hill,
And drifted, automatic-like and vaguely, into Lowe's
Where Fortune had in store a panacea for my woes.
The register was open, and there dawned upon my sight
A name that filled and thrilled me with a cyclone of delight,—
The name that I shall venerate until my dying day,—
The proud, immortal signature: "John Smith," U. S. A.

You see, John Smith, just which you are I cannot well recall;
And, really, I am pleased to think you somehow must be all!
For when a man sojourns abroad awhile, as I have done,
He likes to think of all the folks he left at home as one.
And so they are,—for well you know there's nothing in a name;
Our Browns, our Joneses, and our Smiths are happily the same,—
All represent the spirit of the land across the sea;
All stand for one high purpose in our country of the free,
Whether John Smith be from the South, the North, the West, the East,
So long as he's American, it mattereth not the least;
Whether his crest be badger, bear, palmetto, sword, or pine,
His is the glory of the stars that with the stripes combine.
Where'er he be, whate'er his lot, he's eager to be known,
Not by his mortal name, but by his country's name alone;
And so, compatriot, I am proud you wrote your name today
Upon the register at Lowe's, "John Smith, U. S. A."

But the fullest expression of the spirit is in the "Plaint of the Missouri Coon in the Berlin Zoological Gardens:"

Friend, by the way you hump yourself you're from the States, I know,
And born in old Mizzoorah, where the 'coons in plenty grow.
I, too, am native of that clime; but harsh, relentless fate
Has doomed me to an exile far from that noble State;
And I, who used to climb around, and swing from tree to tree,
Now lead a life of ignominious ease, as you can see.
Have pity, O compatriot mine! and bide a season near,
While I unfurl a dismal tale to catch your friendly ear.
My pedigree is noble; they used my grandsire's skin
To piece a coat for Patterson to warm himself within,—
Tom Patterson, of Denver; no ermine can compare
With the grizzled robe that Democratic statesman loves to wear.
Of such a grandsire I am come; and in the County Cole
All up an ancient cottonwood our family had its hole.
He envied not the liveried pomp nor proud estate of kings,
As we hustled round from day to day in search of bugs and things.

And when the darkness fell around, a mocking-bird was nigh,
Inviting pleasant, soothing dreams with his sweet lullaby;
And sometimes came the yellow dog to brag around all night
That nary 'coon could wallop him in a stand-up barrel fight.
We simply smiled and let him howl, for all Mizzoorians know
That ary 'coon can best a dog, if the 'coon gets half a show;
But we'd nestle close and shiver when the mellow moon had ris'n,
And the hungry nigger sought our lair in hopes to make us his'n.

Raised as I was, it's hardly strange I pine for those old days;
I cannot get acclimated or used to German ways.
The victuals that they give me here may all be very fine
For vulgar, common palates, but they will not do for mine.
The 'coon that's been accustomed to stanch democratic cheer
Will not put up with onion tarts and sausage steeped in beer,
No; let the rest, for meat and drink, accede to slavish terms
But send *me* back from whence I came, and let me grub for worms!

They come these gaping Teutons do, on Sunday afternoons,
And wonder what I am,—alas, there are no German 'coons!
For if there were, I still might swing at home from tree to tree,
The symbol of democracy, that's woolly, blithe and free.
And yet for what my captors are I would not change my lot,
For *I* have tasted liberty, these others *they* have not;
So, even caged, the democratic 'coon more glory feels
Than the conscript German puppets with their swords about their heels.

Well, give my love to Crittenden, to Clardy, and O'Neill,
To Jasper Burke and Col. Jones, and tell 'em how I feel;
My compliments to Cockrill, Stephens, Switzler, Francis, Vest,
Bill Nelson, J. West Goodwin, Jedge Broadhead and the rest.
Bid them be steadfast in the faith, and pay no heed at all
To Joe McCullagh's badinage or Chauncey Filley's gall;
And urge them to retaliate for what I'm suffering here,
By cinching all the alien class that wants its Sunday beer.

Eugene Field's career and character are difficult to understand because of the deep-lying contradiction between his instinctive respect for what was established, which came to him from his New England inheritance and training, and a fun-loving disposition that usually disregarded accepted patterns of conduct. The former got itself expressed in "Wynken, Blynken, and Nod," in "The Little Tin Soldier,' in "Little Boy Blue"—in all of his best known verse. It is the spirit of the Dedication to the *Second Book of Verse*:

A little bit of a woman came
    Athwart my path one day;
So tiny was she that she seemed to be
A pixy strayed from the misty sea,
    Or a wandering greenwood fay.

"Oho, you little elf!" I cried,
    "And what are you doing here?
So tiny as you will never do
For the brutal rush and hullaballoo
    Of this practical world, I fear."

"Voice have I, good sir," she quoth.—
    " 'Tis soft as an angel's sigh,
But to fancy a word of yours were heard
In all the din of this world's absurd!"
    Smiling I made reply.

"Hands have I, good sir," she quoth.—
    "Merry and that have you!
But amid the strife and the tumult rife
In all the struggle and battle for life,
    What can those wee hands do?"

"Eyes have I, good sir," she said.—
"Sooth, you have," quoth I,
"And tears shall flow therefrom, I trow,
And they betimes shall dim with woe,
As the hard, hard years go by!"

That little bit of a woman cast
Her two eyes full on me,
And they smote me sore to my inmost core,
And they hold me slaved forevermore,—
Yet would I not be free!

Dear one, I bless the subtle power
That makes me wholly thine;
And I'm proud to say that I bless the day
When a little woman wrought her way
Into this heart of mine!

There have been three classes of critics of Eugene Field in Missouri and outside: those who, resolutely shutting their ears to his capriciousness, and embracing what Reedy called the Eugene Field myth, crown him the laureate of childhood; those for whom the inconsistencies of his nature are an unsurpassable barrier, to prevent their according him any recognition; and those who, aware of his almost dual personality, believe that there was, nevertheless, no malice in his nature, and that such irresponsibility as his should be forgiven one of such freedom from cant and such human charm. Some of this last class believe, furthermore, that if he had not spent himself as lavishly as he did his patrimony, he might have developed into one of America's greatest humorists.

One of his enthusiastic critics described him as

> an engaging and suggestive figure—one of those unusual men who contrive to be profoundly typical of their time and environment at the same time that they retain the raciest of individualities. Irresponsible gayety, obstreperous plunging through bush and briar after the will o' the wisp of fun, his jaunty plucking of the laughter from dullness represent a trait of the nascent but already recognizable national temper which bids fair to mark us off most saliently from our native English stock.[30]

[30] *Atlantic* 78:265.

Possibly it is because the typical Missourian is more nearly like Uncle Sam than any other national type; and that two traits of the typical Missourian, a regard for the traditions of the past and a detached whimsicality, both found voice in him, that there seems an obvious fitness in calling this first period of Missouri verse-writers the Eugene Field Period.

(Parts II and III will follow in the July issue of the *Review*.)

THE TEST OATH FOR THE CLERGY IN MISSOURI

BY THOMAS S. BARCLAY

In June 1865, the electorate of Missouri, by a scant majority of eighteen hundred votes, adopted a new constitution for the state. This document had been prepared by a convention whose policies had been very largely under the control and direction of the radical Republicans, headed by Charles D. Drake. As the constitution came from the hands of its framers, it contained a long and complicated section which dealt with the suffrage. The significant features of this article included a large and specified number of disqualifications for voting that were incredibly comprehensive in scope, a provision for a state wide system of registration, under the general control of the Legislature, and the requirement that not only voters but state and local officials, attorneys, jurors, directors of corporations, professors, teachers, bishops, priests, and ministers should subscribe to an oath of loyalty.[1] When the article on the suffrage was first presented to the convention by the Committee on the Elective Franchise, the clause dealing with the clergy had been as follows:

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[1]Article II, section 9 read: "No person shall assume the duties of any State, county, city, town or other office, to which he may be appointed, otherwise than by a vote of the people; nor shall any person after the expiration of sixty days after this Constitution takes effect, be permitted to practice as any attorney or counselor at law; nor, after that time, shall any person be competent as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder, or other clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination, to teach, or preach, or solemnize marriages, unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed, and filed said Oath." See also sections 3, 11. The state convention in June, 1862, provided for an oath of loyalty for all preachers before the marriage ceremony could be performed. It was prospective in character and its conditions could easily be met. *Journal, State Convention*, (St. Louis, 1862), pp. 14-15.

> ——"nor, after that time (sixty days) shall any person be competent, as a bishop, priest, deacon, minister, elder, or other clergyman of any religious persuasion, sect, or denomination, to solemnize marriages; unless such person shall have first taken, subscribed, and filed said oath."[2]

When the article was reported back from the Engrossing Committee, William H. Folmsbee, who represented in the convention the views of the radical northwestern portion of the state, moved to amend this section so that before the words "to solemnize marriages" would appear the additional restrictions "to teach or preach."[3] Despite strong opposition, led by William F. Switzler, the most prominent among the moderate group in the convention, the amendment was adopted.[4]

The oath of loyalty, designated by many as the "iron-clad" oath, was of an extreme and unusual character. Incorporated in the constitution primarily to restrict voting to loyal persons, its far reaching clauses were further extended to office holders, state and local, to lawyers, to jurors, and to bishops, clergymen, and priests.[5] The restrictive provisions embodied in the oath of loyalty were drastically severe. The applicant for registration was required, among other things, to swear that he had never, "directly or indirectly," been in armed hostility to the United States or to the Government of Missouri, or had given "aid, comfort, countenance, or support

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[2]*Journal of the Missouri State Convention.* (St. Louis, 1865), p. 37. The chairman of this committee was David Bonham, an extreme radical from northwestern Missouri. Its real leader, and the author of the entire section was Charles D. Drake.

[3]*Ibid.* p. 211.

[4]*Ibid*, p. 211. The proposal advocated by Folmsbee led to a prolonged and bitter debate in the convention. For a summary of the discussion, see the *St. Louis Dispatch*, April 1, 1865.

[5]Section 6 in Article II, contains the oath of loyalty and section 3 the specified acts which would disqualify any person in the classes indicated from participation in the various professions.

to persons engaged in such hostility," or had manifested his sympathy with those engaged in carrying on rebellion against the United States, or had ever willingly harbored, aided, or countenanced any person engaged in guerilla warfare or in "bushwhacking."[6] It was further provided in the constitution that if a person exercised any of the functions of any of the offices therein specified, without first taking the oath, he would be punished, on conviction, by a fine of $500.00, or by a prison sentence of not less than six months, or by both.[7] The oath was to be filed in the office of the clerk of the County Court where the person resided.[8] The constitution did not provide for any central administrative machinery for enforcing the clauses concerning the test oath; local officers were relied upon in the carrying out of state policy. The constitution became effective on the fourth of July, 1865, and all persons taking the oath of loyalty were required to do so within sixty days.[9]

The proclamation of Governor Fletcher announced the constitution to be in effect on July 4, 1865. Between that day and the first of September, when the time fixed for taking the oath of loyalty expired, speculation was rife and discussion widespread throughout the State concerning the oath in its application to the professional classes. The clergy of all denominations were placed in a difficult, not to say humiliating, position. The constitution required them, in effect, to take out a license to preach. To comply with its provisions, it was contended, would be to concede the power of the state to regulate religion; to refuse to comply, while continuing the functions of the office, would be to disobey the law. It was further suggested that they might cease all preaching and teaching, close their churches and await a decision on the constitutionality of the oath, in so far as it pertained to the clergy.[10] During the month of July there

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[6]Article II, section 3.
[7]*Ibid*, section 14.
[8]*Ibid*, section 10.
[9]*Ibid*, section 7.
[10]*St. Louis Dispatch*, August 1, 1865.

was a rather general interchange of opinions and views among the clergy of Missouri and it was asserted that the result was "an almost unanimous resolution by the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Christian ministers to disregard the oath and to continue to preach and to teach."[11] The Catholic Church early took a position of opposition to the oath of loyalty or test oath as it was commonly called. The leader of this opposition was the Archbishop of the Diocese, Peter Richard Kendrick of St. Louis. To him, the test oath was but a form of persecution which the triumphant Radical minority had forced upon a majority of the people.[12] In an open letter to his clergy the Archbishop expressed the hope that the civil power would abstain from exacting the oath but added that if it should be otherwise, he was ready to give counsel and assistance.[13] The general view of the Catholic clergy was clearly stated by one of their leaders, Father Pierre De Smet. "The priests are generally agreed," he wrote, "that, on principle, such an oath cannot be taken, because our authority does not emanate from the State, and we cannot, without compromising the ecclesiastical state, consent to take it. No Catholic priest in Missouri will take it. * * * * * If this cruel law is really enforced our churches will have to be closed and our schools and colleges will be ruined."[14]

The Episcopal clergy turned for guidance to Bishop Hawks. The bishop himself had taken the oath of loyalty but was opposed to what he termed its retroactive features and its application only to particular classes.[15] His advice was that all ministers who could take the oath conscientiously should do so; if not, then they should not take it.[16] "I hope

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[11]*Missouri Statesman*, August 4, 1865.

[12]J. J. O'Shea: *The Two Kendricks* (Philadelphia, 1904), pp. 296-297.

[13]For the full text of this letter, see the *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1865, (New York, 1866), p. 591.

[14]*Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J.* Edited by H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, 4 vols., (New York, 1905), Vol. IV, pp. 1444-1445.

[15]Hawk's views appear in the *Missouri Democrat* for August 30, 1865.

[16]*Ibid.*

that it (the test oath) may soon be repealed," he wrote, "and that, in the meantime, the civil authority will not attempt to enforce it."[17] A prominent clergyman of St. Louis, the Reverend Montgomery Schuyler, expressed well the situation confronting a large group of his associates when he declared: "Now the question is being agitated among the clergy of the various denominations, and of our own Church, whether a true regard to our own rights and perogations does not demand that we should refuse compliance with an exaction which so clearly infringes upon our liberty as citizens and so unjustly proscribes us as a class. * * * * The simple question is, am I bound to submit to such an unjust exaction and thereby admit that my right and duty to preach the Gospel and perform the ministrations of my office is limited by the construction which any body of men, no matter by what authority convened, may choose to put upon my loyalty?"[18]

During the summer of 1865 the "iniquities" of the new constitution were brought sharply before the people of Missouri. The opponents of Radicalism concentrated their attacks on the oath of loyalty, and especially upon its application to the clergy. Certain church organizations began formally to oppose the oath The General Association of the Baptist Church of Missouri, at its annual session, held in August, 1865, closed its deliberations with a lengthy protest against the test oath, in the form of an *Address to the Baptist Churches of the State.* The provision of the constitution was declared to be unconstitutional, unjust, and an arbitrary interference with religious liberty.[19] During the summer of

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Quoted from William Schuyler: *An Ambassador of Christ,* (New York, 1901), p. 234. Murray Hoffmann, of the New York Bar, to whom Schuyler wrote, maintained that the test oath added a new punishment for former offenses and was an ex post facto law. *Ibid,* pp 235-236. Schuyler took the oath not caring to suffer "a useless martyrdom" for violating the constitution, but entered a public protest against it. *Missouri Republican,* August 29, 1865.

[19] W. M. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri,* (St. Louis, 1870), Vol. II, pp. 321-322. For further information concerning the Baptists, see W. Pope Yeaman: *A History of the Missouri Baptist General Association,* (Columbia, Mo., 1899), pp. 124-128.

1865, many of the district associations of the Baptist church also issued formal statements which voiced their unqualified disapproval of the test oath, while only a small minority of the districts endorsed it.[20] "The new constitution of the State of Missouri," wrote a Baptist leader, "forced upon the people of the State without their consent, is nothing more than a systematic oppression and persecution of the ministry of the gospel under color of law * * * * * it undertakes to do what no constitution in this country has ever undertaken, that is, to establish political tests for the ordinary pursuits of life."[21] At the St. Louis conference of the Methodist Church, South, the test oath was the chief topic of interest, and the Bishop's sermon strongly protested against any action which would tend to put the temporal power above the spiritual power.[22]

In the meanwhile, the advocates of the oath of loyalty did not remain silent. It was early evident that those who, like Kendrick and Hawks, hoped for a deliberate policy of non-enforcement of the constitutional provisions, had failed utterly to comprehend the Radical attitude. Their hopes were rudely shattered by the vehement declarations of Governor Fletcher. To dispel any idea of leniency in the enforcement of the test oath, the governor stated in words which could not be misunderstood that the exact provisions of the entire constitution would be carried out with all the power at his command.[23] Fletcher justified his uncompromising attitude on the rather reasonable assumption that, pending a decision by a higher judicial tribunal, the constitution was valid and that it was his duty to use the entire legal and military authority of the State to uphold the con-

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[20]R. S. Duncan: *A History of the Baptists in Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1882), p. 919. It was alleged that only thirty of the five hundred Baptist ministers favored the oath.

[21]W. Pope Yeaman in the *Baptist Monthly*, (Covington, Kentucky, 1865), Vol I, pp. 161-162.

[22]*Missouri Democrat*, August 28, 1865. See also W. H. Lewis: *The History of Methodism in Missouri*, (Nashville, 1890), pp. 215-217.

[23]*Missouri Democrat*, August 1, 1865. During the summer of 1865, Fletcher reaffirmed in numerous speeches this general view and defended the new constitution as an admirable document.

stitution and to enforce the laws.[24] "Religious liberty is a political right," asserted the governor, "and when these outraged gentlemen go to the Supreme Court of the United States with their complaint, they will be told that there is not a sentence or a word in the Constitution of the United States which gives them the right to preach at all. That it (the test oath) is an infringement of religious liberty secured to any person by the Constitution of the United States, I deny."[25] He reinforced his arguments by the discomforting suggestion that arrangements would be made for enlarging the penitentiary to accommodate all clergymen and teachers who refused to take the oath while continuing the functions of their offices.[26] The governor's course was quite generally approved by the Radical press, especially by the newspapers of St. Louis which supported that party. The test oath was defended as a proper measure of protection to the loyal citizens of Missouri and those who opposed it were comprehensively condemned as "rebels" and "traitors."[27] During the months following the adoption of the Constitution, Radical opinion sustained with emphasis, and, in many instances, with unanimity the assertions of its leaders.

Among certain groups of the clergy there were some attempts to justify the test oath. Those ministers who, in general, endorsed the principles of Radicalism if they did not approve of its methods, denied that the framers of the Constitution intended to infringe upon religious liberty. "They framed this merciless test oath," declared a prominent Baptist clergyman, "to hold in check the rebellious pro-slavery element of the commonwealth until the new order of

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[24]Perhaps the best statement of Governor Fletcher is to be found in a letter to the editors of the *Missouri Democrat* which appeared on August 25, 1865.

[25]Quoted from the *Letter of F. P. Blair to the People of Missouri*, (St. Louis, 1865) p. 1.

[26]*Missouri Statesman*, August 11, 1865. The governor's belligerent pronouncement made him the subject of sharp criticism by the numerous opponents of the test oath.

[27]See for example the *Missouri Democrat*, August 1, 7, 28, 1865.

things had become thoroughly established."[28] The reason for the application of the test oath to clergymen was explained by the fact that "a majority of them throughout Missouri were disunionists and used their office to influence rebellion."[29] The State was thus justified in restricting those who had sought to destroy the Union. The chief endorsement of the oath came from the Northern Methodists, and a small faction of Presbyterians and Baptists.

The Constitution provided for an interval of sixty days during which time the professional classes affected were to subscribe to the oath of loyalty.[30] This period ended on September 2, 1865. On that day, it was announced that in St. Louis scarcely one-fourth of the clergy had taken the oath and that no priest or bishop of the Catholic church or minister of the Methodist Church, South, or of the Christian church had subscribed to it.[31] The various ministers conducted their services just as though there was no oath in existence, and only one clergyman in St. Louis made any formal recognition of the situation.[32]

Shortly after the constitutional provisions became operative, the attention of the entire state suddenly was attracted to the enforcement of the oath of loyalty in Pike County and to the somewhat dramatic consequences which resulted. John A. Cummings, "a very modest, gentlemanly looking little fellow, of about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age," was the priest of the local Catholic parish at Louisiana. On September 3, Cummings preached before his congregation without having subscribed to the oath. The

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[28]Galusha Anderson: *The Test Oath of Missouri* in the *Baptist Quarterly*' (Philadelphia, 1867), Vol. I, p. 286. Writing many years later, Anderson maintained that persecution was not intended by the Radicals. See *A Border City During the Civil War*, (Boston, 1908), p. 358.

[29]Quoted from the *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. I p. 288. "Many ministers over the state had, in one way or another supported the rebellion, and were now suffering for that and foi nothing else." Anderson: opp. cit. p. 358. Anderson was the recognized leader of that element in the clergy who accepted the test oath and defended it.

[30]Art. III, sec. 7.

[31]*St. Louis Dispatch*, September 2, 1865.

[32]*Ibid.*

following week, he was indicted by the Grand Jury of Pike County, taken to Bowling Green, and arraigned before Judge Fagg, of the Circuit Court. When the indictment was read to him, Father Cummings pleaded guilty and delivered a brief address to the court wherein he sought to show that his arraignment was a violation of his constitutional rights and a persecution of the Catholic church. Senator Henderson, who replied to Cummings, emphatically denied that persecution was intended and maintained that the provisions of the constitution applied to all and would be enforced against all, Protestant and Catholic alike.[33]

Under the provisions of the constitution, the penalty for violating the oath of loyalty clause was a fine of $500.00 or a prison sentence of six months, or both.[34] Judge Fagg levied a fine of $500.00 against Cummings who would not permit his friends to pay it. He was, therefore, placed in jail and persistently refused to accept bail, pending an appeal to the Supreme Court of Missouri. "He would not give bail and absolutely quarreled with the sheriff because he did not imprison him promptly enough," was the report of one interested observer.[35]

When the news of the Cummings case spread over the state it provoked widespread discussion and the public mind was filled with the deepest interest. The details were placed before the people with all the embellishments that the newspapers were able to add, and the remote regions of the state soon became familiar with the particulars. The Cummings case is significant because it was the first one which tested the constitutionality of the test oath for clergymen, and to

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[33]For full accounts of the earlier aspects of the Cummings case, see *Missouri* Democrat, September 20, 1865. *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 18, 27, 1865; *Louisiana True Flag*, September 16, 23, 1865. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 341-44.

[34]Article II, section 14.

It is apparent that considerable pressure was brought to bear on Cummings to have him accept bail and offers for financial and legal assistance were made both by Catholic and by Protestants. See Robert A. Campbell's Speech in the *Proceedings of the Conservative Convention*, (St. Louis, 1865), p. 27, *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 27, 1865.

[35]*Louisiana True Flag*, September 16, 1865.

conservatives, he was "the first victim of the tyranny of the new Constitution."[36] There was a general outcry among the different religious denominations against the arrest of Cummings and much public sentiment was expressed in his favor as well as unqualified and bitter disapproval of the Radical policy in enforcing the test oath. Archbishop Kendrick supported strongly the actions of "the rebellious priest" and was instrumental in having the case appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri.[37]

The Radicals, meanwhile, commended the rigid enforcement of the oath of loyalty and approved the gratuitous rigor of the methods employed. To call into question the issue of ecclesiastical liberty was but "an impudent assumption of white traitors with black, treasonable hearts."[38] In the radical strongholds of northwestern Missouri, the arrest of Cummings was cordially endorsed and the demand was voiced for the enforcement of the new constitution.[39] Elsewhere in the state, also, Radicals hastened to reaffirm their belief in stringent measures for the protection of Missouri from the baneful activities of "rebel" and "disloyal" preachers.[40] An important element among them wished to justify the test oath from a legalistic point of view without arguing the merits of any particular application of it. This group consistently maintained that a church was simply an association of individuals entertaining certain religious views and engaging in certain religious ceremonies, while claiming divine authority both for the faith and for the practice in which they indulged. Every member of a Church, whether bishop, priest, elder, or layman was a citizen of the State, and amenable, therefore, to every law on the statute books.

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[36] *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 18, 1865.

[37] J. J. O'Shea: *The Two Kendricks*, pp. 296-297; *Life of Reverend Peter Richard Kendrick*, anonymous, (St. Louis, 1891), p. 28.

[38] *Louisiana True Flag*, September 9, 1865.

[39] *Holt County Sentinel*, September 15, 1865. *Missouri Democrat*, October 10, 1865. *Macon Argus*, December 13, 1865.

[40] See the *St. Louis Dispatch*, September 24, 1865, for a typical illustration of Radical sentiment in southern Missouri, as embodied in a series of resolutions in county conventions.

There was no civil duty from which a churchman of any rank or position could claim exemption on the mere ground that he was connected with a religious organization. If the State, in behalf of the common good, required that the *pursuits* of individual citizens be regulated it acted entirely within its powers and violated no constitutional rights whatever.[41]

If Cummings and his advisers actually desired to bring forward the question of the oath of loyalty and to make him a "martyr," the somewhat spectacular method they employed, whether or not prearranged, proved rather successful. Walking about the streets of Bowling Green or giving bond and returning to Louisiana was not martyrdom. But to languish in jail, with horse thieves and other violators of the laws, as an alleged victim of Radicalism, served to give the oath of loyalty a widespread, and, in many respects, a notorious publicity. There was a considerable amount of loose talking and arrogant assertions on the subject both by conservatives and by Radicals.[42] After remaining in jail several days, arrangements were made for securing bond for Cummings. He was released, pending the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri to which tribunal his case had been appealed, on a motion in arrest of the judgment pronounced by the circuit court.

Before the contentious and prolonged discussion over the Cummings case had died away, the conservative elements in Missouri had commenced formally to organize in opposition to the Radical party. The proclamation calling together in a convention those who favored Andrew Johnson's plan of reconstruction and who opposed the Radical regime, in the State, was especially severe in its criticism of the test oath.[43] In session three days, the convention was largely concerned

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[41]Perhaps the best expression of this view is in the communications of George R. Strong, a St. Louis lawyer and Radical leader, to the Presbyterian Synod of Missouri, printed in the *Missouri Democrat*, September 6, 11, 27, 1865.

[42]The Cummings case, from the beginning, was rather widely discussed in many journals outside of Missouri, and comments upon it were frequently, and, for the most part, extremely partizan and unreliable.

[43]*Missouri Statesman*, October 13, 1865.

with a discussion of Radicalism, the new constitution, and the oath of loyalty.[44] When it adjourned, no one could doubt that a demand for the total abolition of the test oath for all professional classes would constitute one of the chief planks in the platform of the emerging Conservative Union Party.

Late in October, 1865, the case was argued before the Supreme Court of Missouri, sitting at St. Louis.[45] Cummings' attorney insisted that the oath of loyalty for clergymen was in violation of the Bill of Rights of the Missouri constitution, because it invaded a field "of those fundamental rights which belong to the citizen as a man, and not as a member of a political society."[46] He declared, further, that the oath for clergymen violated that provision of the federal constitution which prohibits a state from enacting an *ex post facto* law.[47] The State of Missouri punished an offense previously committed by a penalty not prescribed at the time of the commission of the act. Finally, it was urged that the provisions concerning the test oath were a bill of attainder in that they declared a forfeiture of the right to preach or teach as a bishop, priest, or deacon.[48]

Counsel for the State contended that there was nothing in the federal constitution to prohibit a state from restricting, or even prohibiting, the exercise of any trade or profession, or from prescribing the qualifications of persons who engaged in professions.[49] The somewhat narrow view was advanced that the provisions of the Missouri constitution were not *ex post facto* in character because they did not provide any punishment for past offenses but only for a violation of existing law.[50]

[44] See the *Proceedings, Conservative Convention,* (St. Louis, 1865), passim.

[45] (1865) *Missouri v. Cummings,* 36 Missouri 164.

[46] *Ibid,* p. 164.

[47] *Ibid,* p. 166.

[48] *Ibid,* p. 167.

[49] *Ibid,* p. 169. It had been held by the Missouri court in an earlier case, *Austin v. The State,* that it was in the power of the Legislature to prohibit or restrict the exercise of professions and trades within the State and in *Simmons v. The State* that the practice of law was a grant of privilege which could be revoked, amended, or restricted, (1846) 10 Missouri 370, (1848) 12 Missouri 174.

[50] *Ibid,* p. 168.

The opinion in the case was rendered by a unanimous court.[51] Speaking through Judge Wagner, the court denied, first, that the provisions of the constitution were a bill of attainder because they merely imposed certain prescribed acts as prerequisites for doing certain things. No estates were confiscated; no forfeitures were declared; no pains and penalties inflicted.[52] The court dismissed the contention that the oath of loyalty was *ex post facto* legislation on the ground that the oath had been placed in the constitution for future protection and not as a punishment for any past offense.[53] The state, in imposing restrictions and conditions on its citizens in the exercise of their callings and professions, was acting in the field of municipal regulation and for the public good.[54] Finally, the court refused to consider the doctrine that the provisions of the constitution were void because they were contrary to justice and to the fundamental principles of our institutions, or were inexpedient, oppressive, and unjust.[55]

The decision in the Cummings case was regarded by the Radicals as a final settlement of the issue and a frank warning to non-juring preachers promptly to obey the laws of the State.[56] Leading conservatives saw in the decision but another manifestation of partizan intolerance and looked on

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[51]The three members of the Supreme Court—Justices Wagner, Lovelace, and Holmes—were Radicals. They had been appointed in June, 1865, when, under the "ousting ordinance" of the constitutional convention, all the judicial offices in the State had been declared vacated and the governor authorized to fill the vacancies. The enforcement of the provisions of this ordinance had aroused considerable hostility. For a full discussion of this, see T. K. Skinker: *The Removal of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1865*. Missouri Historical Society Collections, vol. IV, pp. 253-270 (1914).

[52](1865) 36 Missouri 170.

[53]*Ibid*, p. 171.

[54]*Ibid*, p. 172.

[55]*Ibid*, p. 174. "It is not for the judiciary to inquire whether laws violate the general principles of liberty or natural justice, or whether they are wise and inexpedient or not." Some weeks before the decision in the Cummings case, the court had upheld the provisions of the constitution requiring attorneys to subscribe to the oath of loyalty. See *State v. Garseche*, (1865) 36 Missouri 159.

[56]*Democrat*, November 1, 1865.

the verdict as conclusive evidence that the judiciary had fallen under the complete sway of the Radicals.[57]

Notwithstanding the constitutional provisions concerning the oath of loyalty and the favorable verdict of the Supreme Court, so cheering to many, every Radical came shortly to see that the enforcement of the test oath on any extended scale, and with any reasonable degree of uniformity, was little short of impossible. During the latter months of 1865, both before and after the decision of the Supreme Court, no definite or settled policy toward the enforcement of the oath was put into execution by the Radical organization. Despite the vehemence and ostentation of certain Radical leaders, the operation of the law, from the beginning, proved very unequal. Generally speaking, in those sections where conservatism predominated and where local officials were either hostile or indifferent to the test oath, it was openly ignored. Local sentiment often became the chief factor which controlled the enforcement of the legally enacted policy of the State, while locally elected prosecuting attorneys failed to prosecute and locally selected grand juries adjourned without finding indictments against clergymen accused of violating the fundamental laws of the State.[58] In those communities where violent opposition to the oath of loyalty existed, its enforcement was often disregarded, or carried out in a most indifferent manner. "It is inoperative," declared Frank P. Blair, whom the Radicals regarded as their most notorious and dangerous foe. "Every preacher in the State continues to preach. In St. Louis, preachers of the Gospel preach and pray and perform the marriage ceremony, and there is no Grand Jury there that will indict them for the

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[57]For a typical comment, see the *Statesman*, November 17, 1865.

[58]For additional evidence on this situation, which continued for over a year, see *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1865, (New York, 1866) p. 592; *Encyclopaedia of Missouri History*, (St. Louis, 1901), vol. I, p. 927; *Life of Father DeSmet*, vol. IV, p. 1462; *Northwest Conservator*, September 9, November 25, 1865; *Peoples Tribune*, October 18, 1865. *Christian Advocate*, January 4, 11, 18, 25, February 8, March 29, July 29, 1866. Thomas Shackelford, *Early Recollections of Missouri, Mo. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. II, p. 13.

offense."[59] After the oath had been in effect several weeks Father De Smet in St. Louis, could write to his brother that "the sad circumstances do not in the least interfere with our ordinary tranquility.....Our churches remain open and we preach and administer the sacraments as usual. We pray and keep our patience, under the wings of the eagle, the emblem of the Constitution of the United States."[60] And, as the weeks passed, the situation tended more and more to indicate the great difficulty in the uniform and effective enforcement by local agencies of a state policy which clearly conflicted with the views of particular communities of people whom it affected.

When it was definitely seen that the provisions of the constitution were being openly ignored in many sections of the State, or, when enforcement was attempted, it resulted in meagre success but incurred a considerable amount of bitter feeling and local hostility, radical opinion became somewhat divided. Certain elements in the Radical party seemed loath to accept the accomplished facts, and apparently regarded the situation as one which might indicate a new re-

[59]Quoted in *Missouri Democrat*, October 23, 1865, from an address delivered by Blair at Rolla on October 19, 1865. The Grand Jury of St. Louis County was in session two weeks in September, 1865, and adjourned without finding a single indictment against a minister, teacher, or deacon, *Christian Advocate*, September 28, 1865, *Ibid*, October 19, 1865. It was claimed that there had been at least two thousand violations of the Constitution in St. Louis County, and but one indictment, preferred at the request of S. T. Glover, *Republican*, October 16, 1865. "We conclude that in other portions of the State a few vindicative and violent partisans have stirred up two or three prosecutions and are harassing innocent people. * * * * It is now manifest that what was intended for a tradegy has turned out to be a farce," *Ibid*. Several months later, it was reported that but one Presbyterian clergyman in St. Louis had taken the oath, while the remainder were preaching as formerly, and were supported by their congregations. *Central Presbyterian*, in *Christian Advocate*, February 18, 1866. The open violations of the test oath in St. Louis were not confined to the clergy but extended to corporation directors and lawyers. It was claimed that only one indictment had been found in St. Louis County and that had been in a case to test the constitutionality of the oath for lawyers.

[60]*Life of Father De Smet*, vol. IV, p. 1446.

"A few preachers have subscribed to the oath; only a few, however, proportional to the whole number." Quoted from *Christian Advocate*, November 16, 1865. "It has been taken by comparatively few ministers in the State. None of the Catholic bishops or priests have taken it; a very few, if any, of the M. E. Church, South, have taken it; and only a small portion of the Presbyterians and Baptists have done so," *Ibid*, November 11, 1865.

bellion. "Are we to have another rebellion," inquired an indignant Radical leader in southwestern Missouri, "Have we again to chastise these traitors? If so, the sooner the work is begun the better. Forbearance only gives encouragement to them in their efforts to disturb the quiet of the state."[61] Strong sectional feeling was also an important factor in the situation as the chief opposition to Radicalism came from the river counties of Missouri, the former Whig stronghold and the region of conservatism.[62] Staunch advocates of Radical policies in all sections of the state supported strongly the rigid enforcement of the test oath for the clergy and unsparingly denounced all efforts to evade the law.[63]

The more moderate among the Radicals watched with increasing concern the rapid spread of opposition to their party and to its program. Some of them began seriously to question the advisability of attempting to enforce the constitutional provisions, others frankly advocated an early amendment to the fundamental law which would repeal the obnoxious oath in so far as the clergy were concerned. During the earlier part of the struggle over the ratification of the Constitution, certain powerful leaders in the Radical party, notably Senators Brown and Henderson, had opposed its adoption but their opposition had been officially withdrawn during the campaign.[64]

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[61]Quoted from the *Springfield Journal*, in the *Missouri Statesman*, September 15, 1865.

[62]This excludes, of course, the city of St. Louis where the Radicals found scant sympathy and little support. "The returned rebels, bushwhackers, robbers, and murderers of Boone, Callaway, and other rebel counties on the river—these are the men who are coming to the rescue when these arch traitors are arrested for violating the Constitution." Quoted from the *Missouri Journal*, in the *Missouri Statesman*, September 15, 1865.

[63]*Holt County Sentinel*, September 15, 1865; *Louisiana True Flag*, September 9, September 15, September 23, 1865.

"Both before and since the adoption of the new Constitution," it was claimed, "the rebel conservative leaders and press have counselled and advised violent opposition to many of its most important provisions. The whole of what is termed the Conservative element of the State has been urged to set at defiance plain provisions of the Constitution, and that element has been thoroughly imbued with the idea that the new Constitution was of no force or validity whatever." Quoted from the *True Flag*, September 23, 1865.

[64]See the *Missouri Statesman*, April 21, 1865; the *Missouri Democrat*, April 24, 28, May 3, 1865; *Missouri Republican*, May 10,1865.

During the autumn of 1865, however, in the period of attempted or of actual enforcement of the oath of loyalty some of these former opponents incurred the hostility of the Radical machine by proposing amendments to the constitution providing for the repeal of the test oath for the clergy. The leader in this movement was Senator Benjamin Gratz Brown, who already had fallen into disfavor with the spokesmen of Radicalism in the State. In an open letter to Governor Fletcher, Brown expressed clearly the attitude of an increasingly large number of the more independent Radicals toward the oath of loyalty. "I am devoted to civil and religious liberty on principle," he wrote, "and cannot consent to violations of either, no matter how dear they may be to the ruling prejudices of the times; and it is the initial of such infractions that should be opposed, for when once hedged about by other interests, and connected, even in the imagination, with political power, they become difficult to uproot."[65] A prominent St. Louis clergyman, Henry A. Nelson, a Radical of like views, complained to the governor[66] that the oath touched directly upon what many believed to be their liberty of conscience and involved other considerations than the question of disloyalty.[67] Senator John B. Henderson, whose opinion on the question had remained somewhat vague, characterized the oath for the clergy as "unwise" but did not openly advocate its repeal.[68] His aggressively apologetic attitude satisfied neither Radicals nor Conservatives and resulted in the thorough distrust of Henderson by both groups.

Nor did the oath of loyalty lack advocates among certain of the clergy. Formal endorsement was given at several religious conferences held throughout the State. Most of these gatherings styled themselves as Conventions or Conferences of "loyal" ministers and declared their adherence to the very letter of the Constitution. Some of these meetings

[65]For the full text of the letter, see W. M. Leftwich: *Martyrdom in Missouri*, vol. II, pp. 323-324.

[66]*Ibid.* p. 325.

[67]*Missouri Statesman*, October 6, 1865.

[68]*St. Joseph Herald*, November 3, 1865.

were held in counties where the test oath was openly opposed, others in localities where public sentiment supported it. The clergy who dominated the conferences regarded the activity of those who sought the repeal of the oath as a malicious attack on the welfare of the State and pledged their aid in a stringent enforcement of all law as the only certain way of counteracting the dangerous activity of the Conservatives.[69]

The adjourned session of the General Assembly, convening shortly after the decision in the Cummings case, was under the thorough control of a large Radical majority in both houses. The message of Governor Fletcher contained several recommendations of importance for the consideration of the party. In regard to the test oath for the clergy, Fletcher was content merely to summarize the situation and to declare that "the future good of the State requires that the question of the right of the people to make it (the oath of loyalty) be now definitely settled by the Supreme Court of the United States."[70] The chief executive advocated that the legislature submit an amendment to the constitution which would exempt from the requirements of the test oath all persons who held stock in private corporations as well as all professors and teachers in colleges and schools not supported in any way by the nation, state, or locality.[71] There was a striking difference between the tone of the governor's speeches during the summer and early autumn of 1865 and the rather conciliatory attitude of his message. Events were soon to show, however, that he had misjudged Radical feeling. Despite the somewhat widespread ferment in the State over the oath of loyalty, the Radical leaders in the Legislature and elsewhere showed no inclination whatever to modify its provisions or to support any program which might

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[69]Detailed accounts of these meetings may be found in the *Missouri Democrat*, November 3, 7, 8, 1865; *True Flag*, September 9, 30, 1865; W. M. Leftwich, opp. cit. vol. I, p. 368; R. S. Duncan, opp cit. p. 689-90.

[70]*House Journal*, Adj. Session, 23rd Gen. Assembly, (Jefferson City, 1865-6), p. 21.

[71]*Ibid*, pp. 21-22.

endanger their supremacy and political power.[72] The unenthusiastic response to his suggestion must early have convinced Fletcher that he was no longer a factor of considerable importance in the affairs of his party.[73]

Soon after convening, a special committee on the Constitution was appointed in each House to consider all motions, bills, or resolutions concerning the constitution, and any proposed amendments to it.[74] With an ample majority of Radicals on each of these committees, a feeling of security prevailed in their ranks. The Conservatives, hopelessly outnumbered and outvoted, endeavored persistently to annoy and to irritate the Radicals by various resolutions and bills. The resolution of their leader in the House, Charles P. Johnson, of St. Louis, which proposed to abrogate by constitutional amendment the test oath for preachers, teachers, and lawyers was postponed from time to time by the Radicals, until within a few days of the close of the session when it suffered a pre-emptory defeat.[75] All proposals made to change or amend the whole or any part of the Constitution were alike fruitless.

In the prolonged and controversial debates on the Conservative measures, numerous manifestations of open hostility toward the clergy were in evidence. Johnson's appeal for a constitutional amendment repealing the test oath met with strong opposition. "No class of people between heaven and earth, or outside of heaven or hell," declared Colonel Babcoke, a Radical legislator, "deserve the curse of God more than disloyal ministers and no class deserve sympathy less than this class. If they can not take the oath, they should go and seek a home elsewhere.....I never want to see that clause amended which requires ministers to take the oath. I want to see it stand until the heavens fall.

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[72] *Missouri Democrat*, November 6, 1865.

[73] *Ibid*, November 8,1865.

[74] *House Journal*, pp. 6, 8, 27, *Senate Journal*, pp. 8, 21.

[75] *Journal House*, pp. 74, 75, 158, 167, 178, 274, 296, 359, 412, 429, 830, 831, 907. See also, *An Authentic History of the Radical Legislature*, (St. Louis, 1866), pp. 4-5.

I never want a rebel preacher to have the right to vote in this State or anywhere else."[76] Scant sympathy was shown toward clergymen who could not or would not take the oath of loyalty, and the attitude of the Radicals in the Legislature was that if ministers would not conform to the requirements of the constitution, they should abandon preaching and "step down from their pulpits which many are not fit to occupy."[77] "I propose to stop just where we are," exclaimed a Radical leader early in 1866, "and to hold on to what we have and not to yield one inch of a correct position to these turbulent gentlemen. I propose to plant myself.....on the platform that none but loyal men shall rule this state; that rebels shall remain for the present just where they have placed themselves; and, moreover, that all men shall respect the law."[78] Conservatives in the state who watched with doubtful hope the proceedings of the Legislature soon became convinced that it was futile to expect a change in Radical policy. Interest and concern in the Cummings case, therefore, were revived.

The remaining weeks of 1865 constituted a period of comparative quiet. Shortly after the decision in the Cummings case, it became known that an appeal would be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The uncertainty and doubt which came soon to exist in regard to what would be the attitude of that tribunal toward the oath of loyalty hindered the Radicals in their attempts to formulate any very definite policy regarding its enforcement. It may be said that, during the fall of 1865, some ministers could and did take the oath in those localities where, for various reasons, such action was either necessary or prudent. Others refused to subscribe to it, or were not required to do so, and in either case public sentiment in the community supported their action. Several were arrested, indicted, and later brought to trial for failure to obey the provisions of the constitution.

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[76]Quoted from *Ibid*, p. 5.

[77]J. W. McMillen: *Amending the Constitution*, pp. 9-12. Pugh Collection. (St. Louis, 1866).

[78]Quoted from *Ibid*, p. 15.

It is extremely difficult to estimate with accuracy even the approximate number of clergymen of all denominations against whom the law was enforced in the period before March, 1866. Despite the pretentious assertation by a pronounced opponent of the oath "that hundreds of priests and preachers were indicted, arrested, and tried in the civil courts for preaching the Gospel," such procedure apparently was rather infrequently followed.[79] It seems evident that in approximately twenty-eight counties some thirty-six indictments were returned against ministers.[80]

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[79]W. M. Leftwich, opp. cit. vol. II, p. 341. Much of the prevailing literature on the subject is highly controversial and partizan. *Christian Advocate*, May 24, 1866.

[80]The counties, together with the names of the ministers, who were indicted and arrested, include: Bollinger, Reuben Watts; Buchanan, W. M. Leftwich, R. H. Weller, two unnamed Catholic priests; Carroll, W. C. Ligon, G. T. Kinnaird, T. A. Gaines, two others; Cass, A. H. Dean; Chariton, W. Penn; Clay, James Duvall, Isaac Odell, Allan Sisk; Clinton, J. A. Hughes; Cole, W. A. Miller; Cooper, James Morton; Daviess, B. F. Kenny; Gentry, James Ragan; Jackson, M. M. Pugh; Jefferson, J. C. Williams, D. J. Marquis; Knox, W. Newland; Lewis, W. A. Tarwater; Lincoln, W. H. Vardeman; Livingston, J. J. Hogan, J. D. Vincil; Madison, two unnamed ministers; Marion, J. H. Luther, W. N. Cronin; Monroe, W. J. Patrick; Montgomery, M. L. Eads; Phelps, one Catholic priest; Pike, J. A. Cummings; Ray, Isaac Odell, Allan Sisk; Saline, A. P. Williams; Scott, L. F. Aspley; Shelby, R. N. T. Holliday, Jesse Faubion, A. P. Williams; St. Charles, R. P. Farris. There were several others, perhaps some fourteen, "who had trials of cruel mockings, yea, of bonds and imprisonment" but about whom the writer could find no conclusive evidence. An earlier estimate maintains that one hundred indictments were pending at one time in Missouri. See *Encyclopeadia of Missouri History*, Vol. V., p. 170. An incomplete classification according to the religious denominations affected, indicates that indictments were filed against fifteen ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; eight Baptists; seven Catholic priests; two Presbyterians; one Episcopalian, one Christian. There were, of course, additional clergymen whose denomination is not known. For additional evidence see Leftwich, *opp. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 322-328, 334-337, 349-352; Vol. II, pp. 349-352, 356-357, 367-368, 374-378, 386-389, 398-409, 411-422. Lewis, *opp. cit.* pp. 212-213; Duncan, *opp. cit.* pp. 242, 618, 791, 927. J. J. Hogan: *On the Mission in Missouri*, (Kansas City, 1892) pp. 124-133; *Missouri Statesman*, September 29, November 24, 1865; *Northwest Conservator*, September 30, November 25, 1865. *Christian Advocate*, February 1, March 18, 1866; *People's Tribune*, October 25, 1865; *Hannibal Courier*, September 15, 1865. It was estimated on March 1, 1866, that from six hundred to one thousand ministers were preaching without first taking the oath. *Christian Advocate*, January 4, 18, March 1, 1866. In the enforcement of the law, special attention seems to have been given to Southern Methodist, Catholic, and Baptist clergy. The oath met its bitterest opposition from the southern Methodists and Catholics, *Christian Advocate*, October 10, 1866. The Catholics believed that the oath had been aimed directly at them, J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, (New York, 1892) vol. IV, pp. 611-12.

In some instances, arrests were made, but it was not difficult to secure bond and arrange to have the case considered at a subsequent session of the circuit court so that no situation equalled in interest or in significance the case of Father Cummings. It becomes obvious, therefore, that only a small percentage of the total number of clergymen in Missouri were "persecuted," although the methods of the most extreme among the Radicals and their written and spoken words aroused in conservative ranks a marked and definite hostility to the entire Radical regime.[81] The test oath constituted, in the main, a rather embarrassing problem for the Radical leaders. It became increasingly difficult to defend it, to say nothing of formulating a policy for its enforcement which, if adopted, could hardly be made effective in the face of local opposition. The conservatives systematically kept in the foreground the question of the constitutionality of the oath, and, in general, were rather successful in forcing the Radicals into a position of defense or of apology for it. Such was the situation in March, 1866, when the case came before the Supreme Court of the United States.

By this time, the salient features of the controversy were well known. The Cummings case had attracted interest and attention in many parts of the United States and a distinguished array of counsel, comprising David Dudley Field, Reverdy Johnson, and Montgomery Blair, appeared in behalf of the plaintiff in error.[82] The State of Missouri

[81]It should be noted that no figures are available which show the actual number of ministers who withdrew from their calling either because they could not take the oath or because they had theoretical reasons for refusing to take it; the latter being based, in large measure, on the ground that the oath interfered with religious freedom and the freedom of conscience. The clergy who had been arrested and released on bond continued to exercise their functions. *Christian Advocate*, March 15, 1866.

[82]Field and Johnson had participated in the Milligan case, which was argued about the same time (1866). 4 Wallace 2. Johnson had taken a leading part in *Ex parte Garland*. (1866) 4 Wallace 333. See *supra*, p. 42, B. C. Steiner, *Life of Reverdy Johnson*, (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 116-17; H. M. Field, *Life of David Dudley Field*, (New York, 1898), pp. 191-97. Blair, the brother of Frank P. Blair had long been prominent in national politics As a resident of Missouri, for several years prior to the war he was thoroughly familiar with the political situation in the state.

was represented by George P. Strong and Senator John B. Henderson. Strong was one of the leading lawyers of St. Louis, a member of the convention which adopted the test oath, and generally regarded as the ablest, if not the most vehement, of its advocates.[83]

The case of Cummings vs. The State of Missouri was argued before the court on March 15, 1866.[84] In presenting the argument for Cummings, Field undertook to show that the provisions of the Missouri constitution which imposed the oath as a condition of preaching or teaching as a minister of the Gospel, were in direct conflict with that part of the constitution of the United States which prohibited the States from passing any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law.[85] He maintained that to deprive Cummings by retroactive legislation of the right or privilege, whichever it might be called, of preaching as a Christian minister which he had hitherto enjoyed, constituted, in effect, a punishment.[86] Defining as an *ex post facto* law, any law which "renders an act punishable in a manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed," Field concluded that the test oath clearly was *ex post facto* legislation.[87] In the second place, it was argued by Field that "it was unquestionably beyond the competency of the State of Missouri, by any legislation, either organic or statutory, to enact, in so many words,.....that because Mr. Cummings, on some occasion, after it was made punishable, manifested such sympathy (with the rebellion) that he shall, without trial and conviction, be deprived of his profession. It must be equally incompetent to enact that all those Christian ministers who have thus acted shall be thus deprived." The test oath, therefore, was unconstitutional because it constituted a bill of attainder, that is,

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[83]The Legislature of Missouri appropriated funds to pay the fees of the counsel who were appointed by the governor to represent the state. *Senate Journal*, Adj. Session, 23 Gen. Assembly, pp. 359, 362. *House Journal, Ibid*, p. 446.

[84](1866) 4 Wallace 277.

[85]Art. I, sect. 10.

[86](1866) 4 Wallace 284-86.

[87]*Ibid*, 286.

it inflicted punishment without judicial trial.[88] Finally, both Field and Johnson denied that the provisions concerning the oath of loyalty could be defended on the ground of police power regulations because they declared that the real object of the test oath was to affect the person and not the calling, and because the requirements of the constitution were not regulations intended to secure fit occupants for responsible positions but rather to mete out punishment to certain individuals by excluding them from some of the benefits and privileges of society.[89]

For the State of Missouri, Strong contended that it was a reserved and exclusive right of a state to determine the terms and the conditions upon which members of the political body could exercise their various callings and pursuits.[90] The provisions of the Missouri constitution concerning the oath of loyalty were designed, said Strong, "to regulate the municipal affairs of the State, that is, to prescribe who .....shall mold the character of the people by becoming their public teachers."[91] He emphasized the view that every private calling was subject to such regulations as the state might see fit to impose.[92] The purpose of the oath of loyalty was not to punish past offenses but to provide for the future safety of the state by requiring that only those should enjoy the elective franchise, the offices, the positions of influence in the nature of public callings who had been loyal. It was denied both by Strong and by Henderson that the oath imposed a bill of pains and penalties or was *ex post facto* in character.[93] Senator Henderson, while admitting the test oath was extraordinary, perhaps unprecedented, endeavored to show the necessity for it.[94] The oath, he contended, had been called into existence by most unusual circumstances and

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[88] *Ibid*, 287-288.

[89] *Brief of David D. Field and Reverdy Johnson*, pp. 5-7, in File Copies of Briefs, Vol. V, 1866, in Library of the United States Supreme Court.

[90] 4 Wallace 293.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] *Ibid*, p. 294.

[93] *Ibid*, pp. 293-94, 297-305.

[94] *Ibid*, pp. 305-307.

conditions, and he drew a very striking picture of the struggle for ascendency in Missouri between the friends and the enemies of the Union. But his discussion of the situation was confined entirely to events which occurred before the close of the war, when a stringent oath of loyalty might have been reasonably regarded as a war measure and thus endured.[95]

Hardly had the case been presented before the Supreme Court when it was rumored from Washington that the oath would be declared unconstitutional by that high tribunal.[96] The conservatives, and, indeed, all the opponents of the oath of loyalty, felt a singular concern in the Cummings case because the test oath was commonly regarded as the key to the radical arch. A decision favorable to the conservatives would be a signal achievement toward the downfall of the Radical organization in Missouri; with this brightening prospect before them, the Conservatives, or the Conservative Unionists, as they were soon to be designated, began to take heart.[97] They were, therefore, bitterly disappointed when the Supreme Court adjourned in May, 1866, with the order that the case be held under advisement and continued to the next term.

This action indicated that no final decision could be expected before the end of the year and that the "iniquities" of the oath of loyalty would receive a prominent place in the issues of the state campaign of 1866. It became the policy

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[95] *Ibid*, p. 306. "The merchant in his store room talked treason to his customers; the school teacher installed its poison into the minds of his pupils; the attorney harangued juries in praise of those whose virtue demanded the great charters of English liberty, and denounced the spirit of this age for its submission to usurpation and tyranny. And even the minister of heaven, forgetting of what world his Master's Kingdom was, went forth to perform the part alloted to him in this great work of iniquity." As a matter of fact, test oaths for certain persons and offices were required in Missouri as early as 1862, although none equalled in severity the oath of loyalty in the new constitution.

[96] It will be observed that many failed properly to distinguish between the constitutionality of the oath for certain professional groups and its constitutionality for voters and office holders. It was hoped and believed in conservative circles that the court would declare unconstitutional the entire oath of loyalty and this idea became quite prevalent during the months of 1866. Certain later writers have implied that the oath was declared void in every aspect.

[97] *Missouri Statesman*, April 6, 18, 1866. *Liberty Tribune*, May 18, 1866. *St. Joseph Herald*, April 7, May 5, 1866. *St. Louis Republican*, April 3, 1866.

of the Conservatives to reaffirm emphatically that the test oath would be set aside by the Supreme Court. This idea was advanced by their leaders with persistent reiteration, amplified by much ingenuity and somewhat less learning.[98] General Blair, during the canvass, directed impressive onslaughts against the test oath and proclaimed with eloquence on every occasion that the Supreme Court had decided it to be unconstitutional which information of the court's action be had received from one of the Judges.[99] John Hogan, one of Missouri's two Conservative congressmen, made a similar prophecy, based partially upon evidence which only the most enthusiastic of his followers could accept[100] and partially upon the views of Reverdy Johnson.[101]

These conservative declarations proved highly irritating to the Radical leaders and brusque denials were entered by important elements in the Radical organization.[102] "There has been no decision of the questions involved," wrote,

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[98]*St. Joseph Herald*, May 5, June 9, 1866.

[99]*Missouri Democrat*, June 4, 1866. This information was alleged to have been given Blair by Mr. Justice Grier. *St. Joseph Herald*, September 21, 1866. Assuming that Blair was correct, it is interesting to note that at present the Court exercises every care to prevent advance information of its decisions from becoming known. It would be considered highly indiscreet and improper to violate the rule of secrecy regarding pending decisions. This policy, apparently, was not strictly observed by the Court prior to or during the period under discussion. For examples of the earlier practice, see R. E. Cushman: *History of the Supreme Court in Resume*, 7 Minnesota Law Review, 305, (1923). "It appears that as early as December, 1866, the *New York World*, the *Washington Chronicle*, and other papers announced that the constitutionality of the iron clad oath case had been decided by the Judges in conference, by a majority of five to four against the Radicals." Denials were promptly made by other papers. Charles Warren: *The Supreme Court in United States History*, (Boston, 1922), Vol. III, p. 172 N.

[100]"I tell you that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the oath of Missouri was unconstitutional. You have not seen it published; you will say that the Court has not made its decision; but I know that opinion was made, and I have it from the very best of sources. I have it from the Judges of the Supreme Court themselves." Quoted in *St. Louis Dispatch*, May 5, 1866, from a speech in St. Louis.

[101]*Missouri Statesman*, June 8, 1866, prints the letter from Johnson to Hogan. See also *Liberty Tribune*, May 18, 1866. It was alleged that Chief Justice Chase was responsible for the delay of the decision because of his desire to assist the Radicals of Missouri in the campaign of 1866, and to insure the election to the Senate of a Radical.

[102]See, for example, the *Missouri Democrat* for May and June, 1866. J. B. Henderson to W. P. Harrison in *St. Louis News*, June 14, 1866.

Senator Henderson. "So far as the voters oath is concerned there has been no argument in court, and can be none, for no case involving it has ever come here. I have no doubt at all of the legal validity of the voters oath whatever the court may think of the constitutionality of the oath so far as it effects professions, or rather the right to pursue them. I have no idea that any member of the court will hesitate for a moment to admit the right of a state to fix arbitrarily the qualifications of its voters."[103]

Indeed, during the summer and autumn of 1866, spasmodic attempts to enforce the provisions of the constitution continued in those portions of the state where the Radicals did not share the Conservatives' plausible and attractive view toward the expected opinion of the Supreme Court. There was apparently no very definite program upon which the Radicals had agreed but here and there indictments were found and an occasional arrest made. In view of the widespread unpopularity of the oath of loyalty for ministers, it can be questioned whether the Radicals actually gained by attempting enforcement upon even a most limited scale. The oath required of voters and of candidates for office was obviously of great political significance in the campaign of 1866 but little practical importance was attached to the oath for the clergy. Whatever the theoretical value and satisfaction which might accrue to the state from the knowledge that it possessed a completely "loyal" clergy was more than offset by the difficulties involved and the antagonisms aroused by a partial enforcement of the clauses in Article II of the Constitution.

In conservative strongholds, the oath of loyalty for ministers continued to be systematically ignored. The completeness with which the oath was disregarded was known to all. "Not one of the Catholic bishops, priests or ministers of any other denomination who preaches in St. Louis has been indicted in that county. Yet they preach every day and

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[103]Henderson to J. P. Whitney in *St. Louis News*, June 25, 1866.

Sunday, too."[104] A conservative leader in the interior of the State informed a political associate that it was confidently expected that the Supreme Court would declare all provisions of the test oath to be in conflict with the federal constitution, adding that "they are now disregarded in one-third of the State. In Boone, Howard, Callaway, Randolph, St. Louis, they are of no force."[105]

In fifteen counties, however, some effort was made to carry out the constitutional restrictions. Indictments were filed against approximately thirty-seven clergymen, and occasional jail sentences of very short duration were imposed.[106] The latter were due to the inability of some min-

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[104]Quoted from *Missouri Statesman*, May 11, 1866. See also De Smet; opp. cit. Vol. IV, p. 1462. "We have a great lever, public opinion. We know its power feel its potency. The new Constitution has shriveled before it; it is powerless in St. Louis. No preacher there has been dragged from the pulpit and incarcerated in dungeons; there are not ten ministers in that city who have taken the oath, yet they dare not arrest them," quoted from Blair's speech, at Richmond, October 22, 1866, *Conservator*, October 27, 1866.

[105]J. W. Henry to John F. Snyder, June 21, 1866, in *Snyder Papers*· "There is a strong prejudice in this county (Callaway) against ministers taking the oath; and it is doubtful whether any man, who has done so, could get an audience if the facts were known," C. Babcock to D. R. McNally, *Christian Advocate*, January 11, 1866. See also *House Misc. Docs.*, No. 39, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 51-53.

[106]The counties and the names of the ministers, where it has been possible to ascertain them, include: Andrew, Jesse Bird; Cape Girardeau, O'Regan, D. H. Murphy, P. A. Ryan, McGerry; Cooper, Hillner; Gentry, J. B. Christie, J. A. Mumpower; Jefferson, W. G. Walker, W. O. Gibson, Henry Brockhager, D. J. Marquis; Johnson, A. Munson, D. H. Murphy, three priests; Knox, Joseph Metcalf; Lewis, James Penn, A. Munroe; Linn, W. Perkins, W. E. Dockery; Madison, J. S. Frazier; Marion, H. A. Bourland, J. S. Green, twelve others; Moniteau, W. M. Robertson; Montgomery, B. H. Spencer, S. W. Cope, O'Neil. The denominations are: Methodist, south, eight; Catholic, eight; Baptist, seven; Presbyterian, two; unknown, twenty-four. Leftwich, *opp, cit.* Vol. I, pp. 311-13, 415-16; Vol. II, pp. 352-54; 403-05; 409-10; 413-14. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, pp. 515, 525. *History of Marion County*, (St. Louis, 1884) pp. 558-560. *History of Shelby County*, (St. Louis, 1884), p. 112. *Missouri Statesman*, May 11, June 11, August 10, 17, 1866; *Christian Advocate*, March 15, June 26, July 4, November 21; *Missouri Presbyterian*, in *Ibid*; *Linneus Union*, July 12, 1866; *Palmyra Spectator*, August 1, 1866; *Sedalia Press*, June 21, 1866. A group of conservative leaders informed Johnson that "not less than fifty ministers of various denominations are now under indictment or conviction for having been guilty of the crime of preaching the Gospel without having taken the oath * * * * * many took an active part in support of the Federal Government throughout the war but refused to sacrifice their religious freedom and become the slaves of a political faction," *Statement of Missouri Conservatives*, August, 1866, in *Johnson Papers*.

isters promptly to secure persons to sign a bond, and, in a few cases, to their refusal to do so.

The election of 1866 was a triumph for the Radicals. The Conservative Unionists were overwhelmed and the defeat brought dismay and despair to their leaders. In the new Legislature the Radicals secured a majority so large that it was difficult to control.[107] Supreme and secure behind the bulwarks of test oath and registry act, the Radical organization paid scant heed to conservative and "rebel" complaints. It became obvious that it would be difficult to secure a party endorsement for a policy which many powerful Radical leaders were certain to believe was but the first step in the breaking down of party supremacy. Nevertheless, Governor Fletcher in his message to the General Assembly took occasion strongly to urge that body to submit an amendment to the Constitution repealing the requirement of the oath of loyalty for lawyers, ministers, and teachers. "This section," he declared, "has not prevented disloyal persons from pursuing the avocations of lawyers and school teachers. *Bishops, priests, and ministers teach and preach without taking the required oath.*[108] . . The example offered by the disregard of unnecessary laws, especially by so intelligent and influential a class of citizens, begets a general disposition to exercise individual discretion in obeying or enforcing laws—a disposition which leads to anarchy and impunity in crime. This is one of the many oaths required by our Constitution and laws which is unnecessary, and which only familiarize the mind with the taking of oaths, thereby lessening their solemnity and impressiveness, and inducing perjury by creating a motive to swear falsely."[109]

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[107] *Missouri Statesman*, January 4, 1867.

[108] The italics are the writer's.

[109] *Senate Journal, 24th General Assembly*, (Jefferson City, 1867), pp. 15-16. Fletcher's opposition to the oath for ministers had not abated during 1866. In July, he wrote to Father O'Regan at Cape Girardeau that "the Constitution of the State only permits me to interfere 'after conviction.' I regret that it is so, as it would have been a real pleasure to me to relieve from further annoyance, from the indictments against him, the venerable and worthy Father McGerry, and whom you may assure I will do as soon as can be done legally." Quoted in *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

Despite the fact that in both houses the Radicals easily controlled the Committees on Constitutional Amendments, efforts were made early in the session to secure approval of a proposed amendment which would repeal outright the test oath provisions for lawyers, teachers, and ministers.[110] It was obvious that there would be little chance of such an amendment passing either house and the efforts made were received in a very perfunctory manner. Indeed, further agitation of constitutional change was rendered unnecessary by the announcement, on January 14, 1867, of the long awaited decision in the Cummings case.[111]

In an elaborate opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, the Court held that certain of the clauses in the second article of the Missouri constitution constituted, first, a bill of attainder within the meaning of the provision of the federal constitution; second, that they violated that section of the Federal Constitution prohibiting the passage by the States of an *ex post facto* law. The Court declared that the oath was, "for its severity, without any precedent that we can discover."[112] While admitting that the States could create qualifications or attach conditions for practicing certain callings, "the disabilities created by the constitution of Missouri must be regarded as penalties—they constitute punishment."[113] Defining a bill of attainder as a legislative act which inflicts punishment without a judicial trial, Mr. Field declared that "the existing clauses presume the guilt of the priests and clergymen, and adjudge the deprivation of their right to teach or preach unless the presumption be first removed by their expurgatory oath; in other words, they assume the guilt and adjudge the punishment conditionally."[114] The Court rejected the contention that a bill of attainder could be directed only against individuals by name,

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[110] *Journal Senate*, p. 42. *Journal House*, pp. 46, 61. *Missouri Statesman*, January 18, 1867.

[111] (1866) 4 Wallace 277.

[112] *Ibid*, p. 318.

[113] *Ibid*, p. 320.

[114] *Ibid*, pp. 323-325.

and held that it could be directed, as in the Cummings case, against a whole class.

The Court then proceeded to enter into an examination of the *ex post facto* qualities of the oath of loyalty.[115] An *ex post facto* law was defined as "a law which imposes a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed; or imposes additional punishment to that then prescribed; or changes the rules of evidence by which less or different testimony is sufficient to convict than formerly was required."[116] In the view of the Court, the clauses in the Missouri constitution were aimed at past acts and not at future acts.[117] Some of the acts to which the expurgatory oath was directed were not offenses at the time they were committed, and the clauses prescribing penalties for such acts, were within the terms of the definition of an *ex post facto* law because they "impost a punishment for an act which was not punishable at the time it was committed."[118] The requirements of the test oath imposed also an increase in the penalty prescribed for such of the acts specified as at the time constituted public offenses, and were thus *ex post facto*.[119] Finally, in assuming the parties were guilty and in calling upon them to establish their innocence, the provisions altered the rules of evidence, universally recognized.[120] Briefly restated, then, the substance of the opinion of the Court was that Mr. Cummings was punished by deprivation of his profession, for an act not punishable when it was committed, and by a legislative instead of a judicial proceeding.

In the opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Field, Justices Wayne, Grier, Nelson and Clifford concurred.[121] There was a vigorous dissenting opinion filed by Mr. Justice Miller, on behalf of himself, Chief Justice Chase, and Justices Swayne

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[115] *Ibid*, pp. 326-327.
[116] *Ibid*, p. 326.
[117] *Ibid*, p. 326.
[118] *Ibid*, p. 327.
[119] *Ibid*, p. 328.
[120] *Ibid*.
[121] The four concurring justices had been appointed prior to the war.

and Davis.[122] In the view of the dissenting judge, the test oath was desirable as a protection to the country and to the state against disloyal men. They regarded it as fixing a proper qualification for the practice of the professions and they denied that the constitutional provision was either a bill of attainder or an *ex post facto* law within the meaning of the federal constitution.[123]

The decision in the Cummings case was one of three very important opinions announced by the Court in December, 1866, and January 1867, the others being *ex parte* Milligan and *ex parte* Garland.[124] In the former case, it was unanimously held that military commissions and tribunals could not be instituted by the president in time of war in localities where the civil courts were open, while a bare majority of the Court also declared that Congress had no power to establish such bodies under similar conditions.[125] In *ex parte* Garland, the Court declared unconstitutional a statute of Congress which required a Federal test oath before an attorney would be permitted to practice in the United States Courts.[126] This statute was held to contravene the constitutional prohibitions of bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws.[127]

The Radicals, already supreme in both houses of Congress and regarding with confidence their struggle with the executive branch of the government, were highly indignant and resentful at the attitude of the Supreme Court. The conservative aspect of these decisions indicated that other radical projects of reconstruction were facing a similar fate and bitter resentment blazed forth against the Court. Severe and unmeasured attacks on the tribunal appeared,

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[122](1866) 4 Wallace 382. This opinion applied both to the Cummings case and to *ex parte* Garland. All of the dissenting judges were appointees of President Lincoln.

[123]*Ibid*, pp. 386, 389-392. See also Warren: *opp. cit.* Vol. III. p. 174.

[124](1866) 4 Wallace 2, 333.

[125]W. E. Dunning: *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*, (New York, 1904), pp. 45-49; Cushman, *opp. cit.*, p. 289.

[126]Warren: *opp. cit.* vol. III, p. 172.

[127]Dunning: *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, (New York, 1907), p. 89.

both in and out of Congress and statutes were advocated which sought to curtail the appellate jurisdiction of the Court.[128] Certain Radical leaders demanded the abolition of the Supreme Court, others declared for constitutional amendments limiting its original jurisdiction.[129]

When the news of the decision in the Cummings case reached Missouri, the conservatives hailed it with obvious joy. To them, the decision displayed admirably the complete freedom of the Court from the partisan bias of the legislative branch of the government. In the first moments of rejoicing, the assertion was confidentially made that the oath of loyalty in its entirety had been declared unconstitutional and that "the Radical regime of trickery, despotism, and fraud" had received its death blow.[130] An examination of the decision, however, warranted no such optimistic conclusion. The oath of loyalty, as a matter of fact, had been set aside in so far as it applied to clergymen, and, by similar reasoning, to lawyers and to teachers although the latter classes were not specifically mentioned in the opinion of the Supreme Court.[131] The decision in no way concerned the test oath as a qualification of suffrage, of office holding or any other political privilege.

The Radicals of Missouri saw in the decision but another manifestation on the part of the Court to defeat the will of the people; a process already carried too far by the president and his supporters.[132] Criticism of the judges who rendered the majority opinion was unsparing. This earlier and some-

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[128]Dunning: *Essays*, pp. 121-122. For examples of the criticisms directed against the Court, see Warren: *opp. cit.* vol. III, pp. 168-176.

[129]Dunning: *opp. cit.* pp. 121-122. E. P. Overholtzer: *A History of the United States since the Civil War*, (New York, 1917), vol. I, pp. 463-466.

[130]*Missouri Statesman*, January 25, 1867. *Liberty Tribune*, February 15, 1867. *Christian Advocate*, January 20, 1867.

[131]A test case involving the constitutionality of the oath for voters had been commenced in the fall of 1865, by Frank P. Blair. It had not yet been decided by the Supreme Court of Missouri when the decision in the Cummings case was announced. Blair, when the Missouri court decided against him, appealed to the United States Supreme Court. By an equally divided court, the decision of the lower tribunal, upholding the oath for voters, was allowed to stand. *Blair v. Ridgely*, (1867) 41 Mo. 63.

[132]*St. Louis Democrat*, January 16, 1867.

what depressing reaction of the Radicals to the decision was soon succeeded by a frank realization that, after all, no effective blow had been struck. So long as the oath of loyalty for voters remained in force and was administered by aggressively partizan Radicals, there was little to fear from the opposition of a relatively small professional group. Had no such decision been rendered, the restrictions upon preachers and attorneys would probably have been removed as a matter of policy. "The war is now over," admitted a prominent Radical journal, "and whether such restrictions were or were not legal and necessary during its continuance, the demand for them no longer exists, and the decision as confined to its legitimate scope and effect, would do but little practical harm."[133] Some Radical leaders were alleged to be openly relieved that the troublesome problem had been solved for them by the Supreme Court.[134]

When the decision in the Cummings case was made public, there were pending in the state circuit courts several score of cases which had been continued from time to time awaiting the verdict of the Supreme Court. Eleven circuit judges dismissed at once from the docket all cases involving the oath of loyalty for ministers.[135] In other instances, the State, through the prosecuting attorneys, entered a *nolle prosequi*, and the defendants were thereupon discharged.[136] At the sessions of the circuit courts held during the spring of 1867, in all the cases where a continuance had been ordered, dismissals were quietly made.[137] In October, 1867, the Missouri Supreme Court, in a sweeping decision which involved the oath of loyalty for ministers, lawyers, and teachers, recognized the authoritative force of the Cummings opinion and reversed the decision of a lower court by which a clergyman had been convicted and fined for

[133] *St. Louis Democrat*, January 16, 1867.
[134] *St. Louis Republican*, January 16, 1867.
[135] *Liberty Tribune*, May 3, 1867.
[136] Leftwich: *opp. cit.* vol. II, p. 412.
[137] For additional evidence, see Leftwich, *opp. cit.* vol. I, p. 313; vol. II, pp. 352, 358, 405, 412; Hogan, *opp. cit.* pp. 147, 152; *History of Marion County*, p. 559; Duncan, *opp. cit.* p. 130; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, p. 525.

preaching without having subscribed to the oath.[138] An elaborate opinion was given by Justice Holmes who accepted the authority of the Cummings case as establishing the rule in similar cases. The words of the Missouri court, announced eight months after the Cummings decision, brought to an effective close further legal controversy.

Partizan agitation concerning the test oath which had commenced in March, 1865, was thus ended. The meagre success of the constitutional restrictions was obvious both to radical and to conservative. The drastic requirements of the oath had been incorporated into the fundamental law of the State when the Civil War was in progress and a large portion of Missouri was the scene of actual strife. In a somewhat closely divided border state, certain ministers, lawyers, and teachers no doubt had sympathized with and given actual assistance to the Confederacy and their influence was deemed dangerous. It was doubtless contemplated that some time would be required for the complete restoration of peace and public order. To the framers of the constitution of 1865, the question was chiefly a matter of political judgment rather than a legal issue. The members of the convention and those who later voted to ratify the constitution regarded themselves as the loyal and patriotic portion of the body politic, engaged in the important task of saving the State from existing rebellion and future disorder.

[138] (1867) 41 Missouri 339. D. H. Murphy had been indicted in December, 1865, in Cape Girardeau county. A demurrer to the indictment had been overruled and the defendant pleaded not guilty. Upon conviction, he appealed to the Supreme Court. Five other cases were included in the decision concerning Father Murphy of which at least one, P. A. Ryan, involved a minister. *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1867, p. 522. *Christian Advocate*, November 14, 1866. In the reluctant abandonment of its earlier doctrine, the Court sought refuge in platitudinous discourse. A teacher who had been indicted and faced trial for refusing to take the oath while continuing the functions of her office was rescued from her unfortunate predicament when the Court further extended the principle of the Cummings decision so as to include teachers and professors in educational institutions. *State v. Heighland*, (1867) 41 Mo. 388. Finally, the Cummings case was recognized as binding in all cases where the right to exercise any trade, calling, or profession was involved. *State v. Neal*, (1868) 41 Mo. 118. Memories of the "martyrdom" endured by lawyers, preachers, and teachers remained and constituted a favorite and effective theme of Democratic orators for a quarter of a century.

There is no need to question their honesty of purpose despite the verdict on their judgment.

It is equally true that the oath of loyalty required of clergymen was severe and proscriptive in form and could be made to serve in some instances as a weapon against persons who, although obnoxious to the Radicals, were hardly disloyal. Further, the oath was never popular among influential elements in the Radical party and received constant criticism from them although those who controlled the organization officially supported it.

The enforcement of the test oath showed clearly that among particular communities there was a widespread disregard of the constitutional provisions. The experience of Missouri in this regard indicated the great difficulty of effective enforcement of a state policy, through locally elected agencies, if it stands in direct antithesis to the views of the people whom it affects. From the point of view of equal enforcement, the test oath was a distinct failure.

It has been somewhat of a tradition in Missouri history that the oath of loyalty was the creation of a group of Radical politico-religious fanatics and that it was supported and drastically enforced by a united Radical party, under whose direction a thorough and widespread persecution of innocent men was enthusiastically carried on. So far as can be ascertained, from the admittedly meagre evidence, some eighty-five ministers were indicted, all of whom were released on bond.[139] A great majority of the cases were never brought to trial, and the proportion of convictions to indictments was absurdly small. Two priests, Father Cummings and Father Murphy, and probably a third, Father Ryan, were tried and fined for preaching without first subscribing to the oath. Reverend A. Munson, Presbyterian, likewise was tried and fined $500.00.[140]

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[139]No claim whatever is made that the search has been exhaustive.

[140]It was estimated that of the fifteen hundred men in holy orders in Missouri, not one hundreth of them took the oath, but many made no effort to preach. *Christian Advocate*, February 13, 1867.

That the test oath for the clergy was generally regarded as extreme, unjust, and unprecedented by many whose loyalty to the Union could not be questioned will not be gainsaid. That it proved a distinct liability to the Radical party and was a political blunder is evident because the actual operation of the test oath was far less important than what people thought about it and thought about the Radicals for adopting it. But that there was any state-wide and systematic "persecution" of the clergy for the conscious purpose of destroying religious freedom must be regarded as a legend.

MISSOURI IN THE CONFEDERACY*

BY DAVID Y. THOMAS

In the closing days of December, 1860, W. Cooper, commissioner from Alabama, appeared at Jefferson City, Missouri, to consult with the authorities concerning "what is best to be done" by the slave-holding states to meet the "crisis which the action of the black Republicans has forced upon the country."[1] The outgoing governor, R. M. Stewart, received him courteously and sympathetically. The Legislature was to meet in a few days, but as Mr. Cooper wished to hurry back to Montgomery for the meeting of his state convention (January 1) he could not wait. For his accommodation there was an informal meeting of the members of the Legislature, most of whom were in Jefferson City. Mr. Cooper was heard at this meeting and resolutions were adopted to the effect that the matter would receive official attention in due time.

Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, who was inaugurated in January, 1861, was decidedly pro-Southern. The Legislature elected in 1860 was composed of men representing four parties, the Douglas Democrats, the Breckinridge Democrats, the Bell men, and Republicans, but they soon developed three groups—secessionists, unconditional Union and conditional Union men.[2] Believing that the State was with him Governor Jackson insisted on following the lead of the other Southern states in the calling of a convention. Within a week the Legislature passed a bill setting February 18th as the date for electing the convention and February 28th as the day for its assembling. Meantime several Northern states were offering men and money to the Federal government to aid in sup-

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**Research Paper No. 4, Journal Series.* University of Arkansas. Read in part at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City, March 30, 1923.

[1] *Rebellion Records, IV, 1, 24-6*

[2] *Confederate Military History, IX, 16f.*

pressing the movement for secession. In reply to this the Legislature, on motion of George G. Vest, regarded "with the utmost abhorrence the doctrine of coercion" and pledged the people of Missouri to rally to the side of their Southern brethren and to resist the invader at all hazard to the last extremity," the vote being 84 to 74.[3]

The gauntlet had been thrown down and in the campaign the right and advisability of secession were discussed thoroughly. The Southerners felt confident, but the Unionists went to work and Francis P. Blair kept his "Wide-Awakes" constantly awake and in motion. The result was an overwhelming majority against secession.

The Convention was composed of 99 members, all but 17 of whom were of Southern birth. Fifty-three were natives of Kentucky or Virginia. Only three were Germans. The economic interests of the conventions in South Carolina, Alabama, and the other states of the lower South were wrapped up in slavery. The feelings and natural inclinations of the Missouri Convention were naturally Southern, but many of the members represented people of wealth and social position whose primary interests were not bound to slavery. As one member said: "Feeling is temporary—interest is permanent." Another declared that, owing to their geographical situation, secession and adhesion to the Confederacy would mean annihilation.[4]

The Convention met at Jefferson City and organized, electing Sterling Price, a conditional Union man, president, and then adjourned to meet at St. Louis under the protection, not to say domination, of F. P. Blair.[5] After reassembling the Convention voted 63 to 53 to hear Mr. L. J. Glenn, commissioner from Georgia, who had come to seek the adhesion of Missouri to the cause of secession. A committee appointed to consider the matter made an adverse report, but this was never formally acted on, the Convention having taken steps binding the State to the Union.

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[3] *Confed. Mil. Hist., IX, 17-18.*
[4] *Ibid., 21.*
[5] *Carr, Missouri, 286.*

Before the election for the Convention Jackson made efforts in the Legislature to pass a bill authorizing the governor to organize and arm the militia, but failed. After the Convention met and adjourned to St. Louis another effort failed. However, the activity of Blair and the Germans in St. Louis aroused the Legislature and it passed a bill to create a board of police commissioners for St. Louis, appointive by the governor, giving them absolute control of the police and of the sheriff's officers.[6] The Southern rights men attempted to re-elect James S. Green to the United States Senate, but failed. The final result was the election of Waldo P. Johnson, who subsequently entered the Confederate Senate. The answer of Blair to the police bill was the turning of his "Wide-Awakes" into a military organization. The answer of the Southern element in St. Louis to this was the organization of the "Minute Men." Both organizations longed for the munitions of war stored in the arsenal but neither dared to seize them. To Lincoln's call for troops to suppress the rebellion Governor Jackson replied that "not a man would the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."[7]

He also called the Legislature in special session, sent a commission to Montgomery to ask for guns and mortars with which to reduce the arsenal, and ordered the officers of the militia to assemble their commands. When the guns and ammunition secured from the Confederacy arrived they were taken to Camp Jackson, whereupon Blair and Lyon promptly seized them. The Legislature now passed the long delayed militia bill and authorized the governor "to take such measures as he might deem necessary to repel invasion or put down rebellion" and denounced Blair and Lyon. It also provided a military chest, turning over the school fund and providing for a loan of $2,000,000. General Price now abandoned the Union and offered his services to Jackson. A conference at St. Louis between the governor and his

[6] *Confed. Mil. Hist., IX, 20-1.*
[7] *Ibid., 29.*

supporters and Blair and Lyon resulted in a virtual declaration of war. Jackson now called for 50,000 men of the state militia to repel the attack upon the State. He abandoned Jefferson City, knowing that General Lyon would soon attack it, and repaired to Boonville (June 5) later to Neosho.[8] The Convention which had adjourned subject to call now reassembled at Jefferson City, declared Jackson deposed (July 30), elected H. R. Gamble governor, dissolved the Legislature, assumed its powers, and continued to exercise them for over a year.

Governor Jackson now visited Richmond to secure aid and to negotiate for the admission of Missouri into the Confederacy. The Confederate government had been watching Missouri with anxious eyes and now (August 7, 1861) Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, introduced a bill for the admission of Missouri as a state in the Confederacy. Section 1 provided that when the provisional Constitution of the Confederate States was "adopted and ratified by the legally constituted authorities" of the state and the governor transmitted to the President an authentic copy of the proceedings, then the President should announce the fact and Missouri would become a state without any further procedure.[9] Mr. Campbell, of Mississippi, moved to strike out the above and substitute when ratified by a "convention of the people or a majority of the legal voters," but his motion was lost. Other sections of the act recognized the C. F. Jackson government as the legal government and authorized the President to enter into a military alliance with it pending the admission of Missouri.[10]

As soon as he entered Missouri on his return from Richmond, Governor Jackson, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude" of his intentions, issued a proclamation (New Madrid, August 5, 1861) in the name of the people of Missouri declaring the severance of all bonds

[8]Carr, *Missouri, 320*; *Confed. Mil. Hist., IX, 42.*

[9]*Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States, I, 326, 480.*

[10]*Ibid., 369.*

with the United States and that the "State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free, and independent republic, has full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."[11]

Military pressure prevented the assembling of his government for some time, but finally Jackson fixed his capital at Neosho and summoned the Legislature to meet him. The writer in *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia* (1861, p. 497) says that a quorum was obtained by the appointment of proxies. Carr says that it was "a mere rump—not a quorum in either house being present."[12] John C. Moore says it was a regularly constituted body with a quorum, in each house.[13] The exact truth probably will never be known. The Journal of the Senate, which was captured in Alabama and printed by order of the House of Representatives in 1865, gives no roster or even roll call, nor is any reference made to a quorum. The first meeting was held October 21st, when the governor's proclamation was read. The next day organization was effected by the election of certain officers and the following day messengers were appointed to "notify and bring to the Senate the absent members thereof."[14] The House notified the Senate that it was ready for business October 28th and a message from Governor Jackson was read. In this brief message the governor called attention to the distracted condition of the State, the sympathy manifested and money furnished by the Confederacy, and advised secession and adhesion to the Confederacy, the passage of an election law, and of a law authorizing the issuance of bonds.

Most of the acts of this Legislature related to military defense and need not detain us, but two acts are deserving of notice. Articles of agreement for a military alliance with the Confederacy pending admission to statehood had already been

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[11] *Appleton's Annual Encyclopaedia, 1861, 490.*
[12] *Missouri, 376.*
[13] *Confed. Mil. Hist., IX, 69.*
[14] *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature (Jefferson City, 1865), 3-6.*

signed by E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, commissioners for Missouri, and R. M. T. Hunter, commissioner for the Confederacy.[15] In response to the recommendation of Governor Jackson the Legislature now ratified this convention. Also, it passed an act dissolving all ties with the United States and another ratifying the Confederate Constitution and directing Governor Jackson to transmit the same to secure the admission of the state.[16]

The records as published in the Senate Journal are incomplete, but from a message addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by Governor Jackson it is clear that an act was passed providing for the election of representatives to the Confederate Congress. The provisions of this, "most extraordinary bill in the history of legislation" may best be gathered from the message of Governor Jackson explaining why he did not veto it. Commenting on it he said:

> It is known to every one that the Executive of the State, under the Constitution, has nothing whatever to do with the election, either of Senators or Representatives. It is equally well known that the two houses of the General Assembly in making an election of Senators meet together in joint session, and hold an election as the Constitution requires; and when it is so made the approval or the objections of the Executive have no earthly bearing upon the subject; and it is, therefore, simply an absurdity to call upon the Executive for his approval of a measure over which the Constitution has given him no power whatever. It is also equally well known that the election of Representatives to the Confederate Congress belongs exclusively to the people in their respective congressional districts, and when made by the people, in accordance with the Constitution and Laws of the States, neither the Legislature nor the Executive branch of the government can set aside or give any additional force to their approval. So far as this bill undertakes, by mere ordinary enactment, each house acting separately and independently of the other, to elect Senators and Representatives to the Confederate Congress, it is, in my judgment, a mere nullity, having no force or effect, except to place the State in a false and ludicrous position before the world. In this respect the bill is highly objectionable in my estimation, while at the same time its constitutionality, touching these provisions, may well be questioned.

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[15] *Annual Encyclopedia, 1861, 497.*

[16] *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature, 39, 42; Jour. Confed. Cong., I, 480-1.*

In spite of these very serious objections the governor was so pleased with the provisions for the appointment of deputies to the Provisional Congress and the election of Representatives to the Confederate Congress by the people that he affixed his signature in approval.[17]

At this point it may be well enough to follow the Confederate State government of Missouri to the end. Soon after the act of secession was passed Governor Jackson found it prudent to move his government to Little Rock, Arkansas, which seems to have remained the capital of Missouri as long as it was in the possession of the Confederates. December 2, 1862, Governor Jackson died, whereupon the lieutenant governor, Thomas C. Reynolds, assumed the office and continued active in performing its duties. In January, 1863, he visited Richmond to confer with the authorities there.[18] Some time after returning he gave Col. Waldo P. Johnson authority to levy requisitions for goods and supplies in Missouri, giving receipts therefor.[19] In August, 1863, he attended a conference of prominent trans-Mississippians at Marshall, Texas, to consider means for the better conduct of the war and took a prominent part in the proceedings.[20] Just when his government finally dissolved I cannot say.

It will be recalled that the act providing for the admission of Missouri left it to the President to decide when the Provisional Confederate Constitution had been "ratified by the properly and legally constituted authorities" and then to proclaim the admission of the State. This presented a nice problem to the President of the Confederacy, who believed in state sovereignty, a sovereignty based on a majority of the inhabitants of the state, and in regular legal procedure. In Missouri the evidence seemed to indicate that the majority had not favored secession and certainly the act of secession had not been passed in the recognized way, either by a convention (in Missouri a convention called for that purpose had

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[17] *Journal of the Senate, Extra Session of the Rebel Legislature, 31-32.*
[18] *Reb. Rec., I, XXII, 780-2.*
[19] *Ibid, 889.*
[20] *Ibid., 1005-6.*

refused to pass it), or by popular vote. President Davis now said that, had the case been presented during the recess of Congress, he would have deemed it his duty to proclaim the admission of Missouri at once, but the admission of a new state was a matter of such importance that he preferred to refer it to Congress for action. Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, at once offered a resolution ratifying the admission and this was adopted 58 to 0.[21]

After ratifying the Confederate Constitution the Missouri legislature proceeded to elect senators and representatives with the following results: John B. Clark and R. L. Y. Peyton senators, and Thomas A. Harris, Casper W. Bell, A. H. Conrow, Thomas Freeman, George G. Vest, Samuel Hyer, of Dent, and William M. Cooke, of St. Louis, as representatives.[22]

So far as concerned the provisional Confederate government this proceeding may not have been particularly irregular, for the Congress was made up of the delegates who met to form the Confederacy and this unicameral body continued to function as the legislature thereof until February 18, 1862. The provisional constitution said nothing about the manner of electing delegates, merely stating that vacancies should be "filled in such manner as the proper authorities of the State shall direct."[23]

Messrs. Bell, Conrow and Vest presented themselves December 2nd and, on motion of Mr. Robert W. Johnson, of Arkansas, were admitted to seats. The others, excepting Mr. Hyer, came a few days later. On motion of Mr. Vest, Messrs. Clark and Peyton were admitted as "delegates at large."[24] As each state had one vote it mattered very little how many delegates it sent. Mr. Hyer does not appear ever to have claimed his seat and is said to have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.[25]

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[21] *Jour. Confed. Cong., I, 483.*
[22] *Annual Encyclopedia, 1861, 497.*
[23] *Jour. Confed. Cong., I, 889.*
[24] *Ibid., 527.*
[25] McPherson: *History of the Rebellion, 401.*

When the regular government was organized under the permanent constitution these same gentlemen continued to serve in that body, Clark and Peyton going to the Senate. In drawing lots for the term of years Mr. Peyton drew for Missouri "Two years—four years." Mr. Peyton seems to have taken the four-year term. He attended regularly up to the close of the second session, May 1, 1863, but never returned for the third session and died December 19, 1863.[26] Except for Mr. Cooke the other members of the House attended regularly throughout the session. Mr. Cooke was granted leave of absence on account of sickness in his family, January 23, 1863, and does not appear ever to have resumed his seat. December 19, 1863, Waldo P. Johnson was appointed by Governor Reynolds to take his place and was seated December 24, 1863.[27] Senator Clark served out the two-year term in the Senate and then later was elected to the House of Representatives of the second Congress. For some reason the vacancy in the Senate caused by his retirement was not filled until January 12, 1865, when George G. Vest was transferred from the House to the Senate by executive appointment.[28] Both served until the final break-up in March, 1865. McPherson[29] makes the statement that L. M. Louis was elected to the Senate between the first and second sessions of the second Congress, but his name does not appear in the Senate Journal.

The military situation in Missouri was unfavorable for an election of members of the Confederate Congress in 1863 and no election was held. In January, 1864, the Confederate Congress passed a bill providing that, until the legislature of the state should otherwise direct, elections might be held as follows:

That each voter shall be allowed to vote one ticket containing the name of each one of the Congressional districts of said State, and the persons receiving the highest number of

[26] *Reb. Rec., IV, III, 1187.*
[27] *Jour. Confed. Cong., III, 427.*
[28] *Reb. Rec., IV, III, 1189.*
[29] *History of the Rebellion, 402.*

votes for the respectives districts shall be commissioned as representatives by the governor of the State.

The act further provided that, in the case of citizens in the military service, or of those driven from their homes by the public enemy, or in case the elections could not be held at the usual places because of the operations of the enemy, then the said citizens should be allowed to vote at any other place in the State or in the army. Elections were to be held in the army by the officers and the returns forwarded to the governor. The election was to be held in May.[30]

The first session of the second Congress closed January 14, 1863, and this explains why no members from Missouri ever appeared in the House of Representatives for that session. When the second session opened (November 7, 1864), five representatives, Messrs. Thomas L. Snead, John B. Clark, A. H. Conrow, George G. Vest, and Robert S. Hatchier were in their seats. Later N. L. Norton and Peter H. Wilkes took their seats and all the delegation remained to the end. The absence of the Missouri delegation at the preceding session was excused. In January, 1865, a bill was passed changing the date of the election to the first Monday in November,[31] but when the first Monday in November arrived the Confederacy was only a memory.

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[30] *Jour. Confed. Cong., VI, 609*; *Reb. Rec., IV, III, 35. Richmond Enquirer*, February 3, 1865, 3;1.

[31] *Ibid.*

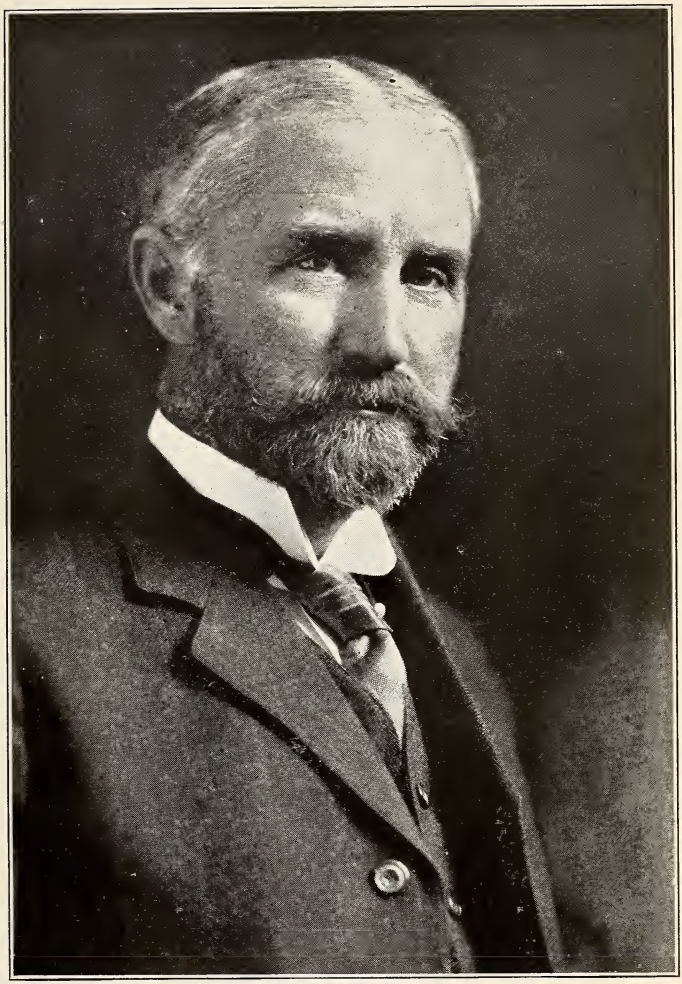
MISSOURIAN'S ABROAD—NO. 14

HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT

BY GRACE GILMORE AVERY

Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett, a native Missourian, is now president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. This Foundation, holding its charter from Congress, administers the income of two endowments. One, of thirteen million dollars, is devoted to the payment of pensions to college professors and their widows in the three English-speaking countries of North America—the United States, Canada and Newfoundland. The second endowment of a million and a quarter dollars, is devoted to the study of educational problems throughout the United States and Canada, and to printing the results of such studies. The particular board which he heads was founded expressly to provide pensions for retiring teachers who had given long and useful service, but Dr. Pritchett has also made this board an agency through which to help the country improve its standards.

Dr. Pritchett comes of worthy ancestors, all natives of Virginia. The Pritchetts moved to Missouri in 1835 and first settled in Warren county where they cleared land and became prosperous. Carr Waller Pritchett, the father of Dr. Pritchett, was only a boy at this time but he had a great desire to learn. His early years afforded him little opportunity for study but when twenty-one years of age he attended St. Charles College under its president, Dr. Fielding, a noted scholar of Trinity College, Dublin. Later he attended Harvard. In 1844 Mr. Pritchett began his teaching career. He was married in 1849 to Bettie Susan Smith and settled near Fayette. It was during 1857 that Mr. Pritchett helped with the organization of Central College, Fayette, a Methodist institution of which he became president.



HENRY SMITH PRITCHETT

Like most Virginians, the family lived on a farm adjoining the town, where Mr. Pritchett combined the duties of college president with those of land owner. In the cottage home on this farm Henry Smith Pritchett was born April 16, 1857. Dr. Pritchett's life therefore began in a college atmosphere under the training of scholarly parents.

The earliest recollections of Dr. Pritchett go back to the last years of the Civil War. His father, although descended from Virginian ancestry and although a slave holder and a Virginian by birth, was nevertheless, a devoted anti-slavery man and a staunch defender of the Union. When the annoyances of the different armies became too great, the family moved from the farm into the town proper which, at that time, was under the protection of the Union troops. The college buildings were converted into barracks and Dr. Pritchett's father relinquished professional life and spent the years during the war in the service of the Sanitary Commission, his health not enabling him to go into the army.

Dr. Pritchett's boyhood was most eventful. When he was but eight years old, he could be sent between the lines, mounted on a horse too old to be a temptation to either Union or Confederate soldiers, when it was impossible to send a man. He made frequent trips from town to the country. Leaving the pickets of the Union soldiers, he would meet the outposts of the Confederates within the next half mile. One of the things which most impressed itself upon the mind of the boy was the bitterness of the struggle when friends and even families were divided as they were in Missouri.

At the close of the war Dr. Pritchett's father returned and opened a school in the dilapidated college buildings. However, during the summer of 1866 he was induced to leave Fayette and become founder of the Pritchett Institute at Glasgow, Missouri. Here Dr. Pritchett commenced his school life at the age of ten years. Previous to that time his studies had been directed by his mother. His entire education was acquired in the Pritchett Institute. At entrance he began Latin and took up Greek a year later. Much of

his time in college was spent on Latin, Greek, French and German. Mathematics and natural science interested him also but not more than the classical studies. He was always eager to learn and advanced rapidly in the college course, receiving his A. B. degree in June, 1875.

Dr. Pritchett did not devote all of his time to study. He was very much interested in athletics and was an enthusiastic ball player. His college classmates say that he was a famous pitcher while he was in school. "Dr. Pritchett's father was a stern disciplinarian and was greatly broken up when his boy—a senior—to graduate on the morrow—joined in putting a wagon on top of the college. Oren Root, brother of Elihu Root, was president of Pritchett Institute at the time and persuaded the old gentleman to allow his boy to graduate."*

Two events had a deep influence upon Dr. Pritchett's subsequent life as a student. One was the installation of a library in Glasgow by one of its citizens—a collection of about three thousand volumes. He became a reader. Novels at that date were not looked upon as proper books for a Methodist youth to read and Dr. Pritchett usually read the novels during afternoon visits to the library, taking for home consumption a volume of history. He read Prescott and Motley with profound interest when he was about twelve years old. Dr. Pritchett says he always associated himself closely with the hero of the story but could never decide whether to be a praiseworthy patriot like William the Silent, or a conqueror like Cortez.

About the time Dr. Pritchett graduated from Pritchett Institute, the great astronomical observatory was built at Glasgow, through the gift of one hundred thousand dollars by Miss Bernice Morrison. This had a marked effect upon Dr. Pritchett as he had, during his years in college, become intensely interested in astronomy and had commenced preparations for work in the observatory. His plan had been to

*Quoted from a letter from Professor T. Berry Smith, a cousin of Dr. Henry Smith Pritchett. Professor Smith is in the chemistry department at Central College, Fayette, Missouri.

study at Harvard under Professor Winlock but the sudden death of this eminent scientist altered his arrangements. Dr. Pritchett then went to the Naval Observatory at Washington where he studied astronomy and mathematics under Professor Asaph Hall, the discoveror of the Mars satellites. He spent several years here and in 1878 became assistant astronomer in the Naval Observatory. His work consisted of "transit observations of the positions of the sun, moon, planets and fixed stars and finally the foundation of a star catalogue." The importance of this work is great in as much as it has to do with the fundamental points upon which all other observations are dependent. Dr. Pritchett's work at the Naval Observatory was splendid training for further astronomical undertakings.

In 1880 Dr. Pritchett resigned his position at the Naval Observatory and returned to Glasgow, Missouri, to become associated with his father who was Director of Morrison Observatory. His chief work here was a painstaking series of double star measures. In the following year Dr. Pritchett accepted an assistant professorship of mathematics and astronomy in Washington University at St. Louis. During these years many of Dr. Pritchett's important scientific papers were written, as the *Report on Observations of the Total Eclipse of July 29, 1878*, and the *Determination of the Rotation Period of Jupiter from Observations of the Great Red Spot.*

Through the kindness of Dr. Eliot, Chancellor of Washington University, and the permission of the authorities of the University, Dr. Pritchett was absent during 1882 and 1883 in observations of the Transit of Venus in New Zealand and in pendulum observations in conjunction with Dr. Edwin Smith, which took him to Australia, Java, China, and Japan. In doing this work Dr. Pritchett used the famous Kater pendulums, the property of the Royal Society of England. The clock, which accompanied the apparatus was one which was used by Captain Cook, when in 1763 he went to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus.

The service of Dr. Pritchett at Washington University covered a period of nearly sixteen years. His time was largely taken up with teaching and astronomical work. In 1889 he was given charge of the Washington University party to take observations of the eclipse of the sun in California and later, in 1892, he was elected president of the Academy of Science of St. Louis. During the years 1894 and 1895 Dr. Pritchett spent fifteen months in a study of mathematics and astronomy in Europe where he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Munich. He made his studies under the mathematical astronomer Hugo Seeliger, at that time, the greatest authority in that field of science in Europe.

Among the more important of the observations made at Washington University was the maintenance of an accurate time service, "and the distributions of time signals to various railways." It was not long before this service was put into extensive operation, and for a number of years, signals were distributed from the Observatory over a great section of the United States, the eastern limits of each were Cleveland and Cincinnati, the western boundary Colorado and New Mexico, and the north and south boundaries the bounding lines of the United States. These years at Washington University Dr. Pritchett regards with satisfaction. Astronomical work was mainly his work although teaching was pleasant to him and he enjoyed the contact with students.

When President McKinley entered upon his first term in March, 1897, he found that the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, the oldest scientific bureau of the government, was the cause of much complaint. He adopted the expedient of appointing an able committee of engineers to examine the Bureau and make recommendations regarding it. This committee advised that the Bureau was suffering from the fact that a political superintendent rather than a scientific head had been appointed. In accepting their recommendation the President asked them to recommend a man for this place and Dr. Pritchett was chosen. On going to Washing-

ton he was offered by Secretary Gage the superintendency of the Coast Survey. Reorganization of this Bureau was imperative. The work was reviewed, scientific methods readapted and the program of the Survey for ten years laid out. Dr. Pritchett's work in the Survey was most effective. During his term of service the sudden development of Alaska began which threw upon the Coast Survey an enormous work. Rapid and satisfactory surveys were made of the Behring Sea Coast from Cape Dyer to Port Clarence. By reason of the Spanish-American War, Porto Rico and the Philippines were added to our domain and their survey, under the law, was entrusted to this Bureau. Numerous calls from the navy and the commercial marine for re-surveys and examinations of home waters of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were answered.

Not caring to remain permanently in the government service, Dr. Pritchett accepted the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1900. Dr. Pritchett felt that he had accomplished the most important things which he had gone to Washington to do and he found a great interest in the work and ideals of the Institute. The six years spent there were busy ones, devoted wholly to the problems of the school and to improvement in its educational and laboratory facilities. Dr. Pritchett left the work feeling keenly the separation from the student body with whom he had most interesting relations.

Dr. Pritchett resigned the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1906 to become the head of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. To one interested in education, the Foundation presents a unique opportunity, for the reason that it deals with education from the standpoint of the whole continent, not from the standpoint of the fortunes of a single institution. It was believed that an agency with a moderate income, studying education from the welfare of the whole country rather than from the viewpoint of a single school or isolated college, could render a service supplementary to the work of the

teaching institutions. In welcoming institutions to the limited list of those to which it can supply pensions, the Foundation has sought to distribute these, not only geographically but among colleges of different types.

Under the conditions of the trust given by Mr. Carnegie, the Foundation has the same relations with the colleges of Canada and Newfoundland as with those of the United States. It is empowered in its charter to conduct, not only pension systems, but to carry out educational studies with respect to the institutions of North America in such fields, and along such lines as it may find fruitful. Under these terms, the Foundation has issued many studies. Some years ago Dr. Pritchett initiated a study of medical education which has been followed by beneficial results of an almost revolutionary character. More recently Dr. Pritchett has been investigating legal education, and the administration of justice.

A study of the original plan of Mr. Carnegie soon made it clear that any free system of pensions would eventually be too expensive for an agency to permanently continue. A sound solution of this problem was found in the establishment of an agency called the Teachers' Insurance and Annuity Association of which Dr. Pritchett is president. This agency is financially prosperous and is rapidly supplying teachers with opportunity for self-protection which the profession had hitherto lacked.

For two years after Mr. Carnegie's death Dr. Pritchett administered both the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Carnegie Corporation. The function of the Corporation is to assist other agencies which in terms of the trust, are fruitful in "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States." Dr. Pritchett is still a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation. In March, 1923, the Government of Greece conferred upon Dr. Pritchett the Cross of Commander of the Royal Order of George I as a mark of appreciation for the gift of a library building. This building, which will be installed some time this year is to be used by the Corpora-

tion to house the Gennaduis Library at the American School of Athens containing 50,000 items devoted to the illustration of the Hellenic civilization from earliest times to the present.

It is not an easy matter to give away large sums of money with the certainty that more good than harm is to result. Men responsible for these great endowments must have business ability, broad intelligence and must be free from selfishness. Dr. Pritchett brings all of these qualities to his work. He takes his work seriously and at times anxiously in order to make it harmonize with all that is best in democracy.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

SECOND ARTICLE

ABIEL LEONARD

There is no one of the early Missouri lawyers who stands higher in the estimation of the profession than Abiel Leonard. His first appearance in the State was humble enough,—in the year 1819, with a small pack on his shoulder, which contained his entire wardrobe, walking along the Boonslick road from St. Charles to Central Missouri. He had landed at St. Louis a few days before, but not fancying the place, he started out for Franklin, then the county seat of Howard county, and now known as Old Franklin. There was a great deal of coming and going between St. Louis and Franklin in that day, and the Boonslick road was the most frequented one in the State, next to the one between St. Louis and St. Charles. Peyton R. Hayden, the eminent lawyer of Central Missouri, was traveling over the road at the same time on horseback. He had been to St. Louis on business and was returning, when he overtook the future supreme judge of Missouri, trudging along, silently and resolutely in the same direction. It did not take long for the two men to give their names and tell who they were; and, after some further pleasant conversation, Hayden left his companion and rode on. He stopped for the night at a farmhouse, and after a time the foot traveler came up, and asked the privilege of staying, also. It was late in the fall of the year; the big log fire that followed the substantial supper threw its light upon a very pleasant party, and the two lawyers prolonged their conversation to a late hour before going to bed. The walking traveler was small of stature, plain of features, and homely in appearance, but there

was something in him that excited Hayden's interest, and before they separated next morning, he had made up his mind to render him all the assistance in his power, in the start of his professional career. When the young Vermonter, then twenty-two years of age, reached Franklin, he found himself in a community he had not been accustomed to, a community composed entirely of Virginia and Kentucky people, whose ways and manners were strange to him. The outlook was not promising; the limited business was monopolized by the established lawyers, among whom were Hayden himself and Hamilton R. Gamble, afterwards governor of the State, who had come to Missouri the year before, from Virginia, and was becoming settled in a profitable practice.

Young Leonard, after waiting patiently for the cases that never came, was compelled, like many a young lawyer of that day, to resort to school-teaching to supply his needs. After teaching a three-months school, he opened his law office, and again waited for the cases that did not come, till his means were again exhausted, and in a disheartened state, he went to Mr. Hayden, and asked him what he had better do. Hayden spoke encouragingly to him, and, the next Saturday, turned over to him a small case in a justice's court, and asked him to take it and with it the fee of five dollars. The young lawyer took the case, did his very best, and lost it. Hayden was absent from town that day, and when he returned, in the evening, sought after Leonard to find what had been the result of his first professional venture. He was not at his office nor at any other place where he might be expected, but after a time, it was told Hayden that the man he was looking for was down on the river bank. He went there and found him despondent, and suffering intensely with shame and despair. "I tried the case, and lost it," he said. "To think that I have been waiting here anxiously and as patiently as I could, for eight or nine months to get a start in my profession, and then to lose the first case entrusted to me, is something I cannot bear to think about. The only way I can end this trouble is to jump in that river." His

manner and tone of voice showed that he meant all he said. And that was the beginning of the professional career of one of Missouri's greatest jurists—a five-dollar case in a justice's court, failure, despair, and only the timely arrival of his friend to prevent him from drowning his mortification in the turbid Missouri.

Mr. Hayden was a true friend to the young lawyer. He employed him at once to assist him in an important case in which he had been retained, and the opportunity it gave him for showing his learning and skill caused him to be recognized as one of the most promising lawyers at the bar.

In the year 1820 (1825?) there came to Mann's tavern in what is now Bowling Green, Pike county, two separate parties of well dressed, well mannered, and good looking persons, who evidently were carrying a secret of some kind which the landlord, with all his skill, and the aid of the regular loungers around the tavern bar room, could not penetrate. In those days a stranger stopping for a day, or night, at a tavern or private farmhouse, usually told who he was, and the business he was on, and this entitled him to whatever information or other courtesy he might need; but these two parties repelled inquiry and gave the host to understand that they intended to keep their business to themselves. Something in their dress and manner indicated that they were lawyers; but this was all that could be made out, and even that was not certain. They had come in on the same road in the west, but they acted as if they were strangers to one another, or wanted to be considered so. Not a word passed between the parties or between their members, and even the "bar" at one side of the public room, which was usually a common ground for the exchange of courtesies between all sorts of people, failed to overcome the icy estrangement. Although they visited the bar, it was separately, each party by itself. This, in the eyes of the landlord, showed that there was something of a serious nature between the two delegations of guests; for an unwritten law in the West required a man in taking a drink at a tavern bar to invite all in the room

to join him, and if anyone declined, there must be a good reason for it.

It was a drizzly, dismal November evening, and when supper was ended—a smoking hot supper of venison, coffee, bread and potatoes, which the two parties of guests from the West, sitting on opposite sides of the table, partook of, with equal voracity—and all were re-gathered on opposite sides of the roaring log fire in the bar room, the tavern whiskey and the venison and the big fire began to have a mellowing effect on the hostile delegations,—for that is what they were,—and when the critical time arrived for taking a parting drink before retiring, a member of one party rose and said, with the ease and grace of a man accustomed to public speaking: "Gentlemen, let us forgive and forget all past differences, and drink to the good health and perpetual friendship of one another." There was an instant rising of all in response to the invitation, and as they gathered at the bar, clinked their glasses, and turned off the whiskey, shook hands and laughed pleasantly with one another. It was evident they had come to the end of their business in an unexpected but very happy way. And then the whole story came out. They had come from Franklin and were on their way to Sny Island on the Illinois side of the Mississippi to have a duel between Peyton R. Hayden and Charles French, Abiel Leonard being second for the former and Hamilton R. Gamble for the latter. All four became afterwards distinguished members of the Missouri bar, the seconds judges of the Supreme Court, and one of them governor of the state. At the time when this event took place, Leonard was twenty-three years of age and Gamble twenty-two.

The two parties returned home next morning, in high spirits, without the loss of a man. Landlord Mann's whiskey and Pike county venison had saved one gallant Missourian, perhaps two, for a career of usefulness and honor, and Sny Island from the shuddering fate of being incarnadined. Judge Leonard, in speaking of the affair, afterwards, said "it was the only instance he had known in all his life in which any good came of a drunken frolic."

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

FIFTH ARTICLE

THE GRANT BOOM

Before the administration of President Hayes—1877-1881—was one year old the *Globe-Democrat* had begun to make satirical comments. President Hayes selected for his cabinet an ex-Confederate, Postmater-General Key. When he left the capital on occasional trips the President took his postmaster-general with him and introduced him to audiences as "Erring Brother Key." *The Globe-Democrat* referred to one of these little journeys of the administration:

"The short season of political bouffe under the management of Mr. Hayes, assisted by the most talented artists in the country, has come to an end. The company has arrived in Washington, but will make another tour a month hence with new attractions."

Some months later Mr. McCullagh went to Washington and wrote a series of editorial letters to the *Globe-Democrat*. He voiced the sentiment of dissatisfaction among Republican politicians with Hayes and boldly suggested:

"For President in 1880—Ulysses S. Grant."

The Globe-Democrat coupled the name of Grant with one name after another for Vice-President and asked, "How would that do?"

Then was inaugurated the greatest advertising campaign for the upbuilding of a newspaper in the history of the new journalism. "The Grant boom" was kept before the public continuously. Early in the campaign there was much press comment. What other papers had to say against as well as for this suggestion of Grant was reproduced in the *Globe-Democrat*. It was good advertising for the newspaper. It stimulated talk and whether that talk was friendly or the

reverse toward Grant it was propaganda for the *Globe-Democrat*. After a time the proposition to nominate Grant for a third term was taken up seriously by some of the politicians. The course of the Hayes administration in disappointing the office-seekers helped the drift toward Grant.

It was early in this newspaper campaign that the *Globe-Democrat* employed "boom" and its derivatives in every possible form—noun, verb, adjective, adverb. One day the editorial column was headed with, "The g. m. is b."

When the whole country was trying to keep cool, the inevitable Grant paragraph took this form:

"This being the Sabbath day, with the thermometer at 95 at 2 a. m. in the editorial rooms of the *Globe-Democrat*, we have concluded to say nothing about 'Grant in 1880' in order to avoid unnecessary irritation of our Democratic friends. We warn them, however, that the surcease is but temporary, and we shall resume the great and good work tomorrow."

Wherever Grant went and whatever he did or said in his memorable trip around the world, the *Globe-Democrat* found material to maintain interest in the "Grant boom." When Grant landed in San Francisco and was welcomed home, the *Globe-Democrat* filled many columns with special dispatches.

As the movement to nominate Grant had been started in St. Louis and had received its early impetus there, so organized opposition to a third term first developed there. *The Westliche Post* came out against Grant. Carl Schurz wrote a series of articles against Grant which furnished the *Globe-Democrat* with inspiration for interesting paragraphs.

A mass meeting was held in Mercantile Library hall to protest against the nomination of Grant. This was followed by an anti-third term organization which Mr. McCullagh dubbed "The Tea Party." A national convention was called and held in Masonic hall on Seventh and Market streets. *The Globe-Democrat* devoted five columns to the proceedings but at the same time asserted that there were only fifty delegates from outside of St. Louis.

As state after state fell in line with Grant instructions to delegates, the *Globe-Democrat* claimed, with apparent confidence, the nomination. When the roll of the convention was practically complete, he staked his reputation as a political prophet on the estimate that Grant would have 425 votes, 379 being required to nominate. Mr. McCullagh went to the convention at Chicago and sat in one of the *Globe-Democrat* press seats. All through that "most exciting week ever known in American politics" he was the newspaper man, not the politician. He admired Grant as a man, but his interest in the movement to nominate was mainly journalistic. Once during the prolonged balloting, at a night session, Mr. McCullagh climbed on his desk and led the shouting of the Grant men.

On the 39th ballot, Garfield was nominated, receiving 394 votes to the unbroken stalwart front of 306 for Grant. *The Globe-Democrat* wasted no space on explanations or regrets. And why should it? The Grant boom had been an unprecedented illustration of the art of advertising a newspaper. It had given the *Globe-Democrat* a nation-wide reputation which it never lost. The morning after Garfield's nomination the column of characteristic paragraphs began with one word:

"Ratify!"

Then followed a score or more in like spirit, such as these:

"Garfield's biography reads well."

"His middle name is Abraham—Young Abe."

A year later, when the bullet of Guiteau proved fatal, there were newspapers which attempted to place responsibility on the Stalwart or Grant wing of the Republican party for the assassin's act. At the head of the *Globe-Democrat* editorial page appeared Garfield's historic utterance when Lincoln was shot:

"God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives."

But another newspaper, edited by one of Mr. McCullagh's personal friends, commented on the death of Garfield:

"We believe Mr. Conkling capable of any crime from incest to murder, and we fear he has absolute control over Mr. Arthur. We confess to a deeply rooted feeling which disqualifies us as a witness. We, therefore, merely insist that the rules of evidence which were adopted and applied in the murder of Mr. Lincoln be adopted and applied in the attempted murder of Mr. Garfield. If the President does this let all these men be indicted."

The Globe-Democrat's comment on this was:

"We simply ask whether the author of such drunken drivel as the above is fit to conduct a public journal."

THE ART OF RUNNING A NEWSPAPER

"The correspondent whom we sent to Yazoo City a few days ago seems to have struck an item. The great art of running a newspaper is the art of guessing where hell is liable to break loose next."

This paragraph led the editorial page on the 31st day of December, 1883. Perhaps no other expression of Mr. McCullagh on the new journalism in Missouri was quoted oftener; and he made his views impressive with concrete examples on what to his mind was good or bad journalism. The occasion which prompted the striking paragraph was a quadruple lynching. Late one afternoon in the midst of holiday week Mr. McCullagh called in a reporter and sent him by the first train that evening to Mississippi. Railroad facilities were not then what they are now. The reporter left the train in the night at a way station. He got a seat in a vehicle which had been hired by a commercial traveler, and reached Yazoo City after a long drive through the cotton country. The community was aroused over a Christmas tragedy in which two white men, the Poseys, a well known family, had been killed by negroes. The coroner's inquest, just concluded, had brought out the testimony. The negroes, confined in the county jail, gave their versions to the reporter. That evening, at dusk, a group of white men, headed by the ex-sheriff of the county, came out of a livery stable at the lower end of

town and walked up the main street. Men came out of stores and offices and homes and fell in behind the leaders, forming an irregular column. *The Globe-Democrat* man joined the procession. The jail was stormed. The negroes who had been interviewed in the afternoon, were taken out, one by one, as the separate cells were forced, and were lynched. The work of the self-constituted posse took three or four hours. The next morning the *Globe-Democrat* had four columns about the affair, and the following day printed the paragraph quoted above.

This Yazoo tragedy afforded the inspiration for several editorials as the days went by:

> The Springfield, Mass., *Republican* is not pleased, it is sad to observe, with the *Globe-Democrat's* enterprise in furnishing information about certain recent occurrences in Mississippi. 'There is, in fact, no great revival of Southern violence,' the *Republican* declares, and therefore it is improper to devote so much space to the gory aspect of affairs down there. *The Republican* is a very pleasant fireside journal, with a tendency to constipation in its views on the subject of newsgathering.
>
> A distinguished English scientist comes forward with proof that hanging is not painful. This will be pleasant news to the colored man and brother down about Yazoo City, Miss.

FIRST LESSONS IN THE NEW JOURNALISM.

There were inside phases of this new journalism in Missouri. Late in the evening the foreman laid on the chief's desk the proofs of local news. It was a frequent practice with Mr. McCullagh to pick out an article written in rather diffuse style, go through it line by line, and strike out words or phrases, or even whole sentences that were not essential to the statement of facts. Mr. McCullagh then carried the proof to the city editor and "showed" him.

Another rule of the new journalism required that footings of statistical matter be verified. Woe to the telegraph editor or to the city editor who sent up to the printer a tabulated vote or other column of figures which did not total correctly.

And a third offense was mistake in spelling or giving the initials of a well known person. With the city directory con-

venient no excuse for errors in the names of St. Louis people was tolerated. Furthermore it was expected that every one on the paper would be informed upon current events outside of his special department. Every member of the staff looked over the morning paper before he began the day's work. One noon Mr. McCullagh walked into the room of the news editor and addressed a word of comment on the most prominent article in that day's paper. The news editor was a recent addition to the staff. He replied casually that he hadn't read the article. Quietly but firmly the chief told him that if he expected to stay on the *Globe-Democrat* he must read the paper as regularly as he ate his breakfast.

There were departments and specialties but every man on the staff must possess general information and be willing to undertake any assignment. Repeatedly Mr. McCullagh went out in the pioneer days of the new journalism and undertook difficult interviewing. He brought to the city editor's desk many local items. A season of grand opera, in those days, was a notable event. It was treated in newspaper ways that had not been known before the advent of the new journalism. One afternoon Mr. McCullagh went to the desk of Captain Henry King, the leading editorial writer who came to the office only on specified days. He asked him to report the opera that evening.

"What do I know about grand opera?" asked the captain with a smile.

"That's just it," was the reply. "We want a report from somebody who doesn't know all about it."

The captain went, and the next morning the grand opera was treated in a way that prompted people to talk about the *Globe-Democrat.*

Reprint, that is matter selected from other periodicals, was an important feature of the new journalism. It received the personal attention of Mr. McCullagh. Scissors were never used to "fill up." Repeatedly Mr. McCullagh said that a good news editor was one of the most valuable members of the staff. Every night for years the newspaper mail was

brought by the office boy from the post office, immediately on its arrival, to the editorial room, and there Mr. McCullagh and the news editor scanned the latest papers for clippings to be used in the next morning *Globe-Democrat*. When these clippings were sent up stairs by the "dummy"—a box elevated by a jerk of the cord at one side—it meant "must" if the credit line was in the editor's handwriting. This rule of the new journalism was such a novelty when first promulgated that the foreman of the composing room had to readjust his traditions. One night not long after the new journalism had been inaugurated the foreman came into the editorial rooms to show the editor what had been left over.

"You didn't put in that reprint from the Chicago and Cincinnati papers I sent up last night," said the editor.

"No," said the foreman. "We were crowded and had to leave out something."

"Don't do it again."

In those earlier years the *Globe-Democrat* carried half a dozen to half a score of columns of reprint daily. When advertising crowded and space had to be made for it, the longer editorials were left over, sometimes until they almost filled a composing stone. There were many days when a column of paragraphs comprised all of the editorial matter. And other days, frequently on Monday mornings, the long editorials went in, filling from four to six columns.

In the later years came the practice of newspaper combinations and the exchange through syndicates of the class of matter which previously had been clipped and used with credit lines as reprint. But until this practice became general the new journalism gave to its reading constituency day by day the best and the latest found in the American and English press.

During a long period the *Globe-Democrat* carried in Italic at the head of the editorial page:

"*The Globe-Democrat* is now paying more money for the collection and transmission of telegraphic news from all parts

of the world than is paid by any other newspaper in any city of the world, New York and London excepted."

And yet the pages which illustrated the new journalism were not an "omnium gatherum." The hundreds of correspondents were not allowed to dump what they considered news. They could send only what was ordered. At six o'clock in the afternoon, when the night press rate went into effect, the rush of "queries" began. Correspondents wired, in the briefest possible forms, what they had to offer and waited for answers. These queries, one to a sheet, were brought in sheaves to the desk of the editor. The chief took them and, with a rapidity which seemed to allow for only a glance, went through them. He threw on the floor those rejected and told the number of words to be ordered on those accepted. Hundereds of the queries were thus disposed of in a few minutes. And when the telegraph editor went back to his room to send the orders, the floor of the chief's office was covered thickly with the rejected queries.

AGGRESSIVE BUT BLOODLESS

Neither the aggressive policy nor the stinging personalities of the early years of the new journalism in Missouri brought bloodshed, rather strange to tell. Mr. McCullagh was not held to physical account, hard as the *Globe-Democrat* hit. He had one affair which made much town talk, but in that case he was the aggressor. Robert A. Watt, who had been a city official, undertook a newspaper campaign against the St. Louis Gaslight company which was charging its customers $2.50 per 1,000 feet. Mr. McCullagh distrusted Watt's motives and declined to allow the *Globe-Democrat* to be used in the war against the gas company. Watt went to Mr. McKee, the principal owner of the paper, and complained. He insinuated that Mr. McCullagh had been improperly influenced. If there was one thing upon which the chief was especially sensitive, it was the intimation that the *Globe-Democrat* was being used for private or ulterior pur-

poses. This feeling was shared by Daniel M. Houser as long as he lived.

Mr. McCullagh came into the *Globe-Democrat* one noon and, as he passed the private office back of the counting room, he saw "Bob" Watt in conversation with Mr. McKee. He bolted into the room and hit Watt a blow which sent him to the floor. The two were separated before much harm was done. Watt sued out a complaint before a justice of the peace for assault and battery. Mr. McCullagh employed a fiery little Irish lawyer, James J. McBride. The trial was turned into a roaring farce. McCullagh was acquitted.

Stilson Hutchins, the head of the *Times*, published a series of "open letters" addressed to "Colonels George and John Knapp, and William Hyde, their Man Servant and their Ass." John Knapp and John Hodnett, the latter being one of Mr. Hutchins' partners, went into Milford's oyster house about the same time one evening foi supper. Colonel Knapp hurled a large oyster plate at Mr. Hodnett's head and missed. Friends stopped further damage to Milford's crockery.

A delegation of prominent Democrats went to Washington to work for the selection of St. Louis for the Democratic National convention of 1880. The effort failed although it was supposed that St. Louis had a sure thing. *The Post-Dispatch* said that the "prominent Democrats" lost the convention because some of them got drunk. Mr. Pulitzer's comment was:

"Many battles and campaigns before were lost by the overweening vanity or drunkenness of a general. We shall take pains to ascertain the names of the delegates who got drunk and those who remained sober and sensible, so that the people here may know exactly who is to blame."

The Globe-Democrat commented on the *Post-Dispatch* threat:

"*The Post-Dispatch* promises to print the names of the St. Louis delegates to Washington who got drunk and thus lost the national convention to St. Louis. Better save expenses by printing the names—if any—who did not get drunk."

Soon after the return of the "prominent Democrats" from Washington, Joseph Pulitzer and William Hyde met on Olive street near Fourth. Hyde struck at Pulitzer who parried the blow but the latter's eyeglasses were dislodged and fell on the sidewalk. Mr. Pulitzer was very near-sighted. He groped for his glasses. Mr. Hyde passed on. A reporter who arrived on the scene asked a newsboy what had occurred.

"Aw, nothin' " was the reply, "only Bill Hyde knocked Shakespeare into the gutter."

Shakespeare was the name by which the newsboys of St. Louis commonly designated Mr. Pulitzer in those days. Mr. McCullagh was not deterred by Mr. Pulitzer's experience from making paragraphic comment on Mr. Hyde's activities. *The Globe-Democrat*, the following day, said, editorially:

"If the editor of the *Republican* were as nimble with his pen as he is with his fists, the columns of our venerable contemporary would be much more interesting than they now are."

A few days later, Mr. McCullagh returned to the subject:

" 'As an editor,' says the *St. Joseph Gazette*, 'Mr. Hyde is sui generis.' He is often worse than that."

Late in this first decade of the new journalism in Missouri two editors fought a duel. Previous to this time there had been duels over St. Louis publications. On several occasions editors had gone out to meet principals in other professions. But now an editor was to face another editor. An interchange of personal editorials had taken place between the *Times* and the *Journal* before the amalgamation of the two. The editor of the *Times* was Major John N. Edwards, a brave Confederate with Shelby. Major Emory S. Foster, the Federal hero of the battle of Lone Jack, was the editor of the *Journal*. Managers of a county fair on the extreme northern border of Illinois, conceived the enterprising idea that the presence of Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederacy, would be a drawing card. They extended the invitation and then made public their action. Immediately the press of the

country began vigorous comment. Mr. Davis declined the invitation. *The Times* and the *Journal* kept up the controversy. *The Times* intimated that it was just as well that Mr. Davis had declined as it might have been embarrassing if the ex-President of the Confederacy had discovered in the North some of the silver which returning Union soldiers had carried home from the South. *The Journal* denounced the insinuation and intimated that the writer of it knew he was not telling the truth when he made this charge against Union soldiers. Major Edwards challenged. Major Foster accepted and named for the place of the meeting Winnebago county, where the invitation to Mr. Davis had originated. And to Winnebago county the principals journeyed, attended by Morrison Mumford and Dr. P. S. O'Reilly for Edwards, and by Harrison Branch and W. D. W. Barnard for Foster. The party reached the appointed place, drove out into the country a few miles and exchanged shots. The duel was bloodless. But the dignity of the State of Illinois was outraged. For a time there was much talk of prosecution under the anti-dueling statute, but it died out.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

FIFTEENTH ARTICLE

Frederick Muench*

In Frederick Muench the readers of the articles dealing with the "Followers of Duden" will become acquainted with a truly remarkable man. He was a man of the finest training and of the soundest moral fiber. He took Duden literally, when that writer advised his countrymen to organize extensive emigration societies to go to America. He became a pioneer of Missouri in the fullest sense of the word. The slavish work of wresting from the wilderness a comfortable habitation for his family did not stultify him. While he cleared the forest and made tillable his land his clever pen contributed extensively to papers and journals on two continents. He became a leader in agriculture among his neighbors, and an authority on grape culture thruout the United States. He wrote incisive philosophical treatise and poetry of real merit. He taught his own children and those of his back-woods neighbors, when public schools in his settlement were only a dream. He entered the political arena, distinguished himself as a speaker of unusual power, and served his constituency in the Missouri Senate during the trying days of reconstruction after the Civil War.

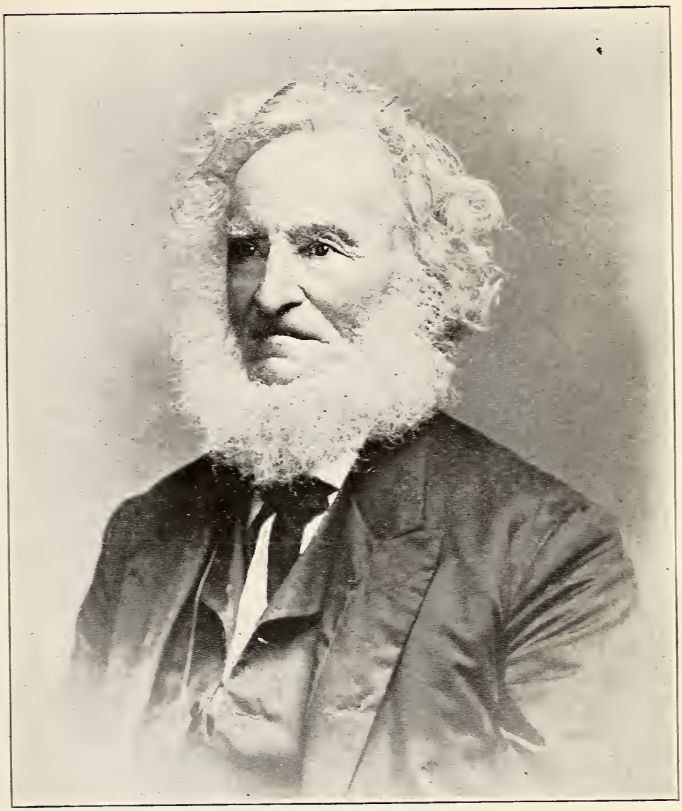
Frederick Muench was born on June 25, 1799, in Niedergemuenden, a village in the Duchy of Upper Hessia. His father was a clergyman, deeply pious, yet umtrammeled by

*The date for Mr. Muench's biography, especially that part which pertains to his earlier years, were taken from his "Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands Truebster Zeit." Other sources of information regarding Muench will be cited as the work progresses.

orthodox belief. There were seven children in the family, and the annual income from the pastor's charge only amounted to about $200. To increase his income somewhat he admitted some outsiders to the instruction he gave his own children. It is evident that he was a thoro teacher, for he fitted a number of his pupils to enter the university. In addition to these duties he cultivated a small tract of land, where he cared for bees and raised fruit. His sons assisted him in this work. The information and skill here gained was to come Frederick Muench in good stead in Missouri.

His mother was a charming, intelligent, industrious housewife, who was self-sacrificingly devoted to her children. With terror she recalled the prolonged occupation of their village by foreign troops, first the French, later the Prussian, and finally the Russian.

At the age of fifteen Muench entered the Gymnasium, where he completed a three years' course in two years. In 1816 he entered the University of Gieszen. He chose to prepare himself for the ministry, first because his father wished that his sons should walk in his footsteps, and secondly because this profession at that time presented the best and the easiest opportunity for advancement. In his autobiography we are told that altho he took his theological studies very seriously, he derived the greatest and most lasting benefit from his association with a group of fellow students. These young men were imbued with a great love for their oppressed fatherland, and their praiseworthy ambition was to promulgate the unification of Germany, to secure from those in authority a constitutional form of government, and to throw off the foreign yoke. They were very much in earnest. They tried to emulate the example of some great leaders of former times. They even went attired in the costume of a former generation. Because of the black, old-fashioned coats which they wore their fellow students called them the League of the Black Brothers. In common with other student organizations these young fellows found recreation in singing national



FREDERICK MUENCH

songs and in gymnastic exercises. Muench became one of the most active and enthusiastic Turners.*

In 1819 he passed his final examinations, was offered a vicarship, and before his twenty-first birthday was ordained a minister of the gospel. Shortly thereafter he became assistent pastor in his father's congregation. His leisure he devoted to further study, applying himself to a thoro review of the various systems of philosophy which had engaged his attention while at the university.

At the age of twenty-two he was married to Marianna Borberg, who bore him two children. Her premature death crushed Muench and for a while left him impotent. Some years later he was married to Louise Fritz who accompanied him to America and shared with him the joys and cares of pioneer life.

When his father died he was appointed pastor of his father's former charge. Very soon thereafter he was made to feel that he was suspected by certain men in authority, because of his former association with the men who had sought Germany's unification. Quoting from his autobiography we read: "I soon became aware that also in my official activity as pastor, which had nothing to do with politics, as also in my social affairs, in fact, in all my actions I was being watched by the most despicable characters. Then after the failure of the movement for Liberation the outlook became gloomier in every way. Altho I had cause to be satisfied with my condition in every other respect, my resolve to break completely with these intollerable and unworthy political conditions matured more and more, and culminated in a determination to emigrate to America in the spring of 1834, with the friend of my youth, Paul Follenius.*

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*The gymnastic society, the Turners, was organized in Germany by Friedrich Ludwig John (1778-1852). Its purpose was to develop a strong youth and to teach love for country. The German immigrants known as the Forty-eighters transplanted this organization to America. The Turners became an important factor during the Civil War. Ninety per cent of their members enlisted in the Northern Army.

*The story of Paul Follenius will appear in a subsequent issue of the "Review."

In "Der deutsche Pionier" Vol. I, p. 243 ff. Muench wrote as follows: "After the close of the Napoleonic wars the population of Germany grew faster than the means of their support and employment could increase. The debts resulting from the wars, the standing army, the prodigality of the courts of the nobility, all these things imposed an unbearable burden on the people. The shamefully disappointed hopes for the rebirth of the fatherland embittered the best among us. It was a time of general discontent and hopelessness. Just at this time Gottfried Duden directed attention to the new western states of the North American Union. This book is largely responsible for the fact that after 1830 thousands of our countrymen settled in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa."

When Muench first spoke to his brother-in-law, Paul Follenius, about going to America, the latter opposed the plan, thinking it cowardly to give up the fight for the good cause in Germany. Subsequently he consented on condition that they should attempt to form an extensive emigration society. To this Muench agreed and in 1833 there was formed what was known as the Gieszen Emigration Society. In a pamphlet* entitled: "A Call for and an Explanation of an Emigration on a large Scale from Germany to the North American free-states, together with the Constitution of the Gieszen Emigration Society," Muench and Follenius issued the call for the formation of such a society. We read: "The undersigned together with many of their highly esteemed friends and fellow citizens have resolved to leave Germany in order to seek a new fatherland in the free states of North America. We have come to this resolution, since we are convinced that the conditions which obtain in Germany will make it impossible, now as also in the future, to satisfy the demands which we as men and as citizens of the state make upon life, not only for our-

*The writer is indebted to Judge Hugo Muench, formerly of St. Louis but now of San Diego, California, for the generous loan of this interesting document. Judge Muench is the distinguished son of the distinguished Missouri pioneer whose life story is here given.

selves but chiefly for our children. We have come to the conclusion that only a life such as is possible in the freestates of North America can suffice us and our posterity."

The purpose of the pamphlet was to induce the Germans who were already contemplating emigration, to join in a scheme to settle somewhere in the trans-Mississippi country, and in time to establish a state, which was to become a part of the Union, in which state things distinctively German should predominate. After setting forth in detail the scheme of emigration there follow a few paragraphs under the caption: "*What we expect of our undertaking.*—"We shall know what it means to have a fatherland, to which we can devote our entire energy and our lives with reasonable hope of success. The strength and dignity of the state, the soundness of its life shall be the most exalted ambition of each member. There will be no room for the cast system, nor for the specially privileged. We shall be ready to defend our state against all outsiders, in which defense every man will stand shoulder to shoulder with every other man. We have reason to hope that we shall be removed from the anxiety and care, which the European wars, with brief intermission, have caused us, and believe that in peace we shall enjoy the protection of our property and of our lives.

"We expect that in our new home there will await us a rejuvenated and revived religious life, in which the true spirit of Christiantiy, the spirit of freedom and love will dominate all. In its inner conviction, in its word and deed this religion shall be free. In a liberal exchange of ideas let the truth be found, in worthy action let us manifest our inner worth. Those who feel a need for formal religious worship for the uplift of their spirits will find like-minded companions enough. But all this must be based on voluntary agreement. There must be no coercion. Let all party differences disappear among us, among us who declare ourselves a society of Christians, who solemnly pledge ourselves to oppose anything that is not free, anything that might fetter the mind or disturb the unanimity among us. Especially let us agree that the various

religious views shall have no influence upon our political convictions and our social intercourse. By removing the things that awaken the baser passions and undermine morality, and by the most careful and most generous education of our youth we hope to establish and maintain a dignified public life, an ennobled social life, a purer family life.

"We expect to find decided advantages for the maintenance of our bodily existence. We expect hard work. But in this hard work we expect the co-operation of the farmer and the artisan as well as the educated man. Those who know that their physical and intellectual ability has no practical value are not suited for our undertaking. We hope to escape forever from the sight of workless and breadless human beings. We hope to escape anxiety for the future of our children, whom we there hope to see enabled to choose their profession according to their ability and inclination.

Some of the salient features of the emigration scheme may interest the reader. The scheme was to pool the funds of the participants. With such means ships were to be chartered, a large tract of land (preferably in Arkansas) was to be bought, the first houses of the colony were to be erected, teachers, a physician and accountants were to be employed. It was expressly stated, however, "that it is not the intention of introducing the principles of a communistic organization in the colony."—Only persons who were heads of families, who had sufficient means, and who had an unimpeachable character were admitted to the society.—The society at Gieszen was to be regarded as the parent society, but all over Germany branches of this parent society were to be formed. It was expressly required that the constitutions of such branch societies must not be in conflict with that of the society at Gieszen.—A central committee in Germany was to be supplemented by a central committee in America. Such committees were to co-operate with one another and assist emigrants in the sale of their estates in Europe and perform such other function as would insure a healthy growth of the colony.—

A commission consisting of two men was to be sent to Arkansas to investigate conditions for the society. (In another source we are told that this commission consisted of one Mueller, an apothecary, and one Schmidt, a preacher).—Provision is made in the constitution for the employment of accountants, teachers, a physician and justices of the peace, all of whom were to be paid from a common treasury.—Provision is also made for insurance against accident and sickness. Finally provision is made for the appointment of guardians for minors who are left orphan.

In a separate article of the "Call" it is specifically stipulated: "That none of the branch societies shall sanction the legal existence of any kind of aristocracy, and that each shall forever renounce the introduction of slavery."

Again quoting from Muench's autobiography, we read: "The pamphlet containing the call and declaration was read in all parts of Germany, so that we could feel assured of a considerable participation in our scheme. Thus encouraged we also published the proposed constitution of the society, which was worked out with great diligence, but unfortunately without accurate and authentic knowledge of American conditions. The people thought our plan excellent, and we were encouraged to make a bold beginning. Thousands expressed their intention to follow us and help make the ideal a reality. This really would have happened, if everything had gone as we hoped and expected it would go, and if we, who came first, could have found for those who came later a cozy little place to settle in comfortably with the new free state. Since the undertaking failed, it acted deterring, especially upon the educated classes, who became reconciled with the Germany of that day, and preferred to remain there, rather than to undertake a venture such as we had undertaken. Others continued to come across without a plan and migrated hither and thither without guidance.

"A commission, which had been sent out at great expense, returned just at the time when the first division of the society was ready to sail from Bremen. They warned us against the

whole undertaking and especially against Arkansas. Their warning came too late. At the last moment it was decided that all members should first go to St. Louis, where we would council regarding the further steps to be taken."*

After many tedious delays Muench's division consisting of 350 emigrants, members of sixty families from Hessia, Saxony, Altenburg and Coburg, also set sail. Quoting Muench we read:

"After a successful journey of seven weeks our ship let her anchors drop in the harbor of Baltimore. Here we had planned to rest and recuperate for a few days. There could be no thought of rest, however. The July sun burned down upon us, and even at night we found no peace on account of the heat. One of our number died of sunstroke. Our children began to get sick, so that the most sensible thing seemed to be to go on as soon as possible. I engaged the necessary teams and wagons—one for each group of two or three families. These were to convey us over the highway thru Pennsylvania to Wheeling. Unfortunately my particular driver turned out to be the worst and most disreputable of all of them. By nine o'clock in the morning he was usually drunk, then he lay down in the feedbox back of the wagon, fell asleep, and did not concern himself as to what might become of us. There was nothing for me to do but mount the saddlehorse (such wagons had five horses) take the whip and lines in my hands and drive across the Alleghanies. When our teamster awoke he was usually cross and abusive, so that we sometimes almost came to blows. There was also unpleasantness of other sorts. Sometimes we met up with kind hosts at the inns, at other times they were rough and uncouth, and large bills had to be met every morning. The trip overland lasted two weeks. We had ample opportunity to become acquainted with American conditions. One encouraging observation was the general prosperity which we had noticed.

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*Follenius sailed with the first division on the ship "Olbers" on February 2, 1834. Before sailing Follenius visited Duden personally and submitted his plans to him. Duden heartily approved of them.

"In Wheeling, where we met other countrymen, our entire company gathered within a few days. I succeeded presently in making a contract with the captain of a boat (the Ferry Queen) to convey our entire company to St. Louis. Our captain was a corpulant, jovial, good-natured Kentuckian, but his boat was a shaky old box. Nevertheless the journey down the Ohio was a recreation for all of us—only the children suffered from cutaneous eruptions, and my youngest child was ill.

"Having arrived at Cincinnati the boat stopped and many of the passengers, desiring some recreation and refreshment, went to a hotel. Here a small elderly man, to my surprise, addressed me in German, and inquired if we were the second division of the Gieszen Company. I asked him: 'What do you know about this matter?' He replied: 'I can tell you much about it that you don't know yourself. The first division has had misfortune on the trip up the Mississippi. It has lost many of its members from the cholera. The company broke up and scattered, since each sought to help himself as best he could. Now Follenius lives close to me, near the place where Duden lived. My name is William Bock and I am on my way to Philadelphia to meet my family.'

"I was thunderstruck by this information, the accuracy of which I could not doubt. With great and incessant exertion and unspeakable sacrifice, supported by a few faithful friends (among whom I must mention Professor Goebel of Koburg, who later settled in Franklin county), I had held my division together, had kept our accounts punctiliously, and in many a bitter hour had referred to the present meeting of our friends of the first division, when everything would become better, and so had succeeded in keeping alive a general and encouraging enthusiasm, in spite of many a setback. Now this was all ended. The beautiful hope was now shattered. The only question that concerned us all now was, whether we, reduced in numbers, should undertake a settlement in common or whether we, too, should scatter and each seek his fortune single handed. Still we had to settle with the first division

who owed us a considerable sum of money. Therefore we resolved to hold together, for the time at least, and all go to St. Louis.

"The journey progressed slowly. In all we required two weeks to go from Wheeling to St. Louis. It required a few days to go thru the canal at Louisville. This had scarcely been accomplished when our captain declared that he could not carry us further on his boat, which he claimed had become defective. We had to content ourselves that our captain turned us over to a genuine Yankee, who agreed to take us to St. Louis, altho I could not see that the latter boat was any better than the one we had just left. The Kentuckian told me in parting that the Yankee had cheated him in the deal. 'Why did he?' I asked naively, and the unforgetable answer was: 'He did so, because we differ on politics.' 'That must be a strange country,' I thought to myself, 'in which people cheat each other because of political differences'. I soon learned, however, to what means party hate can drive a person. Our good-hearted Kentuckian was a zealous Jackson man, while the Yankee, his crew and the American passengers belonged to the opposition. His was a Whig boat and that of the former was a Jackson boat. On the Whig boat the books, which were provided for the diversion of the passengers, were almost without exception opposed to Jackson and his administration. This our German nature rebelled against. So we spent our time almost exclusively with card playing.

"The nearer we came to St. Louis the greater became our anxiety for another reason. On our entire journey we had received newspaper reports that the cholera had broken out in violent form in the city. When we arrived in September we did not find it as bad as it had been pictured. St. Louis had at that time still the aspect of an ordinary country town. One could still see log houses on Second Street. There was hardly a sign of future greatness.

"Since I, contrary to my expectation, received no news from Follenius in St. Louis, I went on the following day to St. Charles, where the serious illness of two members of my

family compelled me to stay for a few days. I sent a messenger with a letter to Follenius, in response to which he came himself. What we had to tell each other at that first meeting on Missouri soil was not in keeping and harmony with the high expectation with which we had left the German fatherland. He with a dozen fellow immigrants lived in a farm house, the former owner of which still occupied it with a large flock of children. Nevertheless he had already provided for temporary, most necessary, shelter for my family near his place.

"What grieved me most was the fact that a comparison of accounts kept by the two divisions showed that the first division owed the second several thousand dollars, and that it did not have the funds to meet this obligation. It was manifest that the first division had not kept its books as painstakingly as we had, for there were lacking many important entries. The worst thing was, that while Follenius and his family lay sick in Paducah, the treasurer and the bookkeeper had taken the funds to St. Louis, and there had divided the money among the surviving members,* in what now appeared a very inaccurate manner, and then had deposited an amount, smaller than was due us, in St. Louis. I will accuse none of the men participating in this affair. I consider none of them capable of intentional fraud, nevertheless they had, tho perhaps quite innocently, taken too much. When this later fact became clear, tho the details could never be fully ascertained, none of the now widely scattered members of the first division were willing to return the slightest amount to make good the deficiency. Follenius and I contributed from our own resources, which at best were not great, everything we could reasonably spare, in order to cover the loss as much as possible. Even so there remained after all a loss of from seven to eight dollars per member.

*Among other items the distributors of the funds had entirely left out of consideration the expenses of the two agents who had been sent to America to investigate conditions. These expenses were to be borne by the whole society. Though the work of the agents had proved entirely useless, still the account had to be met.

"With heavy heart I returned to St. Louis. There I called a meeting of all our people, who seemed to be of the opinion that the society should be dissolved. I explained to them the condition of affairs, distributed the means I had on hand, and assured them of my deep regret that our cherished plan should have so miscarried. Even then I heard mutterings that they would not be satisfied with the settlement. The people knew me, of course, but most of them were not personally acquainted with Follenius. There was, indeed, cause for distrust and no one wants to give up a just claim without a fight. I promised that I would do everything I could to alleviate the situation. I once more met with the bookkeepers and others, without, however, being able to bring about any improvement. In addition to unpleasant newspaper publicity, an actual attack upon Follenius was narrowly averted. Later all became convinced that Follenius and I had made great sacrifice and that not the slightest amount of the people's money had remained in our hands, or thru our fault had been lost, and with most of them our former cordial relation was restored.

"Those unpleasant scenes were not a small burden added to other hardships which we had to face. Among others we mourned the loss of our youngest child which had succumbed to the unnatural conditions in which we lived.—Now all those things are forgotten, and the few yet remaining members of the Geiszen Emigration Society, as also their numerous progeny, are, as far as I know, all in happy material circumstances."

Regarding the men who followed Duden, Muench writes in *Der deutsche Pioneer*, Vol. I, p. 243f.:

"The immigrants, attracted by Duden's idyl, upon their arrival in Missouri and other western states applied themselves, in the main, to agricultural pursuits. The day laborers and the peasants with their simple demands and being accustomed to hard labor accustomed themselves rather quickly to the new situation, and in time accumulated wealth. The others, altho imposing all sorts of privation upon themselves,

and often making the most laudable efforts, on the whole receded more than they progressed, and most of them in time succumbed.

"Still another group had come hither either with adventuresome expectations, or to regain lost riches. What they sought here only a few among them found. The disappointment gradually undermined their desire to strive on.

"Finally there were a few among these settlers for whom the ideals of freedom as entertained in 1817 and 1818 had gone into their very blood (succum et sanguinem), who with bleeding hearts had left their fatherland when the uprising of 1830 had failed and had deprived them of all hope, and who now, dependent upon themselves, sought, somewhere in the world, a place to live in a manner worthy of men. They were strong men, who either had to perish in the struggle for a new existence, or who could not fail to win for themselves a new field of activity, imbued as they were with high ideals, of whom it was at least to be presupposed that they would remain true to their convictions. So deeply had the indignities of the home conditions, the intolerable guardianship of a paternal government, the general pressure impressed itself upon them, that amid all the toil and privation they never directed their gaze back upon the externally comfortable positions which they had given up, contented now to be free citizens of a great commonwealth. Their first care after the preservation of their own families was to lift up their less educated countrymen and induct them into American public life, thereby to save of their better German nature as much as possible. In regard to slavery these men did not have the slightest prospect of offering it successful opposition. They endeavored, however, in the certain expectation of an impending struggle, to prevent their countrymen from engaging slaves, and expressed their opinion openly against the institution when speaking with their American fellow citizens. When the five years of probation had passed, and the time had come for them to choose a political affiliation the great majority attached themselves to the Democratic party, because its prin-

ciples seemed to them more liberal, as in fact they were then still, in the main, the principles of Jefferson. The times were hard, financial difficulty on every hand thruout the whole land due to failure of banks, little trade and industry, the produce of the farmer almost worthless, everything that one had to buy, expensive, heavy doctor bills, etc. Thus the means that had been brought along were in a large measure consumed or went into the hands of the poorer classes whose labor the educated could scarcely do without. Many of the latter sank into an untimely grave. A nobleman from Hanover died as a beggar beside the road. Many committed suicide. The writer of these lines is the only one who without changing location still inhabits the homestead which he wrested from the wilderness.

"With what interest we followed the course of the French Revolution, and then the revolutions in Austria and in Bavaria and the transactions of the Frankfurt Parliament is difficult to depict. We almost regretted that we had hopelessly given up our fatherland, and gladly would have participated in the struggle there if we and our families had not already become firmly rooted in the life of the new world. Money was collected for the good cause abroad. Meetings were called, where speeches were made, and the songs of liberation of the years 1817 and 1818 made the primeval forests of Missouri ring. We were doomed to be disappointed again. The failure of the German popular uprising resulted in the second great wave of immigration in America. The flood of 'Forty-eighters' poured over our land.

In an article which appeared in *Der deutsche Pionier*, Vol. IV, p. 226ff, and entitled 'Formerly and Now,' with the subtitle 'et haec meminisse juvabit,' Mr. Muench deals with the early days in Missouri more in detail than he does in his autobiography. For this reason we shall here quote from the above article.

"From St. Louis we went to what is now Warren county where some few members of the first division of the Gieszen Society had already settled, among them Follenius. Since

I wished to live near the latter's place, I bought a farm of 120 acres. According to the conception of that time this land was not considered the best, but it was the best that I could procure in that immediate neighborhood. It was located on the same highway as Follenius' was, a half mile closer to the Missouri, directly adjoining Duden's place,* on which the buildings were at that time almost entirely dilapidated. In a way I was attracted by the romantic situation of the land, especially by the small brook which flows between the road and the dwelling house. The location of the house itself was on a gentle slope, at the foot of which bubbled forth a pure spring, while back of the house there rose a rather high ridge from which one had a good outlook over the surrounding country. Most of the land was covered with splendid forest trees. There were between ten and fifteen acres in the lowland along the brook, which were indifferently cleared. The raising of clover gave agriculture a new impetus. Our market which till then had scarcely been worthy of the name suddenly expanded and extended to the remote west and south to New Orleans. No wonder that land situated between my place and the river, which in 1846 hardly found a buyer at $5 an acre, now (1872) cannot be had for less than $100 an acre.

"The rebellion was a great blow to Missouri. Our region, too, was visited, and the sacrifices then made hurt even today. Nevertheless the state recovered, under administrations on the whole wise, more rapidly than any other former slave state.

"An American pioneer would have preferred a piece of land in the near-by Missouri bottom, level and inexhaustible, rather than the broken and uneven land which I chose. To the novice, that I was, however, the available arable land seemed good, and sufficiently extensive. I did not realize at that time what an advantage I had in the eight or ten acres of land that faced directly to the south and were protected toward the north by the above mentioned ridge. On this

*Muench states that Duden's heirs sold the old historic farm about 1857.

land I have now a vineyard of five acres in the very best condition.

"I paid $1,000 for the 120 acres and this price included the harvest which was then on the land. Later I bought some more land from the government. Since during the two preceding years a good many Germans had settled in this region, the Americans expected that half of Germany would come here. For this reason the price of land had suddenly risen to nine or ten dollars an acre. With the coming of the Gieszen Society, however, immigration to these parts ceased almost entirely for a while, and after a few years the price of land was reduced by more than half.

"Of buildings I found only a ramshackled log house, 18′ by 18′ in size, on my land. In order to house a peasant family that I had brought with me, I was obliged to erect another log house at once. This I did in the manner customary in those parts at that time.

"But where was I to get subsistence for two families? There were no meat markets, there were no vegetables. A wretched horse-driven mill was six miles away, but it was of little use to us, since the American farmers were accustomed to raise little more than they needed themselves and so had no grain to sell. There was nothing else to do but to procure meat by shooting doves and squirrels. But what of bread? The corn was almost ripe when we arrived. We picked the ears and crushed the partially hardened grains on graters which we had brought along. Out of this substance, mixed with milk and eggs, the women learned to prepare bread, pancakes, noodles, etc. Later we bought a fat pig for pork. When the corn had fully matured, we got meal from the mill to make cornbread. It always took us a whole day to grind two bushels of corn into a coarse meal. At present (1872) there are six steam-driven mills in operation, at distances of two to eight miles from my home.

"Our furniture consisted of a rather large number of boxes, containing for the most part clothing, bedding and linen in addition to all sorts of utensils which were of little use

to us here. With the aid of an ax and a carving knife benches, tables and bedsteads were made. From the boards of the boxes we made the table tops. The log house was built for summer use, that is to say, the cracks between the logs were only stuffed with straw. The wooden chimney, with a poor fireplace of flagstones, was in a dilapidated condition. The yard was at that time a cow pasture. The front yard was then almost inaccessible, being strewn with giant elm trees which had been felled some time before. All around there was a vast waste and confusion. All this had to be improved. In spite of all the toil and privation there was in this improvement and this creating of something new a certain charm, and we all performed our tasks with gladness and courage. Late in the fall a few American families moved away and offered at public auction a part of their household goods. Thus we could amplify somewhat our meager supply of furniture. Bedsteads, tables and the like brought at that time an enormous price, because everybody was so much in need of them.

"Now the harvesting of the corn had to be undertaken. We observed that our American farmers put the corn stalks in shocks. My hired man therefore took a knife which we used for pruning trees, and assiduously bending his back all day succeeded in cutting and setting up two shocks of corn before nightfall. I saw that we would have to do that differently. I produced two swords which we had brought along as defense against Indians and other creatures of the forest. One of these swords my brother had worn in the campaigning of 1813 against France. The other had belonged to my grandfather. With the aid of these warlike implements the cutting was soon completed.

"We also had to do some fall seeding. A piece of oats stubble seemed suitable for wheat and rye fields. From my predecessor I had acquired a couple of old oxen and a plow with a wooden mouldboard. I directed the oxen and my hired man held the plow. Since he was accustomed to the German plow which rests on wheels, and which is forced into the ground by pressing on the handles, he could not make a

furrow, for the American plow required a lifting up of the handles instead of lowering them. At the first start the plow jumped up and the oxen lunged forward. A light now dawned on me. I took hold of the handles and did a fine day's work with this American mechanism.

"I realized very soon that I should have to have more arable land. Therefore, when the autumn work was done we proceeded to extend the field. I had been reared on the farm in Germany, so it was not hard for me to wield the grubbing hoe and the ax. We tried to do everything so carefully, however, that the American neighbors jestingly asked us if we intended to convert the whole thing into a garden. Then came the breaking of the virgin soil all permeated with a subterranean network of big and little roots. I held the ever-quivering plow with a firm hand. At times my helper had to cut the thick roots in front of the plowshare. Melodious seemed to me the constant cracking of the roots, for it was a song of victory, it meant the end of the primitive state of nature, which had to give away before the higher purpose of man. By such labor I have transformed many a piece of woodland into fertile fields, meadows and orchards. After a few generations no one will think of him whose sweat was first poured out upon this land.

"During the autumn we found enough wood about the house to provide us with fuel. We were told that it was unnecessary to procure a large supply of wood for the winter, and that the snow indeed made the hauling of firewood much easier. Moreover, there was so much to do that we simply did not get at it. Everything went well enough until all at once it became terribly cold. A deep snow fell, such as I have scarcely seen since then. We were hardly able to prepare a meager breakfast with the fuel we had on hand. Then the thick leggings which we had brought from Germany were put on, we grasped our axes and out we went into the nearby woods with our team of oxen to whose yoke was fastened a heavy log chain. While the sharp northwind whistled about our ears we felled a few hickory trees, hastily stripped off the

branches and dragged the logs to the house where we cut them into smaller pieces. We not only had to heat our room with the wretched fireplace, we also had to cook our food in it. The green wood hissed more than it heated. Occasionally the smoke was blown into the room, which compelled us to open both doors for ventilation. Then all crowded around the fireplace while behind us cups and plates froze to the table tops. The lesson of this first winter was not forgotten. In subsequent years our supply of dry firewood was never entirely exhausted.

"The next spring a garden was laid out and fenced in with wickerwork. Up to this time we had no vegetables since we had come to the new settlement. Oats were sown and the ground broken for the corn. It took a long time but all was done thoroly. I was so tired in the evenings, that at the supper table I often had to support my right hand with my left to lift the soup-spoon to my mouth.——I had bought a young horse which was only partially broken. With it the field was to be laid or marked off, that is to say shallow furrows were to be made as straight as possible and equal distance from one another. Into these the corn was planted. The marking off is a task which requires considerable practice. I succeeded fairly well. Since the field was surrounded on all sides by woods, I picked out certain tree trunks and drove straight for them.——Even our first corn crop was an abundant one.

"Presently the small grain had to be harvested. We had brought German hand sickles and scythes with us. We took the former and proceeded to harvest in the same manner as the men of Biblical times had done, and as it was even done in Germany at the time of our departure. Toiling under the Missouri July sun we heaped sheaf upon sheaf. Even my eight-year-old daughter soon learned the trick and with a sickle willingly cut her share of the grain. The thick bundles were tied with straw bands, as we had done in our old home. The shocks were set in straight rows and carefully capped. It was a joy to see these shocks with their helmet-like caps. The

Americans who came by stopped, admired, smiled, and no doubt resolved not to emulate our example. Later we learned to do everything in the easier American manner.——I also learned to use the heavy wheat-cradle, and wore myself out to such a state that in the evening I could scarcely breathe. At first we did the threshing with flails on an improvised threshing floor. Then we tramped the grain out with horses. Both of these processes were so toilsome and imperfect, that most of the people raised only as much as they absolutely needed. How different now, when we take hundreds of bushels of wheat to the market and do all the work more easily than was formerly required to produce thirty or forty bushels.

"Of fruit I found nothing on my place except a crippled wild apple tree. This, however, supplied us for a couple of years with dried fruit. The natives knew nothing about nurseries. They planted seedlings or sprouts. The apple trees on a few of the older farms produced enormous quantities of fruit, and it was in part very good. I at once started a nursery, for it was just in this line that I had acquired skill in my childhood. Now I have over 1,000 fruit trees on my place —peaches, apples, pears, plums and cherries, also grapes, almost all of them grown, grafted, planted and cared for by my own hand. I made this observation, that fruit trees grow much faster here than in Europe but are not as long-lived.

"After a few years I dismissed the peasant family that I had brought with me. I gave them a piece of land as their own and fitted them out so that they could take care of themselves. Now I had an even heavier load on my shoulders, since I was alone, my oldest son being but a lad of ten years.

"This wasn't all. There were no public schools in those days, and the attempt of establishing English private schools had been unsuccessful. There were many children who needed instruction. There was no one in our community, except myself, who knew anything about teaching. So I had to become a schoolmaster. I admitted to instruction not only the German children but also a few English speaking children. The latter helped me to acquire a more fluent pronounciation

of the English language. I taught these children in my home for six hours each day during five days of the week. Many of my pupils, who later occupied important positions, never had any other instruction than that imparted by me. The pay for this service was so small that it barely sufficed to pay for a little help during that time of the year when farm labor is the hardest. Still the work on the farm had to be done, and so it came that I had to consider the hours spent in the school room as a time for physical rest. To do my necessary work I had to get up long before daylight and in the evening work by moonlight or starlight.

"How under such conditions I was still able to furnish communications and articles for papers in America and in Germany is almost more than I can understand now. It was made possible only by a habit of conserving my time.* Unfortunately there was almost no time left for recreation.

"For five years I was a road overseer and drew no compensation for such service. For eight years I was a justice of the peace. This position occasioned additional study and much loss of time. For this work I received an annual income of about $25. By explaining the law I usually settled the difficulties without letting the contending parties prefer formal charges, and so nothing came into my pocket.

"I know I worked too hard. But since I had sacrificed an otherwise comfortable position to my political conviction, I felt that I could hardly do enough to compensate my family for the hardship they endured and the loss which they had sustained. In my youth I had not been accustomed to do such hard labor as had the day laborers in my neighborhood, but rather had tormented my youthful brain with the learning of five languages and with much useless plunder in addition to many useful studies, to which (the latter) I love to devote a part of my thinking even now.

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*Muench tells us in another place how one winter he had the misfortune to cut off a toe with an ax and was thus confined to his room for two months. To have physical exercise he learned to make baskets. During another winter he learned to make cigars, and thereafter occasionally was able to trade in his year's supply of coffee for the product of such a winter's work.

"In the fourth year I was attacked by a violent fever, which was followed by a nervous condition that lasted for several years. The other members of my family also had much sickness during that time, so that my doctor bills exceeded my income. Still we managed not to incur serious indebtedness. I worked on, without, however, being able, under the then existing hard times, to rise above an existence full of toil and privation. Yet I was contented to be a free man who could live according to his own convictions and independent of any one's favor.

"Of the 'Latin Farmers' who lived there one after the other went to ruin. Their wealth had passed into the hands of their day laborers, who prospered and who were quite happy and contented in their new environment. Some of the former saved themselves by going to the city in time, where they took up some profession appropriate to their training. I am about the only one who has maintained his first homestead here till today.

"Everything we had to get from the store was three times as high as it is now (1872). Doctor bills and taxes had to be met, but where were we to get the money. Our produce, of which we did not possess many, found only an occasional sale—perchance a cow at $10, a horse at $30 or $40, smoked meat at three to four cents a pound, wheat at thirty to thirty-five cents a bushel. This wheat we had to haul to St. Louis, a distance of almost sixty miles, and there we received the above price, sometimes a trifle more, and we were paid half in cash and half in wares. One of the rarest things in our country was cash. For just at this time one bank after the other failed, and so we had to suffer because of the general public swindle. In 1837 the country suffered a general crop failure. Even here cereals rose to $1.00 a bushel before the next harvest, at that time an unheard of price. Only a few had anything to sell, and most of the people had to give up all they had just to subsist. Much Russian grain was brought into America at that time. The cash that circulated in our community had been brought for the most part by the immi-

grants. Soon, however, immigration ceased almost entirely, and so this source was exhausted. There seemed to be no prospect for bettering our situation. We faced a hopeless existence.

"The change for the better came in an entirely unexpected manner. The Mexican war broke out. Traffic on the Missouri suddenly became lively. Horses and army supplies were also bought in our community. Then gold was discovered in California. Thousands of gold seekers from Missouri equipped themselves for the trip across the far plains. In time some of the gold found its way back into Missouri. Not long thereafter the building of the Pacific Railroad along the Missouri river began, only four miles from my home. The small towns took on new life. Others came into existence and primitive conditions gave way to a brisk business life. Grape culture was started and brought in good returns. Threshing machines, mowers, grain drills made their appearance.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

An Unwritten Leaf of the War

JOHN N. EDWARDS

TWELFTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER XXI

In the short space of time accorded to him between the reception of the orders brought for the withdrawal of the French troops and their actual accomplishment, Maximilian did the work of one who meant to fight a good fight for his kingdom and his cause. And yet for the great superstructure he tried so hard to rear and decorate, the poor man had never considered a moment about its foundation. He had no standing army—nothing to rely upon when the French left that was real and tangible—nothing that was frank and manly, and that would take him boldly by the hand and say: "Sire, we are here; trust us as you would yourself."

When that sudden dash of cavalry, which drove Juarez across the Rio Grande and into Texas, had spent itself, and when it was believed that there was no longer in the land either a regularly armed or regularly organized force of Liberal soldiers, the celebrated black flag order was promulgated. This law—based upon the declaration that Juarez had left the country, and that consequently there could be no longer in existence any regularly constituted government—required all Mexicans captured with arms in their hands after the date of the decree—October 3rd, 1865—to be summarily put to death. Maximilian resisted its passage to the last, but Bazaine was inexorable. He appeared before the Council of State and declared upon his official honor that Juarez had left the territory of Mexico. He complained of the leniency shown to the guerrillas, and cited numerous

instances to prove how French soldiers, captured on detached service had been first tortured and then most brutally murdered, while those Mexican prisoners tried under the ordinary forms of court-martial, had either been punished lightly or suffered to escape altogether.

Bazaine triumphed, as he always did when brought in contact with the soft, pliable nature of the Emperor, and almost immediately after the decree was issued, there was enacted under it a fearful obedience. General Mendez, one of the few Mexicans really and sincerely devoted to Maximilian, was holding the enemy in awe in the State of Morelia. Of a sudden he turned upon a guerrilla force, routed it, captured well on to a hundred, shot them all, and proclaimed in triumphant language that such should be the fate of all who came within reach of his hands. Among the slain were General Arteaga and Colonel Salasa. Arteaga was what was rare in Mexico, a genuine humorist. Corpulent, fair though born in the tropics, fond of laughter and wine, in no wise cruel or vindictive, a soldier from necessity rather than inclination, a judge whose decisions were always in favor of the guilty, it did seem a sin to shoot the great, harmless, laughing *gourmand* who told his jokes much oftener than his beads, and had a whole regiment of friends in the very ranks of the French army itself. Other executions took place in other portions of the Empire, and when the Emperor found that he could no longer resist the tide of blood that had set in, he quarreled with Bazaine. The Marshal was firm, however, and the Emperor fled to Cuernavaca. This was a small town forty miles southwest from the City of Mexico. It had the deliciously blended climate of the tropical and the temperate latitudes. It was summer in the day and autumn in the night-time. Maximilian had a retreat here, and thither he would go when State cares pressed too heavily from without and little spites and pitiful envies and jealousies from within. He had a house there and a garden, and among his books and his flowers he held loving converse with the past and the present—the great who had passed away from earth and the

beautiful which still remained. From these communions and reveries he would return a more patient and a more gentle man.

The shooting went on, however, and Mendez and Miramon obeyed the decree with a persistence characteristic solely of the Spanish blood.

As the French lines contracted, the skeleton regiments and brigades of Juarez were fully recruited. In many places those Mexican troops who were in the service of the Empire were turned upon and beaten. At other times they ran without a fight, throwing away their arms and disbanding in hopeless and helpless confusion. Nowhere in the whole Imperial army was there an organization worth its uniform save and alone those few Austrians and Hungarians personally devoted to the Emperor and calmly resolved to die. If at any time Shelby's conversation ever recurred to him, he made no sign. He saw probably, and felt more keenly than anyone there the need of the American corps Shelby could and would have recruited for the asking, but even in the death hour, and in front of the ruined wall at Queretero, he died as he had lived—a martyr to his belief in the sincerity of Mexican professions.

Of a sudden, and at one merciless blow, Sonora was wrenched from the grasp of the Empire. The French had already abandoned it, but an Austrian devoted to the Empire, Gen. Landberg, held it for his Majesty. The forces under his command were composed almost exclusively of Mexicans. Some few companies of these had American officers. One in particular was commanded by a young Confederate, Capt. W. M. Burwell, who was from the Valley of Virginia, and who had won high honor in Pelham's memorable artillery. He was only twenty, and had a face like a school girl. Tall, gentle in aspect and manner, with deep blue eyes and raven hair that curled and shone, he came into the Empire a boy adventurer, seeking fame and service in a foreign land. The Princess Iturbide, when the Valley of Virginia was a Paradise, had visited at his father's house and had looked in admiration

into the blue eyes of the beautiful boy. This boy, not yet a man, and the smoke of Virginia battle-fields not yet gone from his long black hair, came to the country of the Princess and to her palace by the Alameda. When he came out from her presence he was a Captain. He put on his uniform and came among his comrades in those few brief days, before the marching, a young Adonis—lithe, superb, a little Norman in feature, having red in his cheeks and dark in his hair.

All day had the battle ebbed and flowed about the port of Guaymas. A swart, fierce southern sun, coming in red from the ocean, got hotter and hotter, and by high noon it was blistering in among the foothills that held the thin handful of Landberg's dissolving army. Beautiful on the crest of the darkening conflict stood the young Virginian, no air brave enough anywhere to blow out the curls of his clustering hair, no succor anywhere near enough to save the flushed cheeks from the gray and the pallor of the death that was near. Landberg fell in the thick of the fight, cheering on his men who had fought well for Mexicans, but who had fought for all that as men who had no hope. A Frenchman, Col. De Marsang, rode to the front. The army was falling to pieces. On watch in the port of Guaymas two French frigates had been waiting since the sunrise. There stood safety and refuge for the shivered remnants when once well extricated from the coil that Landberg had failed to break, but how get through. De Marsang spoke to Burwell, saluting: "Will your men charge?"

"It may be, Colonel. Your orders."

"Yonder is a battery on a hill," pointing as he spoke to four sixteen-pounders massed upon an eminence that commanded the only road of retreat to Guaymas, "and it is scant of supporters. Silence it for a brief half hour and what is left of Landberg's loyal followers shall be saved."

Burwell drew his sword. He spoke to his men very gently. He put himself at their head. There was a sudden rush of some fifty or sixty desperate soldiers—a mass of blue and flame and dust and fury—the great roar of the guns broke

hoarse and loud above the shrill, fierce cheer of the men, and the road was clear.

They brought him back from the route of the cannoniers with a film on the blue eyes and white in the pallid cheeks. He spoke not, neither did he make moan. Today in Guaymas there are yet those who cross themselves and tell with bated breath about the charge of the *muy bonita Americano.*

Sonora was thus lost to Maximilian, and all the coast bordering upon the Pacific. In the north, department after department was abandoned by the French, and at Matamoras, after a bloody siege and a desperate combat at the end, Mejia—an Indian of pure blood and truer and braver than all the multitude of Castilian flatterers who blessed the Emperor and fled from him when the darkness came—cut his way out from environment and fell back wearily and hard bestead towards Monterey. In the passage out through the lines of Escobedo's army, an American squadron died nearly to a man. It had been recruited upon the Rio Grande, and was composed equally of those who had served in either the Federal or Confederate army. Its Captain, Hardcastle, was one of Hooker's best scouts; one Lieutenant, Inge, had made himself a name with Mosby; another, Sarsfield, an Irishman from Memphis, had killed a comrade in a duel in Georgia, and had fled as it were from a spectre which pursued him; seven of the privates had but an arm apiece; all had seen long and desperate service—all were soldiers who seemed to have no home and no country.

Children of the war, what a life history many of them had. It is related of the little band that, the night before Mejia began the work that had need to be ended speedily, they exchanged with one another the secret of each heart. Sorrows had come to the most of them, and memories that were too sad for repining, too bitter for tenderness or tears. A boy was there not yet twenty. He had been a soldier under Lee and had loved a woman older and wiser than himself. One day he told her all and she laughed in his beardless face a laugh that went deeper than any word of cold contempt or

stern refusal. He was too young, she said. He knew she meant too poor. The morning after the interview, while it was yet dusky and dim in the East, a firm, set face was turned fair to the South, and James Randolph had left his native land forever. Among the foremost in the charge, and when the force of the squadron had spent itself, he was taken up dead from among the feet of the horses, happier than he had been, perhaps, since the parting months agone.

One was there because a life of peace had become intolerable. Hardcastle, a born soldier, fought for the love of the strife; Inge to better his fortune; Sarsfield to exorcise a memory that made his sensitive life a burden; a few for greed and gain; not any one for hatred or revenge.

Mejia loved his Americans, and had done a general's part by them. None rode finer horses—none displayed more serviceable arms. What they had to do they did, so terribly that none ever rose up to question the act. On guard, they were never surprised; on their honor, they never betrayed; on duty, they never knew an hour of rest; on the foray, they kept a rank no stress had ever yet destroyed, and in the fight, when others halted or went forward, as those who grope, these—grim, silent, impassible as fate—rode straight on. Resisted, very well. Overpowered, still very well. Cut to pieces—that might be. Having shaken hands with life, what meant a few days more or less to all who saw the end approaching.

Escobedo had surrounded Matamoras with about 25,000 troops—not good troops, however, but hard to dislodge from the fortifications in which they had encased themselves. To get out, Mejia had to cut his way through. The American squadron went first. There was a heavy fog that had blown in from the Gulf on the morning of the venture—so heavy, indeed, that the first files could not see the third files, nor the third the fifth, nor the Captain his Lieutenants in their places behind him.

No matter; a squadron like this did not need the sunlight in which to die.

It took an hour of furious work to open the only road between Mejia and Monterey—between a massacre as ferocious as the nature of the bandit, Escobedo, and the succor of Jeanningros' Zouaves marching twenty leagues in twenty hours to the rescue. Out of seventy-two—rank and file—only eleven escaped free and scatheless. Afterwards, in relating the story of the escape, Gen. Mejia remarked sententiously to Gov. Reynolds:

"To maintain an Empire it is necessary only for a score of regiments, such as the squadron that charged at my command nine separate times, losing always and always closing up."

Today it is doubtful if any man knows where even one of the heroes lies buried, nor aught of his inner life, nor anything of why or how he died.

"So much the leaden dice of war
Do make or mar of character."

In the height of the tide of evacuation, Maximilian turned his eyes once more in the direction of the Colonists. A French Baron, Sauvage by name, and an Englishman in finance and education, obtained from the Emperor a grant of land as large about as the State of Delaware. It was rare and valuable land. It grew Indian-rubber trees and mahogany trees. It was in the tropics, and it was fertile beyond all comparison. The Tuspan river ran through the grant diagonally from northwest to southeast. It had a seaport—Tampico—where the largest vessels might ride at anchor, and where only in the unusually sickly years did the yellow fever come at all.

Several tribes of Indians inhabited this section of the Empire—mostly ignorant and unknown Indians—yet supposed to be friendly and well-disposed. At least the death of no white man had been laid at the door of any of the tribes, probably from the fact that no white man had ever been among them.

Sauvage dreaded Indians because he had never dealt with them. He was a cultivated and elegant gentleman.

He loved to linger long at dinner and late over the wine, to take his ease in his own way and to protect his person. He wanted a partner who—used to peril and privation—would not object to the life of a pioneer. Shelby was recommended. Freighting was no longer pleasant or profitable. Concentrated now principally in the cities the French did not attempt to patrol the roads nor to afford protection to those who lived away from the garrisoned towns and who needed protection. As a consequence, Shelby and his partner, Major McMurty, disposed of such stock as was left to them after the rigors of the rainy season and cast about for other work neither so difficult nor so uncertain.

Shelby met Sauvage, and when the interview was over a scheme of colonization was formed which needed only time to have added to the empire a bulwark that might have proved impregnable. Surveyors under the charge of Major R. J. Lawrence, once a resident of Kansas City, were dispatched immediately to the granted lands. A railroad from Tampico to Vera Cruz was projected and a subsidy at the rate of twenty thousand dollars per mile pledged by the Emperor. With Shelby to plan was to execute. Two hundred men were employed before the ink of the alliance between himself and Sauvage was scarcely dry. Taking passage in a rickety schooner to Havana, Shelby bought a seaworthy sail boat there and loaded the boat at once with American plows, harrows, railroad tools of all kinds, and staple provisions enough for a summer's campaign. At the same time he also flooded Texas and Arkansas with his circulars setting forth the advantages of the Tuspan country, its immense resources, the benefits a colonist might receive from a location there, and giving also the nature and quality of the soil, its products, and the average price per acre under the Imperial decree confirming the grant. The circular soon begot an interest that was intense. Twenty families in a neighborhood would unite and send an agent forward to investigate the prospects of the colony. Meanwhile the railroad was commenced. From Havana Shelby went to Vera Cruz where he purchased

another schooner belonging to the French fleet of observation in the harbor. Bazaine was in the city when he arrived in port. He went straight up to his hotel and spoke to him thus:

"Marshal, we have taken upon our hands much work. We have farming implements of all kinds, but we have no guns. Give us arms and ammunition. Your army of occupation has recently been supplied with Chassepots, and it is not your intention to take your old muskets back to France. Some you will sell, some you will destroy, and some you will give away. Give me, therefore, five hundred of your most serviceable, and ball cartridges enough for a six month's siege, and when you hear of our colony again you will hear of a place as promising as the scheme of your Emperor in Africa."

Bazaine listened to this frank volubility as one does to something he has but rarely heard in his life, smiled, shrugged his shoulders, but gave the order just the same. Before the sun set, Shelby was sailing out from the harbor and past the dark battlements of San Juan d'Ulloa, the owner of half a thousand elegant guns, a great store of ammunition, and a faith in the future that amounted with him to an inspiration.

The Americans flocked to him from every direction. His name and his fame seemed a talisman. As fast as they arrived he armed them, and it was well that he did so. A tribe of Indians, the Tolucas, owning lands directly on the northern boundary of the grant, grew jealous of a sudden at the growing colony, and sought to exterminate it. There were bad Mexicans among them who did the scheming and the plotting, and one rainy night a foray of eleven hundred dashed down upon the outposts. Shelby was with his surveying party at the time—a little detachment scarcely thirty strong. These fortified themselves behind a breastwork of logs, and fought until the settlement could be aroused. When the reinforcements were all up, Shelby massed them compactly together, and dashed down upon the invaders. They fought badly, and soon broke and fled. For thirty long and weary miles he followed them through swamp and chapparal, over

ravines and rivers, by day and by night, killing what came to him—sparing naught that fell in his way. Weary, the men declared the work done well enough. He ordered them forward fiercely.

"What," he cried out, "is the necessity of doing tomorrow, or the next day, what could be so well done today. The colony is young, it is hated, it has been in perpetual ambush; it must have over it a mantle of blood. Forward, and spare not."

The blow dealt the Tolucas was a terrible one, but it was necessary. Thereafter they traded in peace with the whites, and maintained the alliance unbroken until the colony itself was destroyed, and the Americans driven out from all part or lot in the country.

Through no fault of any American there, however, the colony did not live. Shelby did the work of a giant. He was alcalde, magistrate, patriarch, contractor, surveyor, physician, interpreter, soldier, lawgiver, mediator, benefactor, autocrat, everything. All things that were possible were accomplished. Settlers came in and had lands given them. The schooners were loaded with tropical fruits and sent to New Orleans. When they returned they were filled with emigrants. The railroad took unto itself length and breadth and crept slowly through morass and jungle toward Vera Cruz. Disease also decimated. The rank forests, the tropical sun, the hardships and exposures of the new and laborious life told heavily against the men, and many whom the bullet had spared, the fever finished. The living, however, took the place of the dead, and the work went on.

One day news came that the French garrison at Correzetla had marched at sunset for the capital. Of all the good five hundred foot and horse not even so much as a sabre or a sabretash remained to hold the mountain line between the guerrillas of the South, and the little handful of pioneers hewing away in the wilderness of mahogany, toiling by day and standing guard by night. It could not be far to the end. A sudden irruption of robbers, quite two thousand

strong, poured through the gaps in the broken and higher country, and drove rapidly in all the outlying posts along the frontier. If any settler there, tarrying late to save from the wreck whatever was valuable or dear to him, fell into their hands, it was a rope, a dog's death, and a grave that hid in it neither coffin nor shroud. Death to the Gringo came on every breeze that swept to the sea.

Shelby knew that the beginning of the end was at hand, and that he had great need to bring back from the overthrow all that was worth a stroke for rescue. He met this last danger as he had met all others, with arms in his hand. He massed once more his movable columns and fought as he fell back in front of his sick and his helpless, dealing such blows as became one who felt that the sun had been turned away from him, and that thereafter it would be neither a cloudless sky nor a peaceful twilight.

The citizens rose in the town of Tampico when it was known that the French had retired, and seized upon the schooners at anchor off the bar. Some among their crew made battle and died in vain and in discharge of a duty that had neither country nor cause to remember and reward it. When the vessels were burned their corpses were thrown headlong into the sea. Nothing survived the inundation. The fields were all laid waste, the habitations were all pillaged and destroyed, what remained of the farming implements were broken to pieces, the luxuriant growth of the tropics sprang up in a night as it were, and hid the work of the devoted colonists. There was a moment of savage exultation over the wreck and the ruin of the beautiful valley and today all the magnificent land watered by the Tuspan river lies out under the sun, a waste place and a wilderness. Worn by long marching and fighting, the survivors found refuge at last in Cordova, homeless, penniless, and strangers in a strange land.

And death came, too, to one among the exiles who had cast in his lot in their midst as a Christian hero, and who had fought the fight the hero always fights. Henry Watkins Allen, ex-Governor of Louisiana, and a general of brigade in

the Confederate army, was carried up from the lowlands of the Gulf to die. Shattered by wounds, and broken in health and fortune, he bore so bravely up that none knew, not even those who knew him best, how weak was the poor tried frame, and how clearly outlined to his own vision was the invisible angel of the sombre wings.

Selected by the Emperor to publish a newspaper in the English language and in the interests of the Empire and colonization, he had founded the *Mexican Times*, and had labored faithfully for the stability of the government and the development of its mineral resources. Singularly gentle and lovable for one so desperately brave, he gave his whole time to the labors of his position, and toiled faithfully on in the work taken upon his hands to do. The Americans looked upon him as an adviser and friend, Marshal Bazaine counseled with him and bestowed upon him his confidence, and Maximilian trusted him as he would a household officer or aide. His charities were unostentatious and manifold. He delighted in giving his scanty means, and in keeping from his left hand what his right hand contributed. He wrote boldly and to the point. In the army his record had been one of extraordinary daring in a corps where all had been brave. Badly wounded at Shiloh, he kept his saddle until the battle was over, and led his troops the long day through, as though impervious to human weakness or physical pain. Later, at Baton Rouge, under Breckenridge, he had made a charge upon a battery the fame of which filled the West. The guns were taken in the terrific contest, but Allen was lifted up from among his horse's feet, maimed, inert, speechless, almost dead. Three bullets from a canister shot had penetrated both legs, shattered the bones of one of them, and wounded him so desperately that for five months it was an almost hopeless struggle for life. To the last he was a sufferer and an invalid.

Having occasion to visit Vera Cruz on business during the height of the yellow fever, the hand of death was laid gently and silently upon him, and he returned to the City of Mexico to die. The conflict did not last long. What could the emaci-

ated soldier do in the grasp of one so relentless and so fierce? The old wound bled afresh, and the old weakness had never left him. Bazaine sent to him his own physician. All that skill could do was done; all that tenderness or affection could suggest was performed. In vain. The good man died as he had lived, in peace with the world and with the good God who had afflicted him so sorely in His own wise way, and who carried his soul straight to heaven.

The work of evacuation went steadily on. As the French retired, city after city received the Liberals with many demonstrations of joy. In some of these, also, those Mexicans who had sympathized with the Empire were cruelly treated; in others they were imprisoned or shot. The armies of Juarez were recruited by a levy *en masse* of all capable of bearing arms in the territory overrun by his ragamuffins. American sympathy was not wanting. Whatever in the way of arms, ammunition, supplies or clothing was needed, was bountifully supplied. A picked detachment of Californians, three squadrons strong, formed a desperate body-guard for the President. Unquestioning as fate, they did his bidding even to torture and to massacre. They were feared and hated of the nation.

A blow fell now, and fell suddenly, upon the colony of Carlota. The name itself, of all names, was the most fatal, and it appeased somewhat the fierce hatred of the born robbers and traitors, who hated everything noble or true, to plunder all who were unresisting or defenseless, and who had over them the blessing of the stricken woman of Miramar.

In a night the labor and toil of a long year were utterly broken up and destroyed. A band of freebooters from the mountains, nearly two thousand strong, poured down through the gap the French had left unprotected, and the pillage was utter and complete. Quite a hundred colonists, males all of them, were captured in the night and marched far into the gloomy places and recesses of the mountains. Their sufferings were terrible. Barefooted, days without food, beaten with sabres and pricked with lances, some few died, and the rest after a month of barbarous captivity, made their way

back to the French lines, scarcely more than alive. All had been robbed, many had been stripped. Those who survived the blow and the thrust were but few—those who were naked were the most numerous.

The blow finished the colony. The farming implements were destroyed, the stock was slaughtered in the fields, the cabins were burnt, the growing crops beaten down under the feet of the horses, and what the hurrying cavalry spared the winds and the torches finished. Nobody pitied the Americans. In the upheaval of all stable things, and in the ever-increasing contraction of the Imperial circle, what mattered robbery more or less. The days of the colonists were numbered when the French vessel that bore Castelnau anchored off the mole at Vera Cruz.

Still, however, the Americans were here and there in demand. An English company owning valuable silver mines at Pachuca, felt the terror of the French withdrawal, and sought for something stronger to rely upon than Mexican manhood. Col. Robert C. Wood was in the City of Mexico at the time and was called upon to take command of the Company's forces. These were peons and miners. He recruited in addition a dozen Americans and went down to Pachuca to look after the silver deposits entrusted to his keeping. Vast masses of enormously rich ore, cut off from the seaports because of the revolution going on in the land, were piled up in huge heaps awaiting shipment. Wood took a look at it all and turned to its owner, an old Englishman, nervous but brave:

"How much is it all worth?"

"Well on to a million."

"They will come for it strong, then—the robbers."

"No, not for the silver ore, but for a ransom. I could stand one, or two, or three among the chiefs and pay them all well, but up among the hundreds it is impossible."

Wood took command and went to fortifying. The third day he found himself surrounded. A summons to surrender came. Before firing a gun a Mexican always seeks to arrange

a capitulation. Palaver, from his own strong term *palabres*, means after all nothing but words, words, words, in the rugged old Spanish. Since the commander was not influenced to surrender, he had but one other thing to do—he fought like a tiger. In the end the first robber chief was driven away, for the Englishman's habitation was a fort, an arsenal, a store house, and a silver mine. Others advanced to the attack, but Wood held on for three long weeks, fighting every day, and keeping his own right royally. The siege might have lasted longer, but Mendez, an Imperial Mexican, swept down from the Capitol and drove before him like chaff the robber bands, preying alike upon the innocent and the guilty. Col. Wood marched out with the honors of war, the Englishman made his voyage sure to Vera Cruz; there was no more fighting about Pachuca, but there was no more silver ore as well.

As the news of reverse after reverse came to Maximilian, he turned once more his despairing eyes toward the Americans, and sought among them for the nucleus of a corps. He sent for Shelby, who was at Cordova, and had him to come post haste. Feeling that it was too late, Shelby yet answered the summons with alacrity and presented himself to the Emperor.

The interview was brief, but, brief as it was, it was almost sad.

"How many Americans are yet in the country?" the Emperor inquired.

"Not enough for a corporal's guard," was Shelby's frank reply; "and the few who are left can not be utilized. Your Majesty has put off too long the inauguration of a plan which, while it might not have given you as many soldiers as France, would at least have restored a formidable rallying point and stayed for a time the tide of reverses that is rising all over Mexico. I don't know of two hundred effective men among my countrymen who could be got together before the evacuation is complete."

"I need twenty thousand," the Emperor rejoined, as one who talked mechanically.

"Yes, forty thousand. Of all the Imperial regiments in your service, you cannot count upon one that will stand fast to the end. What are the tidings? In Gaudalajara—desertion. In Colima—desertion. In Durango, Zecetecas, San Luis Potosi, Matehuala—it is nothing but desertion, desertion. As I came in I saw the Regiment of Empress marching out. You will pardon me if I speak the truth, but as devoted as that regiment should be, I would call upon your Majesty to beware of it. When the need is greatest its loyalty will be most in doubt. Keep with you constantly all the household troops that yet belong to the Empire. Do not waste them in doubtful battles. Do not divide them among important towns. The hour is at hand when instead of numbers you will have to rely upon devotion. I am but as one man, but whatever a single subject can do, that thing shall be done to the utmost."

The Emperor mused some little time in silence. When he spoke again it was in a voice so sad as to be almost pitiful.

"It is so refreshing to hear the truth," he said, "and I feel that you have told it to me as one who neither fears or flatters. Take this in parting, and remember that circumstances never render impossible the right to die for a great principle."

As the Emperor spoke he detached the golden cross of the Order of Guadalupe from his breast and gave it into the hands of Shelby.

He has it yet, a precious souvenir—the sole memento of a parting that for both was the last on earth.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The readers of the *Review* are especially fortunate in having such a wide range of subjects presented in this number. The authors making these contributions have unselfishly given the results of months and in several instances of years of labor. New material and new interpretations on Missouri history are set forth. We are still largely in the monograph period of our local history but now the monographs are appearing in ever increasing number, while even ten years ago there were despairingly few.

The State's progress in this field is encouraging. Valuable in itself, it is significant of the larger progress which is raising the standards, cultural and educational, over the State. There seems to be a conscious effort by thousands of Missourians to make of their state a modern, progressive commonwealth. Less emphasis is being placed on material greatness and more emphasis on man and woman greatness. Our people are becoming more interested in their people and less absorbed in their possessions. The new attitude should result in more enlightenment.

APPRECIATION.

The last issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* is very good indeed and worth more than the full year's subscription.—Mr. A. T. Sweet, Bureau of Soils, Washington, D. C., February 26, 1924.

I find *The Missouri Historical Review* of great interest and benefit to me.—Miss Vesta Wood, State Teachers College, Springfield, Missouri, February 4, 1924.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much. It is a splendid publication and I congratulate The State Historical Society of Missouri on its splendid work, the general makeup of its publication, and its diligence in gathering so much of the interesting matter pertaining to our state history.—Judge Albert D. Nortoni, St. Louis, Missouri, December 12, 1923.

I get real pleasure from each number of the *Review*.—Major Ellery Farmer, Fort Hamilton, New York, December 14, 1923.

I enjoy the *Review* very much and have found much of value for various club papers in it.—Miss Villa McCune, Vandalia, Missouri, December 3, 1923.

Let me compliment The State Historical Society on *The Missouri Historical Review*. The work it has done on that deserves to live.—Mr. H. C. Storrs, DeFuniak Springs, Florida, December 3, 1923.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much.—Mr. Jacob Helber, Farmington, Missouri, December 11, 1923.

I wish to say that I will be pleased at any time to do all in my power to further the interests of The State Historical Society of Missouri in broadcasting this fine work, *The Missouri Historical Review*. I can hardly imagine how it can send out four issues of such a splendidly gotten up magazine for such a small annual membership payment. It is certainly a beauty in looks, and the material in the one I received is of inestimable value to anyone interested in the history of Missouri. I am one of the above, and had never imagined that there was such a source with such a wealth of material concerning said history.—Mr. Raymond W. Thorp, Author, Charleston, South Carolina, January 14, 1924.

The State Historical Society of Missouri should receive the support of all real Missourians who are interested in the advancement of their state. I consider the *Review* a great treasure.—Mr. Loyd Collins, Clinton, Missouri, December 26, 1923.

The Missouri Historical Review is certainly a masterful portrayal of events that happened in our glorious state and events that are not found in our histories.—Mr. J. H. Schaedler, Vice-President, The Clayton National Bank, Clayton, Missouri, December 26, 1923.

I cannot do without this most valuable *Review*. It most certainly is of great interest and benefit to the people who care for state history.—Mrs. Willie C. Thomas, Carrollton, Missouri, December 27, 1923.

I enjoy *The Missouri Historical Review* very much and want to give my support to such a worth while movement.—Supt. P. M. Marshall, Bunceton Public School, Bunceton, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

I greatly enjoy your publication, *The Missouri Historical Review*.—Mr. David R. Williams, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

The January number of the able and interesting magazine, *The Missouri Historical Review*, has just been received. The *Review* will no doubt prove of inestimable value to the future historians of Missouri.—Mr. James E. Withrow, National Bank of Commerce Bldg., St. Louis, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

The value of The State Historical Society Library is perhaps not known to every one. N. T. Gentry, a Columbia lawyer, in examining the title to some Boone county land recently, found that it once belonged to a prominent lawyer of that county, who died owning it. Although the awyer was careful in writing wills for other people, he made a mistake in

writing his own will. He gave his property to his "wife, children and grand-son, according to the laws of Missouri;" but he failed to mention the name of his wife, children or grand-son, and he failed to state the number of his children. By referring to the newspaper files in the historical library, the names of the wife, children and grand-son were obtained.—Honorable N. T. Gentry, Lawyer, Columbia, Missouri, February 14, 1924.

VIRGIL M. HARRIS

How pitiably incomplete are the obituaries of real men unless their lives reveal "news" material. When the press announced the death on December 29, 1923, of Virgil M. Harris, this was again impressed on me. Later comments only deepened that impression. Here was a man whose well ordered life had been devoid of public storms, popular applause, or exceptional success. He was an author and an authority; there are many. He held a responsible position; nothing striking in this. He belonged to clubs; this is common. He came of an old family, highly honored and honorable; this is better. Then wherein did the notices, and they were better than the average, fail so pitiably to do this man justice, for Virgil M. Harris was an exceptional man, who made a lasting contribution to his people, and who will be remembered by his friends for decades? They failed to reveal the great unselfishness of this man, who had ideals and lived them, who had a broad love for his fellows and gave it expression. I find that most of the real men of today have these qualities as well as ability, industry, and courage.

Three years is a short period during which to build a friendship or form highly laudatory opinions of another. I first met Virgil M. Harris in 1920, when he became a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri. During the next three years he interested scores of his friends in the work of this institution. I recall that on one Christmas he personally sent as remembrances a year's membership in the Society to twenty-five persons. He aided in other ways. He gave of his advice, he made suggestions. He loved Missouri and contributed to advance her interests. He espoused worthy causes and advanced worthwhile work. He seemed

to regard his life as a trust-estate from which were to be paid to his fellowmen the dividends of good cheer, kind words, wise counsel, and high ideals. Virgil M. Harris typified the real nobleman.

CORRECTION

Dr. Wm. G. Bek requests that correction be made to page 237, line 20, of the January (1924) issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*, so that it will read: "W. Binner and A. Baltzer, whose son Dr. John Baltzer is the present president of the German Evangelical Synod of North America."

COUNTY HISTORY CONTESTS

Under the auspices of the Greater Missouri Movement, in co-operation with the State Department of Education, there has been inaugurated a county essay contest. The purpose is to stimulate interest among the school children in the study of the history and resources of their county. The county and city superintendents and the county leaders in the Greater Missouri Movement direct the contest. Positive results will be obtained from this movement. It cannot be too highly endorsed. Better citizens with a deeper appreciation of the history, conditions and assets of their community will be made of these hundreds of school boys and girls who take part in such contests. The home and community ties will be strengthened. The migratory attractions of other states will be lessened. These are some of the practical aspects of the contest, but no less lasting and permanent will be the educational and stimulating results. If this plan could be made more or less permanent in practice it would result in more good to Missouri than the expenditure of much money along what some might regard as more practical lines. The initial success of the movement indicates that it will spread.

"THE BANK OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI"

Students of Missouri history will find "The Bank of the State of Missouri," by Dr. John Ray Cable, a real contribution. The work was compiled as a doctorate dissertation in Columbia

University and was published by that institution last year. The author holds the position of associate professor of finance and banking in Washington University, St. Louis.

The work is divided into four parts. "The Period Before 1830," includes a survey of economic conditions in early Missouri, national conditions affecting early Missouri banking, Missouri's unfortunate experiences with the Bank of St. Louis, the Bank of Missouri, and the Loan Office experiment, and the work in Missouri of the Branch Bank of the United States and the Cincinnati Commercial Agency. "The Period of Monopoly" embraces the years from about 1830 to 1857. It includes chapters on the demand in Missouri for a State Bank, the passage of the State Bank bill in 1837, the charter and the organization of the Bank, the State Bank and the panic of 1837, the fight against unsound money, the career of the Bank to 1857, and an economic and statistical study of the accounts of the Bank. This part is the largest and most detailed in the work. The third part deals with "The Breakdown of Banking Monopoly in Missouri" and extends from 1857, the year of the passage of the general banking act in Missouri, to 1866, when the State sold its State Bank stock. This period is filled with valuable information, most of which is new. The author considers it under these suggestive chapter headings: private banking and business development (in the 50's), the demand for additional banking capital (especially in St. Louis), the legislation of 1857 and banking progress until the outbreak of the Civil War, Missouri banking during the Civil War, and the sale of the State stock in the State Bank. The fourth period continues the story of the old State Bank after it passed entirely into private hands and became the National Bank of the State of Missouri down to its failure in 1877 and the final closing up of its affairs ten years later.

There is a remarkable amount of valuable data in this book. The author has gone about his work in painstaking manner. He presents a concise study that is easy to digest. Although frequently handicapped by lack of source material

and in the later 30's by even good secondary data, he has succeeded in presenting a continuous relation of his subject. The second and third periods are the meat of the work. The first period has been treated in part by others, and the fourth period is more of an addenda to the major theme. The former could have been briefed, the latter is little more than a final chapter which could have been added to the preceding period. These are minor remarks, as the high character of the work will commend it to all seriously interested in finance and banking in Missouri.

There is something of compliment to Missouri in the manner in which she conducted the old State Bank. More of her citizens should know of the high place occupied in the history of state banking by this creature of their creation. It was the only bank in the West that did not suspend. It weathered hard times and panics, prosperity and inflation. It was true to its purpose and would not listen to the siren call of large speculative profits. During its two decades of monopoly banking (1837-1857) it set standards of banking that were assets beyond computation to Missourians and others. Despite its political and financial relations with the State government, it had on the whole a remarkable run of able, conscientious officers. Missouri was one of the few states that did not waste its share of Federal money on the distribution of the surplus. The old State Bank of Missouri became the great financial institution of the West. It merited its name "The Gibraltar of the West."

Missouri can take pride in the old State Bank, its charter, and its officers. Considering the times, the leaders in Missouri statecraft acquitted themselves well. The State is under obligation for their well poised conservatism. Much that Missouri escaped which other commonwealths endured through poor banking, can be traced to these hard-headed men of business and politics a century past. One man, whose name is now almost forgotten, deserves especial mention. This is Henry Shurlds, for fifteen years cashier of the old State Bank. Dr. Cable states that Shurlds' service was

the greatest single factor in the success of the bank. He was a lawyer by profession, but had been Secretary of State and State Auditor. He was genial and cautious. "Probably Missouri has produced few abler financiers. Shurlds deserves to be considered as one of the greatest bankers the Middle West has ever produced." Dr. Cable has performed an important work in this volume, and among the many valuable contributions made therein should be included this long merited recognition of the able, conscientious public servant and financier, Hon. Henry Shurlds.

DIME NOVELS AT A PREMIUM

Times have changed since the days when *Beadle's Dime Novels* sold in secondhand book shops at $2 or $3 per hundred copies. The catalog of a recent Eastern book dealer contained a list of a dozen or more of these novels, once the bane of teacher and parent. Such subjects as these appear: Massasoit's Daughter, The Forest Spy, Mohawk Nat, The Loyalist, The Unionist's Daughter, Hickory Jack. It is surprising to find these ephemeral publications even listed for sale; more surprising still to find them quoted at $3.00 each. Why such a price,—indicative, of course, of a demand?

PUTNAM COUNTY HISTORY

Contributed by Charles C. Dean, Coatesville, Missouri.

From a speech delivered by Henry Clay Dean at the first meeting of the Old Settlers Association of Putnam county in August 1882, at Pettys Mill in Putnam county, Missouri, I find the following:

"The early courts were improvised in the neighborhoods. When I came to buy the land on which I now live, of Thoret Rose, a very worthy schoolmaster, he was late in returning home and gave as his apology, that he had been administering justice in the punishment of a hog-thief. The sentence of the Court, which was executed on the spot, was that the thief should be sewed up in the hog's skin, made to wade the Chariton, and leave the State, which he did, never to return to Putnam."

Thoret Rose was the administrator of the estate of Asa Fisk, who was the owner of this land, and the records show that this was the first estate settled in the probate court of Putnam county. Asa Fisk was a soldier under General Jackson and was one of the men wounded at the battle of New Orleans, having been shot through the hand. He lies buried on this land in front of the residence of H. A. Walter, a grandson of Henry Clay Dean. I suppose that Hogthief Creek was named for this incident as it lies over the river in the west edge of Schuyler county, near where the court was held that sent him from the State, although the attention of those interested has been called to the fact that the old soldier's grave has never had a grave stone placed to mark his last resting place. He certainly is entitled to one and while we are voting millions to those engaged in other wars we should not forget the heroic dead who fought to make this a land worth living in.

THE VIOLETTE-ROBINSON HISTORICAL COLLECTION.

(From *The Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1924.)

The Kirksville historical collection has become the Violette-Robinson historical collection, by the recent action of the Northeast Teachers' College and the Adair County Historical Society. The new name is given for Prof. E. M. Violette, who has devoted years to building the collection, and Senator W. T. Robinson of LaPlata, who was instrumental largely in obtaining a $200,000 appropriation for the new Kirk auditorium, in which the collection is housed.

WESTPORT BATTLEFIELD MEMORIAL.

(From *The Kansas Citian*, January 22, 1924.)

The Chamber of Commerce has been put on record by the Executive Committee in favor of the creation of a National Park that will embrace the present grounds of the Country Club, this to be a Westport Battlefield Memorial Park to the honor and memory of the soldiers of the Civil War. The movement which the Chamber has now endorsed was initiated by the Missouri Valley Historical Society. A bill has been or will be introduced in Congress by Congressman Henry L. Jost for this purpose.

D. A. R. WASHINGTON TEA

(From *The Carrollton Daily Democrat*, February 23, 1924.)

Carrollton Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution celebrated Washington's birthday, February 22, with a Colonial Tea at the Magazine Club rooms from 3 to 5 to help raise funds to entertain the State Conference here this October. Everyone was cordially invited to attend.

The receiving line was in Colonial costume and one feature of great interest was the table of antiques. Each was labeled with brief history and name of present owner. The school children were invited to come to view the relics thus creating interest and respect for the history of America. The following is a list of the relics that were on display:

An old sword used in the Revolutionary war, the war of 1812, and the Civil War. Was also used in a skirmish in Carroll county. The property of Thos. Hiatt.

"A Chip off of the Old Block." This is a piece of the famous Plymouth Rock, which was discovered by the Pilgrim Fathers, in 1620. It is now the property of S. K. Turner, of Carrollton, whose ancestor, Humphrey Turner, came from Essex, England, and settled in the colony of New Plymouth, in 1626.

This scarf was brought from East India by William Markey, Mariner, and by him presented to Cordelia E. Markey, afterwards Cordelia E. Turner, grandmother of the present Lucelia K. Turner.

Old hats of the 1860 period, property of Mrs. T. W. McGuire.

Mrs. T. W. McGuire's wedding bonnet, fifty-two years old.

This pencil sketch of George Washington's tomb was made by Elizabeth Calvert, great, great grand mother of Nellie C. Darr Thomas.

This apron was brought to Maryland in 1633 by The Calverts and to the "Boon's Lick Country" Missouri in 1818 by the ancestors of M. C. D. Thomas.

This powder horn was carried by Lieut. Wm. Brown a personal friend of George Washington in the Revolutionary War.

This Masonic apron was worn by Wm. Brown, a personal friend of George Washington in the army and private life. This apron is now in the possession of his great, great grand daughter, Mrs. Thomas.

This glove was worn by Helen Henry, daughter of Capt. Jack Henry of Woodford, Ky., when she had the pleasure and honor of shaking hands with LaFayette at a reception given him in 1824 in Woodford County, Ky.

This scarf is over 100 years old and owned by Mrs. Robert Johnston mother of the late Mrs. Henry Howard.

Cape—November, 1850 or 1851; owned by Mrs. R. B. Hudson.

Candle stick and candle snuffers which belonged to my great great aunt, Mrs. Beck. Mrs. Sallie D. Goodson.

Old spectacles owned by Clem Spencer, more than 100 years old.

Two world war medals of Herndon William Painter, who volunteered in the U. S. Navy September 7, 1918, for 5 years. He was a first class gunner's mate in Naval Aviation. Was released February 27, 1919, and honorably discharged at his death December 30, 1919. Now owned by his mother, Mrs. W. R. Painter.

Alexander D. Rock who was a captain in the Mexican War sent back from his western home in Eureka, Nevada, to his grandson William Rock Painter, a silver brick that was mined and smelted there. Now owned by W. R. Painter.

Black haircloth rocking chair brought out here from Virginia when Major Archelanes Perkins of the Revolutionary war came out to Missouri to live with his son-in-law James Herndon who was a sergeant in the war of 1812. Now owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

An old stage coach trunk, covered with undressed leather, bought in Baltimore over a hundred years ago, the exact counterpart of it sits under Washington's bed at Mount Vernon, was the property of Corporal Morgan Day of Virginia, war of 1812, now owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

An antique glass camphor bottle and an elaborately embroidered silk crepe shawl called "Ashes of Roses" that have passed their hundredth anniversary. Owned by Mrs. W. R. Painter.

Gingham dress made entirely by hand from raw cotton to finished garment. Loaned by Willie A. Thomas.

Powder horn and powder measure loaned by the D. D. Thomas family.

Candle sticks over 100 years old belonging to the D. D. Thomas family.

Candle snuffers belonging to the D. D. Thomas family.

An old pewter tea pot owned by Mrs. Sallie B. Tatum, brought from Kentucky in 1843 by her mother.

An old lorgnette, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old vest worn by Reynold Keen an ancestor of Fanny Kinsey at one of George Washington's levees.

An old shoe buckle worn in Colonial times, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old knee buckle worn in Colonial times, property of Fanny Kinsey.

A pair of men's silk stockings worn when men wore knee breeches, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old bouquet holder, property of Fanny Kinsey.

An old sword used by Lawrence Keasnely, commander in U. S. Navy in war of 1812, property of Fanny Kinsey.

Silver markers used to label brandy and wine, owned by Fanny Kinsey.

Sampler 120 years old owned by Mrs. W. J. Turpin, from her mother's ancestor.

Yarn spun cloth woven spread designed and embroidered by Hannah Childs of Pomfret, Conn., prior to her marriage to Dr. Charles Eldridge, June 24, 1811. Dr. Charles Eldridge was the son of Capt. James Eldridge, aide de camp to Gen. Washington during the war.

Seven and three dollar bills issued by the Continental Congress in 1775.

A bowl more than 103 years old, during its time has served three owners, brought here in 1821, now the property of Mrs. Nellie England.

Holy Bible 179 years old, printed at Edinburgh in 1743 A. D. by Marh and Charles Kerr, His Majesty's printers. The property of M. S. Porter.

1852 spinning wheel handed down from Mrs. Repp Hudson to Mrs. R. W. Brown.

Unique silver basket over 100 years old, property of Mrs. Roy Welch.

Silver spoon made during the Revolutionary war, property of Mrs. Deardorff of Hale.

A dish and salt celler handed down to Mrs. Smith from her great grandmother, two hundred years old.

Mrs. Lockie Shanklin. An old counter-pane of which the cotton was planted, cultivated, gathered, carded, spun and woven on the plantation of her grandfather W. Arnold of Campbell County, Va., an embroidered silk apron of wonderful handiwork and artistic coloring, under sleeves, fashion of long ago, and a fly bush of pea fowl feathers, tho not an antique bring back memories of yester years before the fly was swatted.

Mrs. Kate Cone. A combination tool taken off the body of an English soldier who had fallen in one of the battles about Philadelphia 1777, by Joseph Blackwell of Virginia, an office in General Washington's army, father of the late A. C. Blackwell (Carrollton, Mo.) grand father of Mrs. Kate Blackwell Cone and great grand father of Mrs. Willie Eads Cason. A tea spoon over 200 years old and a buckle worn by Jas. Blackwell in Colonial days.

Mrs. Harry Brand exhibited a New York paper printed November 7, 1783, containing General Washington's Farewell orders to the armies of the United States. His uncle, John Brand was war reporter of the paper.

PERSONALS

Oscar F. Arnold: Born in Franklin county, Virginia, January 7, 1844; died at Webb City, Missouri, August 14, 1923. He came to Missouri early in life and served in the Confederate army during the Civil War under General Price. In 1867 he located near Bunceton where he attended the Cully and Simpson Institute. He served Cooper county as superintendent of schools for two terms, as commissioner for one term, and as representative in the General Assembly for two terms.

William Henry Booth: Born in Bonn county, Illinois, September 15, 1849; died at Buffalo, Missouri, November 11,

1923. At the age of 5 he came to Missouri. During the Civil War he served in the Union army, volunteering his services when he was 15 years old. He was active in county and state politics, being sheriff of Dallas county for two terms, representative in the General Assembly for three terms, and state senator for one term.

John T. Crowe: Born in Franklin county, Missouri, December 28, 1841; died at his home near Beaufort, Missouri, April 16, 1923. He was educated in the public schools. During the Civil War he served in a Missouri regiment, and in 1868 he was admitted to the bar. He did not practice law, but served his county as assessor, collector and sheriff, as well as representative in the General Assembly for two terms before 1892.

James Lay Davisson: Born in Tippecanoe county, Indiana, October 6, 1855; died at his home near Coffey, Daviess county, Missouri, March 10, 1923. He came to Missouri with his mother at an early age and lived on a farm near Blue Ridge. He was educated in the public schools and at Grand River College, Edinburg, Missouri. He then taught school for a time and in 1883 moved to Coffey. In the Forty-forth General Assembly he served Daviess county as representative.

Charles Bloomfield Edgar: Born at St. Louis, April 2, 1847; died at St. Joseph, December 30, 1923. He was graduated from Kentucky University in 1872 and came to St. Joseph in 1894 as editor and publisher of the *Daily News*. In 1900 he acquired control of the *Gazette-Herald*, which he published in connection with the *News*. He sold the *Gazette-Herald* and engaged in the newspaper business in Nebraska and Oklahoma until 1914, when he returned to St. Joseph. He established the *Weekly Review* there in 1917. Ill health forced him to retire a year later.

James F. Edwards: Born near Forestell, in St. Charles county, Missouri, January 31, 1838; died there April 10, 1923. He attended Central College at Fayette and later joined an overland caravan going west. In 1856 he joined General

Harvey in the Crow and Blackfoot Indian campaigns. He was a member of the surveying force which laid out the North Missouri railroad (now the Wabash). During the Civil War he served under General Parsons with the rank of colonel. He was clerk of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and later served as clerk in the House of Representatives of Missouri, and in Congress.

Joseph Henry George: Born at Coburg, Ontario, in 1853; died at St. Louis, December 15, 1923. He attended the Collegiate Institute, Coburg; Albert College, and Victoria University at Toronto, from which he was graduated in 1880, receiving the Prince of Wales medal in philosophy. Later he received the degrees of Master of Arts from Victoria University, and Doctor of Philosophy from Boston University. For a time he preached in Canada and in 1891 he came to St. Louis, Missouri, as a Congregational minister. He served as president of Congregational College of Montreal, 1897 to 1901; and as president of the Chicago Theological Seminary. He became the fourth president of Drury College, at Springfield, Missouri, and served until 1913, after which time he was made president emeritus.

Frank M. Harr: Born near Chambersburg, in Clark county, Missouri, September 21, 1881; died near birthplace January 31, 1923. He served as circuit clerk of Clark county for four years, entering that office in 1903; was representative to the Forty-eighth General Assembly and re-elected to the Forty-ninth session, during which he was a member of several important committees; was appointed by the governor of the state to the Auditing Committee for State Institutions. In 1922 he was appointed a state motor vehicle inspector.

Paul H. Linn: Born at Huntsville, Missouri, December 12, 1872; died at Memphis, Tennessee, February 1, 1924. Dr. Linn had been engaged in educational work with the Methodist Episcopal church, South, for a number of years, and was a member of the Educational Commission which, in 1921, promoted an extensive financial campaign for Methodist colleges. He attended Central College, Fayette, Missouri, and

received the degrees of A. B. and A. M. in 1894 and 1895. In 1897 Washington University, St. Louis, conferred upon him the degree of L. L. D. He was then, in 1908, given the degree of D. D. by Central College. He was ordained in the ministry in 1897; and became president of Central College in 1913, remaining in that office to the time of his death.

J. M. McMonigle: Born at Hampton, in Platte county, Missouri, December 1, 1866; died at Platte City, March 7, 1923. He was educated in the public schools and at Park College. He took up law and was elected to represent Platte county in the state legislature. He also served in the state auditor's office, and at the time of his death was deputy circuit clerk.

J. P. Nixon: Born near Chicago, Illinois, November 15, 1841; died at Springfield, Missouri, February 17, 1923. In 1865 he was graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan. He lived in Springfield for many years and was appointed circuit attorney for the Fourteenth judicial district by Governor J. W. McClurg. He served in this capacity for four years and in 1909 was appointed presiding judge of the Springfield Appellate Court by Governor Hadley.

John Arthur Postlewait: Born at Norwood, Illinois, September 12, 1850; died at Tarkio, Missouri, December 2, 1923. He was educated at Jefferson Medical College and practiced for a time in Illinois. He came to Tarkio in 1880 at the time the town was being platted, and opened his office. He was a member of the General Assembly from 1888-89, and a delegate to the national Democratic convention in 1896. For four years he was president of the board at St. Joseph State Hospital, and was also president of the county pension board for many years. During his life-time he held various civic offices in Tarkio.

Diederich R. Schroer: Born in Warren county, Missouri, June 4, 1847; died near birthplace March 27, 1923. His early education was limited to the public schools. After having served in various township offices he was made presiding judge of the Warren county court, in which capacity he

served for several terms. He was later sent as a representative to the state legislature.

Thomas K. Skinker: Born in St. Louis county, Missouri, June 9, 1845; died at St. Louis, January 27, 1924. He was educated in private schools of St. Louis, and in 1863 entered Washington University. He also spent a year at the University of Virginia. He was admitted to the bar in 1867 and enrolled in the Supreme Court of Missouri in 1876. From 1877 to 1884 he was official reporter of decisions in the Supreme Court. He also served as president of the Law Library Association of St. Louis, and as president of the old Clayton and Forest Park railroad which he built in 1893. He was a member, formerly of the St. Louis Board of Election Commissioners, a delegate to the New York conference on reform of primary and election laws, and a member of the St. Louis and Missouri Bar Associations.

Henry P. Tandy: Born July 18, 1841; died August 31, 1923. He was educated in Eminence College, in Kentucky. For many years he was active in educational work, serving as president of Eminence College, and as a teacher of history and mathematics in Stanberry Normal school. He was a pastor for sixty years in Stanberry, Mound City, Bedison, Corning, and numerous places in the states of Kentucky, Illinois, Oklahoma, and Texas. In 1901 he was elected to represent Gentry county in the state legislature.

John Wear: Born near Springfield, Missouri, November 4, 1840; died at Poplar Bluff, Missouri, March 12, 1923. He was admitted to the bar when he was a young man, and later was elected to the state senate, where he served for one term. During the Civil War he served under General Marmaduke in the Confederate army. From Springfield he went to Mt. Vernon, Missouri, to live; later he moved to Poplar Bluff, where he was editor of the *Renovator* for a time. He was counsellor for the Iron Mountain railroad under the presidency of Thomas Allen. After serving as circuit judge for a time he resigned from public life, twenty-four years ago.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

THE FIRST WOMAN'S CLUB IN MISSOURI

From *The St. Joseph Gazette*, May 23, 1915.

On a cold, dreary, winter evening forty-three years ago, in a little village in the northwest corner of Missouri, known as Oregon, seven women, six of whom were neighbors, met at the home of a physician and organized the first woman's club in Missouri.

One week later, January 13, 1872, several new members joined the original seven. By-laws and a constitution were adopted, and these first officers were elected: Miss Anna McCoy, president; Mrs. A. K. Irvine, secretary; and Mrs. Mary Curry, treasurer.

It is hard for young women to realize today just what this pioneer club meant to its founders and to all of its members during these early years. Most of them were middle-aged women of limited education, whose hands and hearts were filled with the cares of homes and families. They yearned to make themselves and their community better yet they were half afraid of the sound of their own voices and of what the gossips might say.

Each Monday night they met, read their essays, listened to their music, and discussed their "domestic science" problems. Only it wasn't domestic science or home economics then. It was the best way to make soap; or, it was how to color carpet rags so they would not fade; or, the relative merits of hop yeast and salt raising.

Its first public work was to petition the school board for increased educational facilities; afterwards they gave books, bookcases, apparatus, and an organ to the school. Long before chautauquas and lecture courses were so common as at present the Women's Union decided it would like to see and hear some of the speakers of national fame. So the members beg n what they called a lecture fund. They brought to Oregon such people as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Phoebe Couzins, General Shields, Colonel Sanford, George B. Wendling, Henry Clay Dean, Eli Perkins, and others.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton said:

"In 1875 I made my first visit to Oregon, and remember my surprise at meeting so large a circle of bright, intelligent women."

(Note: Other clubs whose memberships were composed of women had been organized prior to 1872 in Missouri. The Women's Christian Association was organized in St. Louis in 1868; the first woman-suffrage club in Missouri was organized in St. Louis in 1867, and is considered the first organization in the world having for its sole purpose the political en-

franchisement of women; and the Woman's Club of St. Louis, which is considered the pioneer of woman's clubs in that city, was founded in 1872, the same year in which the Oregon club discussed above was organized. Both the Woman's Club of St. Louis and the Oregon club seem to have been modeled on the broad cultural lines of present-day organizations of this kind.)

OLD WIRE ROAD OF 1862

Reprinted from the *Cassville Democrat* in the *Springfield Republican*, May 23, 1915.

In 1862 the United States, being in a bloody battle with the Southern States, sought to wipe out every vestige of secession and once again be a reunited people. During that cruel war and its commencement the Confederate forces were in the ascendency in this portion of Missouri and practically had things their own way. But this was destined not to remain thus, for Uncle Sam was anxious to have a union of our people.

Every possible convenience of that day and time was brought about in order to enable the Federal forces to make progress and keep posted on the doings of the Confederates. In 1862 the United States had constructed from Rolla, via Lebanon, Marshfield, Springfield, Wilson creek, Crane creek, Camp Bliss hollow, McDowell, Cassville, and Keetsville,* Missouri and on to Cross Hollows, Mud Town, Fayetteville, Van Buren, and Fort Smith, Arkansas, a telegraph line to enable the Federal government to keep in touch with everything that was going on.

The Confederates would put the Federals to lots of trouble by cutting the telegraph wire, causing them to send a force of repairmen to fix it. Then a bunch of soldiers would hike out after the Confederates, who had gone to safety by the time they got there.

Probably they had wire-tappers at that day and time who secured the Confederates information that they could not otherwise get. At that time the messages were taken off of the telegraph instruments on paper slips in the form of dots and dashes which the operator could read.

After the war closed the government took down the wire and for many years afterward the old telegraph poles could be seen along the road from Cassville to Springfield; and since that time it has been called the Old Wire road. There is more war history connected with it than possibly with any other road in southwest Missouri.

Many thousands of soldiers of both sides in that unfortunate Civil War traversed the Old Wire road with Brown, Fremont, Blunt, McNeal, Phelps, Bliss, Schofield, Herron, Totten, and others of the Federal forces; and Price, Coffee, Rains, Hindman, Parsons, Slack, and others of the Confederate Army.

*Keetsville is now Washburn.

Unwritten history says that during the retreat of General Price from this state he threw one of his cannons in the "blue hole" in Flat creek near Springfield, because its wheel was broken.

MORE ABOUT THE OLD WIRE ROAD

(From a communication by Dr. W. C. Carroll, of Lebanon, in the *Springfield Leader*, August 26, 1917.)

More than seventy-five years ago the government instructed its surveyors to locate the very best route possible from St. Louis to the great Southwest. The present Wire road was selected by these surveyors after every available route had been gone over.

The road was opened as a star postal route and so became the great artery of travel from St. Louis to Springfield and the country to the southwest. During the Civil War it was used exclusively by the government for the transportation of all war equipment and troops that were sent to the south through here. At that time the government placed a telegraph wire along the road and it is so known today as the Old Wire road.

This highway connects the present with the great historic past. Every mile of it is rich in romance and historical facts of the "great struggle," and along its stretches many of the tragedies of that war were enacted in furious combats.

A MISSOURIAN'S BUGLE BLAST ENDED CIVIL WAR

From the *Sedalia Capital*, April 9, 1915.

Fifty years ago this morning Captain Nathaniel Sisson, of Maryville then a bugler in Sheridan's cavalry, and even then a mere boy but a veteran of the Sheridan campaigns in the Shenandoah valley, rode out a little ways in front of General Sheridan's cavalry corps and sounded recall which ended the Civil War and called a halt to four years of internecine strife.

Captain Sisson, then a corporal, who later served under Custer in the Northwestern campaigns against the Indians, was standing in front of General Sheridan's tent when a troop of cavalry which had been engaged the previous day and which had been waiting the call to gallop to another part of the field, came dashing by for an attack on General Lee's detachments across the battlefield. Another detachment from Sisson's corps was detailed to join them and the horsemen started to obey orders when a messenger came to General Sheridan's headquarters saying that General Lee had surrendered. Immediately a second messenger was sent to check the cavalry charge then under way, and it was Captain Sisson who, lifting his bugle to his lips, stopped the charge, recalled the troops, and then explained that Lee had surrendered. This was the last attack of the Civil War.

Following the Indian campaigns of the west and northwest, Captain Sisson came to Maryville (Mo.) to enter the farm-loan business.

RECOUNTS VISIT OF CHARLES DICKENS TO CARONDELET

Reprinted from *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in *Carondelet News*, February 9, 1923.

Charles Dickens, English novelist, visited St. Louis, East St. Louis and Belleville in the spring of 1842.

He arrived in St. Louis April 11, and stopped at the old Planters Hotel. His boat arriving early, the Reception Committee which was to receive him was not there, so he arrived at the hotel unattended, which did not better his disposition, which had been growing steadily worse during his visit in Kentucky. The excellent fare he received at the Planters helped to restore some good humor.

While in St. Louis he was entertained at the home of Mrs. Cornelia Maury, whose home was a landmark of old Carondelet. This building was half rock and half log, and was moved to 5815 Pennsylvania avenue in 1917.

On the road between East St. Louis and Belleville, Dickens stopped at the old Yellow House, which was five blocks west of Edgemont on the old Rock road, and which he made famous in his "American Notes."

Upon reaching Belleville he stopped over night at the old Mansion House at the corner of Main and Howard streets, which was considered at the time the finest inn in St. Clair county.

In his "American Notes" he commented on Belleville as follows: "Belleville was a small collection of wooden houses, huddled together in the heart of the bush and swamp. Many of them had singularly bright doors of red and yellow, for the place had been lately visited by a traveling painter who got along, as I was told, by eating his way."

He commented on the unhealthiness of conditions in St. Louis, saying that the city would improve but that it would never vie in beauty with Cincinnati. Dickens' son, Alfred Tennyson Dickens, visited St. Louis in November of 1911.

HISTORIC FORTS IN HOWARD COUNTY

From *Columbia Evening Missourian*, June 16, 1923.

Before and during the first days of Missouri's statehood forts offered the chief means of protection to the early settlers from the Indians. Many interesting and historical events center around the old forts of Howard county.

In September, 1819, Roger North Todd, then living at the old town of Franklin, rode on horseback to Kentucky where he bought another horse and brought his bride home with him. She was a young woman of 19 years of age. They spent their honeymoon in Fort Hempstead.

Colonel Benjamin Cooper had charge of the fort at that time. It was his duty to protect the people from the marauding Indians. But the

winter that Roger North Todd brought his bride here the Indians got into the building and stole all the meat. Nevertheless the settlers did not have a meatless winter——they put up raccoon bacon. As they had no sugar for their coffee they were compelled to go out at night and rob bee trees for honey.

In those days of forts and savages wooden pegs were used as substitutes for nails. Holes were bored in the roughly hewn logs and these pegs were then driven in the holes to hold the timber securely.

Around each fort, some little distance away, was a ditch too deep for a man to cross on horseback. This compelled the Indians, when attempting to set fire to the building, to go on foot up to the structure. The firing of the guns of the settlers of course frightened the horses and they would run away. Many times this prevented the Indians from burning the forts.

Fort Head was located two and a half miles north of Rocheport, just across the Boone county line in Howard county. One may reach the site of old Fort Hempstead by going to New Franklin, crossing the M., K. & T. tracks, and going on past the chain of lakes where one finds a large corn field; in the middle of this field is a small mound upon which was located Fort Hempstead.

SKETCH OF OLD MISSOURI TOWNS

Reprinted in the *LaBelle Star*, February 20, 1923, from the *Macon Chronicle-Herald*.

There is one very interesting feature resulting from the road activity in Missouri the past year or so—that is bringing back into prominence a great many "lost or forgotten towns" that were once important places, but when passed up by the railroads sank into oblivion.

Some of these towns hung grimly on and refused to be obliterated while others were hauled to the nearest railroad point and helped in the making of a new town there.

Florida, in Monroe county, was once one of those towns which seemed destined to become an important city if Colonel Sellers had managed to get an appropriation to enlarge Salt River and make it navigable for steamboats. When the railroad came by way of Paris, and Florida was left back in the country, the big old world seemed to forget all about the place where Mark Twain was born. But good roads, the auto, and some industrious publicity work by "Dad" Violette have brought the old town back into the public eye, and it is probably better known now than it was in the days before the railroad went the other way.

Newburg, in Knox county; Bethel, in Shelby county; College Mound, in Macon county; and Danville, in Montgomery county, are all coming back on the map since the era of good roads.

All these towns have an interesting history. Danville and Bloomington were county seats, and were important places on the stagecoach line from St. Louis. According to Harry Turner, of Montgomery county, there was a fifty-year battle between Danville and Montgomery City as to which should be the county seat of Montgomery county, and the scrap ended in a sort of a draw—the public business being divided between the two towns.

Bloomington, in Macon county, is but the ghost of its former greatness. The old highways passed through it east and west and north and south, and the graybeards of the county tell how the taverns used to sparkle with laughter and cheer during the winter nights when they were full of guests from the stagecoaches.

The auto resurrected some of these towns and brought back to them a greater glory than they had ever known. Some of them have large garages, the old taverns have been turned into road houses, and the travel is greater now than it was in the old days.

"SHEPHERD OF THE HILLS" CHARACTER DIES.

From the Branson *White River Leader*, March 15, 1923.

"Aunt Molly" of the Shepherd of the Hills country is no more. Pneumonia followed an attack of the "flu" and Mrs. (Georgiana) Ross died Wednesday morning, March 14 (1923).

Aunt Molly was born Georgiana Willis of Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1846. Forty-one years ago she married J. K. Ross of Pennsylvania, a widower with a little four-year-old son, since known to lovers of fiction the world over as Old Matt.

Nearly thirty years ago they took up residence in the Ozarks. They were living in the now famous log cabin overlooking Mutton Hollow when the young minister, Harold Bell Wright, came to their home, some sixteen years ago, to board for the summer. Many were the helpful bits of hill-lore and information of the surrounding country which they gave the young author in his eager quest for inspiration. Real characters were placed by Wright in fanciful situations woven about with threads of truth. In their sincere love of the hills, and in their kindly humor and clean, clear views of live their young friend drew out more of their own greatness of character than they realized.

Thousands of people have traveled the winding trail to view Old Matt's cabin, have looked up at Dewey Bald and down in Mutton Hollow on the scenes Aunt Molly loved. Mr. and Mrs. Ross have posed for thousands of kodak photographs which they have never seen but which are treasured in homes throughout the United States from border to border.

A HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

From *The Missouri Intelligencer*, Columbia, Missouri, July 4, 1835.
From *The Salt River Journal.*

A Historical Society.—We have been informed that it is in contemplation at Columbia, Missouri, to form a State Society for the purpose of collecting historical, geological and other information connected with the settlement, progress and geography of our state. It is with unfeigned pleasure that we have heard of this proposition. The propriety and necessity of this step has long been seen and acknowledged by every intelligent and reflecting citizen; and we feel satisfied, that nothing is wanting but an energetic movement to bring it into successful operation.

If the learned faculty of Columbia College—whom we learn are the projectors of the idea—will but give impulse to the measure they will find talent, learning and inclination in every county in the state willing to render such assistance as will do honor to the community at large. No period could be more opportune than the present. The persons most familiar with the history of our country are fast passing off, and in a few more years many of the most interesting facts connected with the early settlement of the country will be lost to posterity "beneath the shadow of the tomb." The sooner, therefore, that a concentrated movement can be made to obtain every information that may cast a ray of light on the infant struggles of our state the better. It is a duty which those having the ability owe to coming generations to prepare the history of the past while the materials may be had.

There are other reasons by which, if we had the leisure, we might urge the propriety of immediately forming such a society; but every person at all familiar with the operation of similar societies is prepared to admit their usefulness. For this reason we do not discuss the subject further.

HISTORICAL ARTICLES IN MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

JANUARY–JUNE, 1923

Adair County. Brashear, *News.*
Jan. 26. How the railroad came to Brashear, by R. M. Brashear.
Andrew County. Savannah, *Reporter.*
June 29. Sketch of the life of T. M. Wells, Union veteran and former county official.
Atchison County. Rockport, *Atchison County Journal.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of life of D. A. Calvin, Union veteran and former county official. See also *Atchison County Mail.*
April 5. Sketch of life of E. L. Schooler, county official. See also *Atchison County Mail.*
April 19. Reminiscences of John D. Dopf.
Audrain County. Mexico, *Weekly Intelligencer.*
May 10. Historical sketch of Audrain County hospital.
———— Vandalia, *Leader.*
Jan. 26. Some early local history. Reprinted from *Leader* of 1907. Continued February 9, 16.
June 21. Sketch of the life of J. H. Thole, county official.
Barry County. Cassville, *Democrat.*
Jan. 13. Organization and early history of Barry county. Continued in succeeding issues.
Barton County. Liberal, *News.*
Jan. 19. Recollections of William A. Newell of New Jersey, who served in Congress with Lincoln.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Abram Jones, Union veteran.
Bates County. Butler, *Bates County Democrat.*
Mar. 8. Pioneer days in Boone county, Indiana. Reprinted from Lebanon, Indiana, *Daily Reporter.*
———— ————, *Weekly Times.*
Jan. 11. Butler in 1889.
April 26. Johnstown in 1889. Some early laws and ordinances of Bates county town.
Benton County. Cole Camp, *Courier.*
June 21. Sketch of the life of Peter Holstein, Union veteran and county official.
Boone County. Centralia, *Fireside Guard.*
April 13. The Quantrell raid, by William H. Gregg.
———— Sturgeon, *Leader.*
Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.
———— Columbia, *Evening Missourian.*
Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Dr. George Lefevre.
Feb. 7. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Sallie Shadrick, Boone county pioneer.
Feb. 16. Historical sketch of Missouri Stores company.
Feb. 17. Reminiscences of pioneer days, by Mrs. Elizabeth Lynes.
Feb. 21. City has had postal service 102 years. History of Columbia postal service.

Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Captain J. H. H. Maxwell, Confederate veteran.
Mar 15. First marriage in Boone county.
Mar. 29. University life in 1857 as experienced by John W. Harrison.
Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Blanton, Confederate veteran and editor.
April 7. Sketch of the life of J. L. Wright, Confederate veteran, on 86th birthday. See also issue of April 9.
Wallace Lilly, former slave, Union veteran, pioneer blacksmith.
April 11. Indian relics found along White River by Ozark expedition from American Indian Museum.
April 17. Sketch of the life of Bishop Tuttle.
April 20. First 'phones in Columbia in 1895.
April 25. Review of Possum Club banquet, 1909.
May 19. Beginning of public schools in city in 1872.
May 21. Todd House on West Broadway was built 100 years ago.
June 2. Historical sketch of Ashland.
June 9. Reminiscences of Rocheport.
June 13. Incidents in Old Franklin. Taken from old newspaper files.
June 16. Historic forts in Howard county.
June 29. Hanging of John Brown, recalled by John W. Mattox, an eye-witness.

Buchanan County. St. Joseph, *Catholic Tribune.*
June 2. History of St. Mary's College on 75th anniversary.
Mar. 24. Sketch of the life of Bishop M. T. Burke. Also see other St. Joseph papers.
———— ————, *Observer.*
Jan. 20. History of Old Union Baptist church, Platte county.
Feb. 24. Why the "boot" is on Missouri's "foot." Explanation of jog in southern boundary of the state.
Mar. 17. Description of pioneer days, from a diary on the old Santa Fe Trail. Reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post.*
May 5. History of origin of the *Holt County Sentinel.*
May 26. Extracts from the scrapbook of Governor Dockery.
———— ————, *Gazette.*
Jan. 4. River was highest here in April, 1881. Weather bureau statistics.
Jan. 21. Old river boats in St. Joseph in 1853.
Jan. 28. Christian Brothers College—a historical sketch.
Spend $200 a year for amusements. A description of St. Joseph in 1848.
Feb. 11. History of old *Holt County Sentinel* at Oregon.
May 6. Two homes of pioneer St. Joseph. Some facts about the Joseph Robidoux and other homes.
May 13. Spanning the "great desert" of the West with pony express and stage coach, a pioneer achievement. By John J. Flinn. Reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor.*
Sketch of old Occidental Hotel built in 1849.
May 16. May alter story of pony express. Some data on first rider. See also issues of May 30, June 8, 14.
May 20. History of St. Joseph and Grand Island bridge completed in 1873.
May 27. Sketch of Edgar House, 1845.
June 17. Three negro slaves fondly recall "fo' de wah" days.
———— ————, *News-Press.*
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of R. L. McDonald, pioneer business man.

Feb. 3. Pony express days will be re-enacted. Historical sketch, with some experiences of an old rider.
Feb. 14. St. Joseph in 1875. Some facts from old city directory.
Mar. 3. Sketch of the life of John C. Hays, pony express rider.
Mar 4 Growth of St Joseph, as told by Rev. C. M. Chilton, pastor of the First Christian church for 25 years.
Mar. 10. St. Joseph in Civil War days. Data from St. Joseph *Morning Herald*, issue of November 1, 1862.
Mar. 11. Gid Bostwick recalls narrow escape from Franklin brothers, bandits, in 1887. Reminiscences of Craig, Missouri, man.
Mar. 12. Sketch of the life of A. M. Daugherty, Confederate veteran and former county official.
Mar. 17. Sketch of the life of Bishop Maurice F. Burke of St. Joseph Diocese.
Mar. 18. "Missouri River Pirate" printed first issue of Rock Port *Journal*. Sketch of the life of John D. Dopf.
"Grandma" Brown of Rushville tells of pioneer hardships and early wars.
Mar. 25. Sketch of old tavern near Corning, Missouri.
Mar. 31. Sketch of Cosby Mill in Buchanan county, built in 1852.
April 1. Old Riverside Hotel, Craig, Missouri.
Sketch of the life of Charles N. Dobyns, publisher of Corning *Mirror*, pioneer printer.
April 14. Sketch of the life of Enoc Craig, pioneer.
May 5. Record of Ruralist Bicycle club of early '90's.
May 16. Who was first rider? Pony express data. See also issues May 18, June 12, 13.
May 22. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Evans, Union veteran.
May 23. History of Central High School.
May 29. Folk started on road to fame here. Story of opening of gubernatorial campaign in 1904.
June 2. Story of St. Joseph's first street car.
June 23. Croy talks of novel. Homer Croy, Missouri author, tells how he wrote "West of the Water Tower."
June 30. Sketch of historic home near St. Joseph, built in 1840.

Butler County. Poplar Bluff, *Republican*.
June 7. First marriage in Butler county. Record of 1866.

Callaway County. Auxvasse, *Review*.
Mar. 7. Sketch of Governor Gardner and his administration. Reprinted from Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal*. Continued in issues of March 14, 21, 28, April 4.
April 11. First packing house west of Mississippi. Reprinted from Kansas City *Times*.
———— Fulton, *Gazette*.
Mar. 1. How the boot came in Missouri.

Carroll County. Carrollton, *Democrat*.
June 22. Early days in Missouri. Random recollections of Alvin Goodson, pioneer.

Cass County. Harrisonville, *Cass County Democrat*.
April 19. High school commencement, 1888.
———— Pleasant Hill, *Times*.
Jan. 26. Letter written from California in 1851 by late William E. Pierce, Pleasant Hill man.
Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of D. H. Showalter, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Archie Davis Prather, pioneer.
Why the boot of Missouri?

Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Burks Harris, pioneer.
Early days in the West as seen by Phelps' "Travelers Guide." Reprinted from Odessa *Democrat*.
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Samuel Boyer, Union veteran.
Mar. 30. "Aunt Molly" Ross, "Shepherd of the Hills" character, dies. Reprinted from Branson *White River Leader*.
Life of Charles H. Cates, Confederate veteran.
April 13. Sketch of the life of Aubrey Ray Hildebrand, World War veteran.
April 18. Sketch of the life of Stratton D. Brooks, native of Cass county.
May 25. Blackwater South Methodist church reuniou. Recalls early history of church.

Cedar County. Stockton, *Cedar County Republican*.
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Ward Hudson, Union veteran.
Mar. 15. Old record of Cedar Baptist church in 1838. See also issue of March 22.
June 21. Sketch of the life of John T. Fox, pioneer county official.

Chariton County. Keytesville, *Chariton Courier*.
Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of Lawrence V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Francis Marion Cox, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of George W. Cunningham, Union veteran and city official.
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Dr. O. T. Morey, county coroner and World War veteran. See also Salisbury *Press-Spectator*, issue of March 9.
May 11. Sketch of the life of Andrew McRoberts Child, one time editor in Richmond, Cowgill, Bosworth, Keytesville.
June 29. Sketch of the life of Ashborn S. Taylor, pioneer and former county official.
First Boone county will made by Ira P. Nash, pioneer. Reprinted from Kansas City *Post*.
———— Salisbury, *Press-Spectator*.
Feb. 9. Reminiscences of early days, by T. G. Dulaney, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from Hannibal *Courier-Post*.
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of W. R. Slaughter, Confederate veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of William Dougan, World War veteran.
June 22. Building of bridge at Glasgow. Recalls city's early history. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star*.

Christian County. Ozark, *Christian County Republican*.
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Joseph R. Wade, Union veteran.
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Roy King, World War veteran.
Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of W. H. Burch, Union veteran.

Clark County. Kahoka, *Clark County Courier*.
Jan. 5. Clark County history, by Jasper Blines. See also *Gazette-Herald*, issue of January 5.
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Frank M. Harr, county and state official.
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of John Martin, Union veteran and county official.
Sketch of the life of Marion N. Shanes, Union veteran. Reprinted from Gorin *Argus*.
Sketch of the life of Abner S. Hackney, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from Unionville *Republican*.
Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Royle John Craft, World War veteran.
Sketch of the life of Eli Dunham Gwyne, Confederate veteran.
Feb. 16. Historical reprints of 1871, by Jasper Blines.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Isaac Rowe, Union veteran.

Mar. 9. Razing of brick building built in 1873—an old landmark and once headquarters for Anti-Horse Thief Association.
Mar. 23. Shelbina *Torchlight* sold. Also historical sketch.
Kahoka Baptist church's 50th anniversary. With some early history. See also *Gazette-Herald.*
April 20. Early Clark county history, by Jasper Blines. See *Gazette-Herald,* issue of January 12.
May 4. Sketch of the life of John Wesley Howell, Union veteran.
———. *Gazette-Herald.*
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of John Bradley Gray, Union veteran.
Jan. 26. Clark county history. Some facts about geology of the county, by Jasper Blines. See also issue of February 9.
Feb. 16. Peaceful Army of 1849, by Jasper Blines. See also later issues.
June 1. History of 21st Missouri regiment, by Jasper Blines. See later issues.
June 22. Three Chariton Valley battle anniversaries to be celebrated August, 1923. Reprinted from Memphis *Reveille.*

Clay County. Liberty, *Tribune.*
May 25. Some description of early day merchants.
——— Smithville, *Democrat-Herald.*
May 25. Sketch of the life of James Donald Vance, World War veteran.
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of W. R. Million, former state officer.

Clinton County. Lathrop, *Optimist.*
April 26. Sketch of the life of William Milton Wilhait, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of J. B. Norman, Union veteran.
——— Plattsburg, *Leader.*
Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of John R. Lizar, Union veteran.
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of John Sinnet Young, Confederate veteran.
———, *Clinton County Democrat.*
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Alfred Eaton, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from Cameron *Sun.*
May 17. Sketch of the life of James Williams, pioneer Baptist preacher.

Cole County. Jefferson City, *Cole County Rustler.*
Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Major John T. Clarke, Union veteran, state official.
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Roscoe Kist, World War veteran.
———, *Missouri State Journal.*
April 7. Pictures of four great Missourians in governor's reception room.
April 14 Sketch of the life of Col. J. F. Edwards, Confederate veteran.
June 2. Mexican War veterans. Reminiscences of Addison VanAusdol and William F. Buckner.
Sketch of the life of Hugh McIndoe, former state official.

Cooper County. Boonville, *Advertiser.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Robert S. Roe, county official.
Sketch of the life of former Governor Lon V. Stephens, Boonville resident.
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Martin Luther Weekly, Union veteran.
Mar. 9. Reminiscences of W. L. Nelson. Recollections of Champ Clark.
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of former Governor John Miller. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. A. Roberts, pioneer physician.
April 6. Sketch of the life of George W. Drennen, Union veteran.
April 13. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Lucy Lindsey, Confederate nurse. Reprinted from Kansas City *Times,* issue of April 6.
April 23. Reminiscences of early Missouri newspapers, by Mrs. T. A. Nelson, Sr.

May 11. Sketch of the life of Samuel Cole, pioneer Boonville citizen. Some interesting incidents.
Sketch of the life of Daniel Brubaker, Confederate veteran. See also Bunceton *Eagle*, issue May 11.
June 1. Origin and history of St. Joseph's Hospital at Boonville. See also later issues.
June 15. Reminiscences of weddings 50 years ago, by Mrs. T. A. Nelson, Sr.
June 22. The "Commons," historic stopping place for Santa Fe traders.

———— ————, *Central Missouri Republican.*

May 3. Old Arrow Rock Tavern. Reprinted from Kansas City *Star.*
May 10. Reminiscences of early days in Boonville, Franklin, by W. W. Taliaferro, a former citizen.
June 28. History of *Central Missouri Republican.* Some facts recalled on 50th anniversary.

———— Bunceton, *Weekly Eagle.*

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Robert S. Roe, county official.
April 20. Some early owners of the *Eagle.*
June 22. June 17 was 62d anniversary of the battle of Boonville.

Dade County. Greenfield, *Dade County Advocate.*

Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of S. D. McMillan, state official.
April 26. Sketch of the life of J. R. Jeffries, Confederate veteran.

———— ————, *Vedette.*

Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Orra Herman Devine, county official.
May 3. Personnel of Company H, 5th Missouri regiment in Spanish-American war. Reprinted from *Vedette* file of 1898.
June 14. Sketch of the life of Dr. W. J. Simmons, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from Springfield *Republican.*
June 21. Sketch of the life of John A. Kurtz, chairman of Public Service Commission.

Dallas County. Buffalo, *Reflex.*

June 7. Sketch of the life of J. K. Jones, Union veteran.

Daviess County. Gallatin, *Democrat.*

Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Frederick Snyder, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of John S. Egbert, Spanish-American War veteran.
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Judge William C. Gillihan, Union veteran. See also *North Missourian*, issue of March 1.
Sketch of the life of Webster Davis, former mayor of Kansas City and government official. Reprinted from Kansas City *Post.* See *North Missourian*, issue of March 15.
Sketch of the life of Jesse James McCoy, Union veteran. See *North Missourian*, issue of February 15.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of J. L. Davisson, former state official.
May 17. Reminiscences of former Governor Dockery. An old Congressional autograph album found. See also *North Missourian.* Other reminiscences in issue of June 14.

———— ————, *North Missourian.*

Feb. 1. Reminiscences of Josiah Powell, pioneer editor of *North Missourian.* Reprinted from Kansas City *Journal.*
Sketch of the life of Francis Lee Read, Civil War veteran.
June 21. Historical sketch of Etter's store, pioneer mercantile house.

———— Jameson, *Gem.*

Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of David Kemp, Civil War veteran.
June 7. Sketch of the life of John Thomas Wade, Union veteran. See also Bethany *Republican*, issue of May 30.

———— Pattonsburg, *Call.*

June 7. Sketch of the life of Captain A. K. Moores, Union veteran and county official.

———— Jamesport, *Gazette.*

April 5. Sketch of the life of Joseph Neal, Confederate veteran.

DeKalb County. Clarksdale, *Journal.*

June 7. General W. Carrel, Union veteran.

Dunklin County. Campbell, *Citizen.*

Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of Judge William C. Whiteaker, Confederate veteran.

May 25. Sketch of the life of J. C. Summers, Union veteran.

———— Kennett, *Dunklin County Democrat.*

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Alexander Hilton, vice-president of the Frisco railroad.

Mar. 16. Reminiscences of Kennett, by I. L. White.

June 22. Sketch of the life of France Varner, Buffalo Island's first citizen, by W. T. Buffaloe.

Franklin County. New Haven, *Leader.*

Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. E. Judy, Spanish-American War veteran.

June 7. Sketch of the life of Joseph A. Mintrup, former editor of the *Franklin County Observer* and county official. Reprinted from the Union *Republican-Tribune.*

———— Pacific, *Transcript.*

April 20. Sketch of the life of Captain John T. Crowe, Union veteran, county and state official. See also Union *Republican-Tribune*, issue of April 20.

June 27. Sketch of the life of Robert F. Ferrell, World War veteran.

———— Sullivan, *News.*

Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Major John T. Clarke, Union veteran and state official.

Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of George Ennis Vaughn, Union veteran.

Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Carl E. Brandt, Union veteran.

Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James A. Woodruff, Union veteran.

———— Washington, *Franklin County Observer.*

Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Henry Giesike, Union veteran.

June 22. History of Franklin county Agricultural and Mechanical Society, 1872 to 1923. See also *Citizen*, issue of January 12.

Gasconade County. Bland, *Courier.*

Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of F. A. Shockley, Civil War veteran.

Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of W. J. Langendoefer, county official.

Mar. 16. Historical sketch of Hermann *Volksblatt.* Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.* See issue of March 23; also Hermann *Advertiser-Courier*, issue of June 8.

———— Hermann, *Advertiser-Courier.*

May 4. Sketch of the life of M. Grossmann, Union veteran.

———— Owensville, *Gasconade County Republican.*

Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Burgess A. Matthews, Union veteran.

Gentry County. Albany, *Capital.*

Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Judge William Franklin Dalbey, county official. See also *Ledger.*

Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of James H. Gillespie, Sr., county official.

Mar. 29. Early history from old papers.

———— ————, *Ledger.*

Mar. 15. Reminiscences of pioneer life, by John Spessard.

Sketch of the life of Albert Richard McNamee, Civil War veteran.

Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of J. D. Lyons, Union veteran.

April 19. Sketch of the life of William B. Whiteley, Confederate veteran.
June 7. Sketch of the life of Elder John D. McClure, pioneer preacher.
———— King City, *Tri-County News.*
Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of James Donald Beck, World War veteran.
May 18. Reminiscences of Mrs. Margaret Barker Durbin on 100th birthday anniversary.
June 8. History of city water works. Old water hole hidden for 40 years now used.
———— ————, *Chronicle.*
Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Franklin P. Burke, Mexican War veteran.
———— Stanberry, *Herald.*
April 12. Sketch of the life of Francis M. Shaw, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of Ves B. Coffey, World War veteran.
April 26. Sketch of the life of William Preston Starrett, Union veteran.
Greene County. Ash Grove, *Commonwealth.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of A. T. Weir, Confederate veteran.
———— Republic, *Monitor.*
Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of James E. Decker, Union veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of Jesse W. McDaniel, Union veteran.
———— Springfield, *Leader.*
Jan. 3. January 8 recalls events of much local interest in connection with Civil War. Story of the Battle of Springfield.
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of J. B. White.
Jan. 8. McCormack case recalls bits of Greene county history. Some famous criminal cases.
Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of Missouri.
Jan. 23. Springfield recalls hanging of Willis Washam on August 25, 1854.
Feb. 12. James Dixon made remarkable rise in financial world. Sketch of former Springfield man who is now president of the Tobacco Products Company.
Mar. 12. Fourteen mile Missouri railroad. Sketch of Ozark Southern, built 1907-10.
April 11. Missouri is mother of husky men, Douglas says. Descriptive account of Missouri and her people, by A. W. Douglas, of U. S. Chamber of Commerce.
May 7. Counterfeit coins once were good in Ozark county. Story of "Yoachum Dollar."
May 12. Some Baptist history in Missouri.
———— ————, *Republican.*
May 25. Dr. James Harwood, founder of Drury College, tells of school's history.
May 27. Sketch of the life of Samuel Fletcher Drury.
Grundy County. Spickard, *Grundy County Gazette.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Charles F. McLaughlin, Union veteran.
Sketch of the life of Warren Graham, Union veteran.
Jan. 15. Sketch of the life of James H. Crockett, Union veteran.
Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Daniel C. Vance, Civil War veteran.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of George H. Combs, Union veteran and county official.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Andy Loe, Civil War veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of Charles A. Loveland, Union veteran.
April 19. Sketch of the life of John Lewis Barnes, Union veteran.
———— Trenton, *Weekly Times.*
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Robert A. Gibson, Civil War veteran.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Philander Riley, Civil War veteran.

April 12. Sketch of the life of Calvin Gilham, Union veteran.
May 10. Reminiscences of Major John Hack, blockade runner during Civil War.
June 7. City's old street car system recalled.
———— ————, *Weekly Republican.*
Mar. 15. *Republican*, one of the oldest papers to remain under the continuous management of a single family. Reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review.*
May 10. Sketch of the life of William Eberle Austin, pioneer banker.
May 31. War records of 37 charter members of G. A. R., Col. Jacob Smith Post, Number 72.
June 28. Historic old school building razed. Once housed Avalon College, Ruskin College, and Trenton High School.
Harrison County. Bethany, *Clipper.*
Jan. 3. Short sketch of Bethany Methodist church history.
Jan. 24. Sketch of the life of Frank T. Harvey, Union veteran. See also issue of February 7.
Jan. 31. Sketch of the life of Alfred N. Cave, Union veteran. See also issue of February 14.
Feb. 14. Sketch of the life of Joseph B. Phillebaum, Union veteran.
Feb. 28. Sketch of the life of John A. Templeman, once editor of Bethany *Democrat.*
April 25. Sketch of the life of John Barber, Union veteran and county official. See also issue of May 2.
———— ————, *Republican.*
Mar. 21. Sketch of the life of Jacob A. Miller, Union veteran.
April 25. Sketch of the life of Roy Tripp, World War veteran.
———— Ridgeway, *Journal.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of George Washington Crosby, Union veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of John E. Updyke, Union veteran.
Henry County. Clinton, *Henry County Democrat.*
Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of James W. Pickerill, county official.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Warren C. Bronaugh, Confederate veteran.
April 26. Sketch of the life of Bertha Henrietta Peters, Civil War nurse.
———— ————, *Eye.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of H. E. Moore, Union veteran.
May 4. Sketch of the life of Wilbur S McCarty, World War veteran.
———— Montrose, *Tidings*
Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Orra H. Divine, county official.
Feb. 22. History of Montrose, by seniors of high school.
May 3. Johnstown in 1859. Facts taken from old book of laws and ordinances. Reprinted from the Butler *Times.*
———— Windsor, *Review.*
Feb. 8. Historical sketch of the *Review.*
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of "Uncle Bobbie" Morris, Confederate veteran, on his 100th birthday anniversary. Reprinted from Harrisonville *Democrat.*
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James Milton Kelley, Civil War veteran.
Sketch of the life of Christopher C. Deakins, Union veteran.
May 24. How Johnstown (Bates county) got its name—some of its early ordinances.
June 7. Sketch of the life of George J. Shelton, Confederate veteran.
Hickory County. Hermitage, *Index.*
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of William M. B. Pitts, Union veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of James M. Lindsey, Civil War veteran.
Sketch of the life of John H. Teague, Civil War veteran.

May 14. Sketch of the life of Judge William Montgomery, county official, pioneer.

Holt County. Craig, *Leader*.

Mar. 16. G. G. Bostwick recalls early day fight with "Franklin Gang." Reprinted from St. Joseph *Gazette*, issue of March 11.

———— Mound City, *Journal*.

June 7. Sketch of the life of Francis E. Scott, World War veteran. See also *News-Jeffersonian*, issue of June 8.

———— Oregon, *Holt County Sentinel*.

Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Hiram Hershberger, part owner of Mound City *News*, 1885-1886.

Mar. 2. Sketch of Holt County Circuit Court. Some important cases and officials. See also issue of March 16.

Mar. 23. History of county collector's office.

Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of John S. Smith, pioneer banker.

April 13. Sketch of the Battle of Shiloh, with list of survivors.

April 20. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Jane Dupre-Gleen on 106th birthday anniversary.

Sketch of the life of Harry Edwards, World War veteran.

April 27. Historical sketch of the *Sentinel* on its 58th anniversary.

Reminiscences of the flood of April 27, 1881, and also of 1915.

May 18. Birthday recollections of James Franklin Bridgmon, pioneer.

May 25. Sketch of the St. Joseph *Gazette*.

June 1. Sketch of the life of John H. Lynds, pioneer river captain and prominent figure in the early development of Fortescue.

Sketch of the life of Captain Thomas W. Evans, St. Joseph banker and Union veteran.

June 29. Slavery days as recalled by Tom Sharp, once a slave. Reprinted from St. Joseph *Gazette*, issue of June 17.

Sketch of the life of Martin Lewis Ebert, Confederate veteran.

Howard County. Fayette, *Advertiser*.

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of James Lewis Heberling, Confederate veteran.

Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of John A. Walden, state official and Confederate veteran.

Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of William Jones, Confederate veteran. See also *Democrat-Leader*, issue March 8.

Sketch of the life of Samuel Major Gardenhire. Reprinted from *Advertiser*, isue of April 7, 1921.

April 5. Some history of the *Advertiser*.

May 10. Sketch of the life of Joseph Megraw, pioneer. See also *Democrat-Leader*, issue of May 3.

June 21. How Missouri got her name.

———— ————, *Democrat-Leader*.

May 10. Early day tragedy recalled by discovery of skeleton at Rocheport.

———— New Franklin, *News*.

June 22. Some early history of Old Franklin.

Howell County. West Plains, *Howell County Gazette*.

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of James H. Granville, Union veteran.

Jan. 18. Reminiscences of old Union camp at West Plains by W. L. Emily of Wisconsin.

Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Col. W. W. Caffee, Spanish-American War veteran.

April 5. Sketch of the life of Riley Compton, Union veteran and Ozark county pioneer.

April 12. Sketch of the life of Robert Burr, Confederate veteran.

April 26. Sketch of the life of Wallace Mahan, pioneer. Also interesting facts about Slater mine.
Sketch of the life of N. Bodine, Union veteran.
May 24. Sketch of the life of D. L. Fetters, Union veteran.
Iron County. Ironton, *Iron County Register.*
April 5. Sketch of the life of Oscar W. Roap, Confederate veteran.
Jackson County. Blue Springs, *Sni-a-Bar Voice.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Records, Blue Springs, pioneer.
———— Independence, *Jackson Examiner.*
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Noland, Confederate veteran.
April 13. Sketch of the life of Col. William H. Woodson, county official and Confederate veteran.
June 15. Sketch of the life of Henry T. Crump, a descendant of Daniel Boone.
———— Kansas City, *Journal.*
Jan. 6. Sketch of the life of J. B. White, Kansas City lumberman. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times,* issue of January 6.
Feb. 22. Natal day for City of Kansas. Historical facts regarding incorporation.
May 29. Sketch of the life of Joseph W. Folk. See other newspapers of same date.
May 30. Sketch of the life of T. J. Hedrick, state grain warehouse commissioner.
June 4. Pioneer recalls *Journal* of 1866.
————, *Journal-Post.*
Jan. 7. Sketch of Missouri State Historical Society.
Jan. 14. Crossing the plains with a pioneer Kansas Citian.
Jan. 28. Acquisition of water plant—Kansas City's first venture in owning public utilities.
Reminiscences of a Kansas City "Gallery God."
Feb. 11. Lincoln's speaking tour through Kansas and Missouri. Recollections of only man alive who heard Lincoln deliver his famous "Lost Speech."
Kansas Citians whose lives touched Lincoln's.
Feb. 18. When Kansas City street cars followed mules. With photos.
Mar. 11. Worth $10 then; worth $250,000 now. Comparison of land values in 1836 and in 1923.
Old timers recount tales of school days at Macon County Teachers' Association.
A fourteen mile Missouri railroad. Story of the Ozark Southern from Mansfield to Ava.
Mar. 18. State churches here in April. Some historical data on Missouri Disciples of Christ.
April 8. Recalls days when West was young. Some bandit stories.
May 20. Historical sketch of Kansas City Athletic Club.
June 3. Kansas City, exclusive trade center of southwest. Some statistical records of progress.
June 17. How Kansas City welcomed presidents. Story of visits of Cleveland, Harrison, Roosevelt and Wilson.
————, *Post.*
Feb. 7. The men who built Uncle Sam's mail business in Kansas City.
Feb. 28. Old and new. Some random recollections of early days in Kansas City by old settlers.
Mar. 3. Old and new. Story of the first Priest of Pallas fete in 1887.
Mar. 10. He knew the James boys. Some recollections of Mr. Moffat.
Mar. 14. Mrs. E. R. Weeks has memories of the first high school in Kansas City.

Mar. 17. Old timers tell Indian stories and recall early days of Kansas City.
Mar. 24. Indians, buffalo and rivers kept old U. P. behind schedule. Recollections of early railroad days.
Mar. 28. Veteran of "Merimac" tells of big fight with the "Monitor." Story as told by Captain Henry Marmaduke of Washington, N. C., who was born in Saline county, Missouri.
Mar. 31. Quantrell officer tells of Lawrence raid. Recollections of William H. Gregg.
April 2. Old time battlefield near church site. Some facts concerning Battle of Glen Betsy during the Civil War.
April 4. Some recollections of Kansas City history "not in books."
April 15. Survey of the accomplishments of the Constitutional Convention, by Dr. Isidor Loeb.
May 2. Mrs. Bass tells of the Battle of Independence.

———, *Star.*

Jan. 4. Recalls "L" road history. Judge Hoag of Joplin tells some history of the elevated road between the two Kansas Cities.
Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Lon V. Stephens, former governor of the state. See other newspapers of same date.
Jan. 28. A man any town could be proud of, J. C. Penney.
In memory of one faithful unto death. The story of Dr. Asa McReynolds of Harrisonville, Missouri, by Frank H. Brooks.
The mill that waits for the miller. Sketch of Watkins Mill at Excelsior Springs.
A Kansas City merchant for more than a half of century, H. H. Shepard.
Feb. 14. Why "boot" of Missouri? An account of how the jog in southern boundary of the state came about.
Feb. 22. Kansas City is 70 years old today. Some historical facts.
Feb. 25. A "Mark Twain" portrait. The story of a sketch by Carroll Beckwith.
Mar. 4. How Jim cheated the great Kansas City cyclone. A story of 1886.
Mar. 11. What every Kansas Cityan should know. Some facts of city's history.
The pony express will run again. With historical sketch.
Mar. 27. When the "Campbellites" first came to Missouri.
Mar. 31. Missouri, butt of joker and "Mother of States." Reprinted from *National Geographic Magazine.*
April 1. The Oklahoma romance of General Sam Houston.
When I met Thomas H. Benton. Reminiscences of Mrs. E. J. Collins.
April 13. The map of one man's life. How Hon. William R. Nelson made good on the ideals expressed in the first issue of the *Star.*
April 15. Sketches of Kansas City as it was in 1887. From drawings in Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper.*
April 21. The 25th anniversary of the Spanish-American War.
May 9. The Baptist church in Missouri and Kansas City.
May 10. Sketch of the life of John M. Egan, former president of Metropolitan Street Railway Company.
May 13. Meeting the new president of the University of Missouri. Sketch of Dr. Stratton D. Brooks.
A pioneer of the old trail. Sketch of the life of Ezra Meeker and some interesting notes on the Oregon Trail.
May 31. Sketch of the life of Frank F. Rozzelle.
June 2. When the flood came to Kansas City 20 years ago.

June 4. Land erosion an age-long habit of the Big Muddy.
June 6. Mark Twain and the speech that fell flat.
June 17. As Thomas wrote it in '88. Account of President Cleveland's visit to Kansas City in 1888, by Augustus Thomas. Reprinted from Kansas City *Times*.
Central Missouri spans the river to admit prosperity. Story of Glasgow and Boonville bridges.

———— ————, *Times*.
Mar. 15. Early day photographs of scenes in Kansas City.
June 18. Sketch of the life of John A. Kurtz, chairman of state Public Service Commission.
Teaches knack for news. Historical sketch of the University of Missouri School of Journalism.

———— Lees Summit, *Journal*.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Presley M. Payton, Union veteran.

Jasper County. Carl Junction, *Standard*.
June 8. Sketch of the life of Luke Lea, Union veteran.

———— Carthage, *Jasper County Democrat*.
Mar. 13. Sketch of the life of Col. William Caffee, Spanish-American War veteran.
April 20. Sketch of the life of John Sheldon Brown, Union veteran.
April 27. Sketch of the life of Judge Malcalm G. McGregor, county and state official.
May 25. Sketch of the life of Patrick F. Gill, state officer and member of Congress.
May 29. Sketch of the life of Peter Wakefield, Union veteran.
June 1. Sketch of the life of Hugh McIndoe, state official.

Jefferson County. Crystal City, *Press*.
May 24. Sketch of the life of James L. Donnell, county official.

———— DeSoto, *Jefferson County Republican*.
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William C. Robinson, Union veteran.
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Christopher Ruppel, Union veteran.

———— Hillsboro, *Jefferson County Record*.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of William E. Judy, Spanish-American War veteran.
May 10. History of St. John's Lutheran church at Beck, Missouri.

Johnson County. Holden, *Progress*.
Jan. 15. History of Kingsville Christian church.
Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Alexander Donan Gowans, Civil War veteran. See also Warrensburg *Star-Journal*.
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Harrison Braught, Union veteran.
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Richard McNeal Kellison, Civil War veteran.
Mar. 15. Razing an old landmark, "The Old Red Store," in Kingsville.
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James Bennett, Union veteran.
April 5. Sketch of the life of Daniel C. Baldwin, Union veteran.
April 12. Early days of Rose Hill, by O. G. Boisseau.
May 17. Sketch of the life of William Harrison Mayo, Union veteran.
Brief sketch of Lexington, Missouri.
June 7. Sketch of the life of Pleasant Russell Ferguson, Confederate veteran.
June 21. Sketch of the life of J. J. Hesler, Union veteran.

———— Knobnoster, *Gem*.
Jan. 11. Reminiscences of Knobnoster, by A. M. Craig. See later issues.
May 17. Sketch of the life of Daniel D. Williams, Confederate veteran. See also Warrensburg *Weekly Standard-Herald*, issue of May 18.

———— Warrensburg, *Weekly Standard-Herald.*
Jan. 26. Sketch of the life of Judge R. H. Wood, Confederate veteran.
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Major James M. Hubbard, Union and Mexican War veteran. Included in obituary of his daughter.
Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of J. A. Drummond, Civil War veteran. See also *Star-Journal*, issue of February 6.
May 18. Correction of recent historical article on Holden with additions.
May 25. Sketch of the life of Franklin P. Riddle, Union veteran.
June 8. Sketch of the life of John Graham Scroggs, Union veteran.
June 29. Historical sketch of Blackwater Methodist church.
———— ————, *Star-Journal.*
Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of H. E. Vitt, Warrensburg manufacturer.
Mar. 6. Sketch of the life of Isaac Theron Ball, Union veteran.
April 3. Sketch of the life of Charles Jerome Matthews, Union veteran.
April 24. Sketch of the life of Jacob Ayres, Union veteran.
Knox County. Edina, *Sentinel.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of W. R. Rhoades, Union veteran.
Mar. 8. Reminiscences of Sam Callaway on 83rd birthday anniversary. See also *Democrat*, issue of April 5.
April 5. Sketch of the life of George P. Keith, Union veteran.
April 12. Sketch of the life of William D. Edwards, Union veteran. See also *Democrat*, issue of April 12.
May 10. Sketch of the life of J. T. Lockett, former county official.
May 31. Sketch of the life of Thomas B. Bowen, Union veteran. Reprinted from the LaPlata *Republican.*
June 21. Sketch of the life of J. R. Donaldson, Confederate veteran. Sketch of the life of James Horace Wamsley, Union veteran.
Laclede County. Lebanon, *Twice-A-Week Rustic.*
Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of N. S. B. Craig, Civil War veteran.
Feb. 20. Judge J. P. Nixon, presiding judge of the Springfield Appellate Court. See Laclede *Republican.*
Laclede County. ————, *Laclede County Republican.*
May 25. Sketch of the life of William Wester, county officer. See also issue of June 8.
June 8. Sketch of the life of Elisha Enox, Union veteran.
Lafayette County. Corder, *Journal.*
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of John Henry Moore, Confederate veteran. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Star.*
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of John L. Reddick, Confederate veteran.
———— Higginsville, *Advance.*
Mar. 16. Sketches of Milton Corder Hubbard, William Evans, Richard Pickett, J. W. Caldwell, and John W. Cayton, Confederate veterans.
June 29. Sketch of the life of Frank Moritz, Confederate veteran.
———— ————, *Jeffersonian.*
Feb. 5. Sketch of the life of Richard Lee Haggard, World War veteran.
Mar. 19. Sketch of the life of S. P. McDonald, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Robert Perry Handley, Confederate veteran.
April 23. Some history of Higginsville. Reprinted from history made in 1890, by W. S. Dornblaser. See also later issues.
May 8. Sketch of the life of Major George W. Lankford, Confederate veteran.
———— Lexington, *News.*
Feb. 12. Sketch of the life of Judge Zack W. Wright, county official.
June 1. Sketch of Beattie Drummond, formerly editor of Wellington *Qui Vive;* Odessa *Moon, Ledger;* Lexington *News.* See also issue of June 8.

———— Odessa, *Missouri Ledger.*
Mar. 30. History of Mt. Hebron Missionary Society.
June 15. Sketch of the life of John H. Sheppard, Confederate veteran.
June 23. Sketch of the life of Thomas G. Gibbs, Confederate veteran. See *Democrat*, issue of June 22.
———— ————, *Democrat,*
Feb. 16. Henry Harrison Cheatham, Confederate veteran.
Lawrence County. Aurora, *Advertiser.*
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Allen R. McNatt, Union veteran and county official.
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of DeKalb Bowles. Union veteran.
April 12. Sketch of the life of Carr McNatt, pioneer Aurora citizen.
April 26. "Old Matt," J. K. Ross, prepared to go to California. Reprinted from the Springfield *Leader.*
May 16. Sketch of the life of William Hardy Coleman, Union veteran and county official. See also Mt. Vernon *Lawrence Chieftain.*
May 24. Sketch of the life of William S. Kelly, Union veteran.
June 21. Founding of Joplin. A historical sketch.
———— Marionville, *Free Press.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of Joshua F. Parks, Civil war veteran.
June 7. Sketch of the life of Rev. W. J. Simmons, Union veteran.
———— Miller, *News-Herald.*
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of John Casteel, Union veteran.
April 4. Sketch of the life of James L. Powell, Union veteran.
May 3. Sketch of the life of Andrew Jackson Trimble, Union veteran.
Lewis County. LaBelle, *Star.*
Feb. 23. Brief sketch of a few old Missouri towns. Reprinted from the Macon *Herald.*
April 6. The five oldest family newspapers in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review.*
April 20. First citizen of LaBelle, Isaac Allen, dies.
———— LaGrange, *Indicator.*
Feb. 1. Old days in LaGrange. Reprinted from *Democrat*, issue of November 7, 1879, and from *Herald-Democrat*, issue of December 2, 1892.
Mar. 15. Seventy-seven years of newspaper history.
April 5. Sketch of the life of Henry Gaus, Union veteran.
April 19. Sketch of the life of James H. Butler, Union veteran.
Lincoln County. Elsberry, *Democrat.*
Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of William Nofflett Norris, Union veteran.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of J. Frank Rinaman, county official.
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Brooksher, Civil War veteran. W. C. Sleet, Civil War veteran.
May 4. Sketch of the life of Howard Parker, Spanish-American War veteran, World War veteran.
June 15. Sketch of the life of George C. Elliott, Union veteran.
———— Silex, *Index.*
Jan. 25. Historical sketch of Millwood. Reprinted from St. Louis *Star*, issue of January 21.
———— Troy, *Free Press.*
Jan. 19. Sketch of Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank of Troy.
Mar. 23. Short historical sketch of *Free Press.* Reprinted from St. Louis *Star.*
Linn County. Brookfield, *Gazette.*
Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of Francis Marion Baker, Civil War veteran.
April 27. Sketch of the life of Luther Frederick Hunt, Union veteran.

———— Browning, *Leader-Record.*
April 12. Sketch of the life of John Marcus Buswell, World War veteran.
May 3. Sketch of the life of Benjamin Franklin Rulon, Civil War veteran. See also Brookfield *Gazette*, issue of April 27.
June 28. Sketch of the life of James Lewis Roach, Confederate veteran.
———— Laclede, *Blade.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Bert E. Shirey, Spanish-American War veteran.
April 13. Sketch of the life of Emerson C. Wright, Union veteran.
April 27. Sketch of the life of Samuel M. Wroe, Civil War veteran.
May 11. History of Laclede High School, by Merle and Berle Pearce.
———— Linneus, *Bulletin.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of A. S. Hackney, Confederate veteran. See also *Linn County News*, issue of January 12.
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of James B. Williams, Union veteran.
———— ————, *Linn County News.*
Mar. 2. Specifications of first county court house.
Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of James B. Williams, Union veteran.
———— Marceline, *Herald.*
Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of John R. Wrenn, Marceline pioneer.
June 15. Sketch of the life of Foster Simpkins, Confederate veteran.
Livingston County. Chillicothe, *Weekly Constitution.*
Jan. 25. Reminiscences of Josiah Y. Powell, on 61st wedding anniversary.
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of James E. Watkins, editor of the *Constitution.*
Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of T. S. Bishop, Civil War veteran.
Sketch of the life of Mark White, county official.
———— Pineville, *Herald.*
June 15. True bits of Ozark history, by Emma Chenoworth Price.
McDonald County. Southwest City, *Republic.*
April 13. Sketch of the life of S. F. Hauser, county official.
Macon County. Atlanta, *Express.*
Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Edward C. Shain, Union veteran and county official.
Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of George George, Union veteran.
Mar. 23. Short sketch of John L. Brahan, pioneer.
———— LaPlata, *Home Press.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Henry O. Clark, Union veteran.
April 26. Sketch of the life of S. L. Gash, county official.
———— ————, *Republican.*
May 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas B. Bowen, Union veteran.
June 8. Sketch of the life of Edward Enterline, Union veteran.
June 22. Sketch of the life of Charles Mackey, Civil War veteran.
———— Macon, *Daily Chronicle.*
Mar. 24. Recollections of Mark Twain in Keokuk and Hannibal.
———— ————, *Republican.*
Feb. 20 Sketch of the life of Major S. G. Brock, Union veteran and founder of the *Republican.*
Mar. 20. Death of John F. L. Branham, pioneer and founder of the Century Club.
April 3. Sketch of the life of B. F. Blanton, former editor of Paris *Appeal.* See also Paris *Appeal.*
April 13. Macon of 1865. Some historical notes.
June 26. Sketch of the life of John Scovern, pioneer banker and former editor of the *True Flag* and *North Missouri Register.*

June 29. Sketch of the life of Henry Twiehaus, Union veteran. See also Warrenton *Banner*.

Madison County. Fredericktown, *Democrat-News*.

Jan. 18. Big Creek as it was 50 years ago, by H. A. Hovis.

Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Judge J. M. Ross, Civil War veteran and county official.

Mar. 29. Old landmarks of the county. An account of three houses.

April 12. Sketch of the life of James Casteel, Union veteran.

Maries County. Vienna, *Home Adviser*.

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William R. Ellis, county official.

Mar. 22. First electric lights in St. Louis. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

Marion County. Palmyra, *Marion County Herald*.

Feb. 7. Reminiscences of Civil War times, by J. W. Proctor.

Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of Glenn Dillinger, World War veteran.
Reminiscences of Old Marion City, from letter of William Muldrow to Major Moses D. Bates, of St. Charles, dated December 26, 1835.

Feb. 28. Brief sketch of Webster Davis, former Kansas City mayor and government official.

Mar. 14. Sale of Bates farm recalls days when Moses D. Bates, Sr., settled in Missouri.

May 1. Old landmark torn down. Building erected in 1847.

June 12. Days of daring on the Santa Fe Trail, by Joseph Hergesheimer. Reprinted from the *Saturday Evening Post*.

———— ————, *Spectator*.

Feb. 14. Brief sketch of church history in Monroe City. Reprinted from Monroe City *News*.

April 4. Five oldest family newspapers in Missouri. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.

April 18. Early days on old Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad. Reprinted from Eugene Field in the Chicago *Daily News*, 1888.

April 25. Sketch of the life of Captain J. W. Ayres, Union veteran.

May 17. The hanging of John Brown, as told by Bill McCanse, an eyewitness.

Mercer County. Eldon, *Advertiser*.

Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of John Wilson, after whom Wilson Cave is named. Recollections of 66 years ago.

Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Judge James M. Baker, county and state official. See also Tuscumbia *Autogram*, issue of February 15.

———— Princeton, *Post*.

Jan. 3. Sketch of the life of J. S. Perkins, Union veteran.

Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of William L. Griffith, Union veteran. See also *Telegraph*, issue of January 10.

Feb. 21. Sketch of the life of George H. Combs, Union veteran.

Mar. 21. Sketch of the life of Andrew J. Loe, Union veteran.

April 25. Sketch of the life of Jacob E. Eidson, Union veteran.

May 23. Sketch of the life of William M. French, Union veteran.

June 20. Sketch of the life of Jackson Cook, Union veteran.

———— ————, *Telegraph*.

Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of William A. Hollingworth, Union veteran.

April 4. Sketch of the life of Charles A. Loveland, Union veteran.

April 11. Brief sketch of the *Telegraph* on its 51st anniversary.

April 18. Ravanna 50 years ago. Reprinted from *Advance*, issue of June 26, 1873.

Moniteau County. California, *Democrat*.

Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Marion Redford, Confederate veteran.

April 12. Jamestown incorporated 50 years ago.

———— Tipton, *Times*.

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of James Monroe Norris, Civil War veteran.

Feb. 9. Swimming in Brush Creek in 1836, by W. H. Chick. Reprinted from Missouri Valley Historical Society publication.

April 6. Sketch of the life of Philip Dexheimer, Civil War veteran. See Clarksburg *Banner-Sentinel*.

June 29. Sketch of the life of William Robert Kay, Confederate veteran.

Monroe County. Madison, *Times*.

Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of James L. Carter, World War veteran.

June 21. Sketch of the life of Reuben W. Miles, Union veteran.

———— Monroe City, *Semi-Weekly News*.

Feb. 9. First church in Monroe county was St. Jude's, 1866.

April 6. Sketch of the life of Clifton Craft, World War veteran.

April 10. J. M. Hurley recalls overland trip to California 60 years ago.

June 5. Monroe countian one of two surviving Mexican War veterans in Missouri. Sketch of the life of William Buckner.

June 8. Reminiscences of Civil War incidents, by J. B. Hays.

June 20. Early church history of Stoutsville Old School Baptists.

———— Paris, *Mercury*.

Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Thomas Dulaney, Confederate veteran.

Mar. 9. Muddy roads in Missouri in 1847. Reprinted from "The Followers of Duden," by William Bek, in the *Missouri Historical Review*.

Mar. 30. Benjamin F. Blanton, editor of Monroe County *Appeal*. How he joined expedition against John Brown.

Sketch of the life of John Glascock, county official. See also *Appeal*, issue of March 30.

April 20. When the "Campbellites" came to Missouri. See also *Appeal*, issue of April 6.

June 15. A second district story, by U. S. Hall. Reprinted from the Columbia *Missourian*.

———— ————, *Monroe County Appeal*.

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of John C. Combs, Confederate veteran.

Mar. 16. Native Missourian living in Washington (State). Henry H. Marmaduke only surviving officer of the "Merrimac."

June 15. Sketch of Florida, Missouri, 50 years ago.

June 22. Recollections of how a Civil War fight near Florida was averted, by Brach Pollard.

Montgomery County. Montgomery City, *Standard*.

Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Larkin Thompson, Confederate veteran.

Mar. 2. Pioneer Montgomery families. Reprinted from "Pioneer Families of Missouri."

May 11. Sketch of the life of Anthony Horton, Confederate veteran.

Morgan County. Versailles, *Leader*.

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Daniel Shofner, Union veteran.

Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Lucius G. Ross, World War veteran. See also issue of January 26; also *Statesman*, issue of January 11.

Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of Daniel E. Wray, county official.

Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge James P. Nixon, state official. Reprinted from Linn Creek *Reveille*.

Mar. 9. The oldest newspaper in the state. Reprinted from the *Missouri Historical Review*.

———— ————, *Statesman*.

Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of James H. H. Baker, Union veteran.

New Madrid County. New Madrid, *Weekly Record*.

Jan. 26. Sketch of the life of George Washington Shirkey, Union veteran.

Newton County. Neosho, *Miner and Mechanic.*
April 27. Sketch of the life of Judge M. G. McGregor, state official.
May 4. Sketch of the life of W. O. Moore, county official.
May 18. Sketch of the life of John W. Byrd, county official.
June 15. Sketch of the life of John Polk McHaffie, county official.
———— ————, *Times.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of Charles E. Stader, Union veteran.
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of Jacob W. Lane, county official.
April 19. Sketch of the life of Horace M. Garner, World War veteran.
May 3. Sketch of the life of William H. Leib, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from the Joplin *Globe.*
Nodaway County. Hopkins, *Journal.*
Jan. 4. Reminiscences of Civil War days. Reprinted from Newton Wray in the Maryville *Democrat-Forum.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of W. C. Morehouse, county official.
April 26. Sketch of the life of George H. Dooley, Union veteran.
June 7. Presbyterian church established here 1873.
———— Maryville, *Democrat-Forum.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William J. Skidmore, one of the founders of the Skidmore *Standard.* See also Skidmore *News*, issue of March 1.
———— Ravenwood, *Gazette.*
April 26. Sketch of the life of James Riley Miller, Union veteran.
———— Skidmore, *News.*
June 21. Sketch of the life of Z. H. Horn, World War veteran.
Oregon County. Alton, *South Missourian-Democrat.*
Feb. 1. Historical sketch of the *Missourian-Democrat.* Paper 52 years old. See also issue of February 15.
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of J. Posey Millsap, county official.
———— Thayer, *News.*
June 22. Sketch of the life of Jesse Essary, World War veteran.
Osage County. Linn, *Unterrified Democrat.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Henry Cramer, county official.
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of John Ruettgers, Union veteran.
Pemiscot County. Caruthersville, *Democrat-Argus.*
Feb. 27. Sketch of the life of John Barnard, county official.
———— Hayti, *Missouri Herald.*
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Dr. B. D. Crowe, county official.
Perry County. Perryville, *Perry County Republican.*
Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Michael Fassold, Union veteran.
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Andrew Balsman, Union veteran.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of John Dietrich, Union veteran.
April 12. Sketch of the life of Alexander Shoults, Union veteran.
Pettis County. Lamonte, *Record.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of J. A. Williams, former editor of the Houstonia *Spectator.*
April 27. Sketch of the life of Dr. T. P. McCluney, Civil War veteran.
May 25. Some history of the Lamonte Methodist Church. See also later issues.
Phelps County. Rolla, *Herald.*
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Millard Filmore Faulkner, county official.
April 26. Sketch of the life of Judge Daniel Donahoe, county official. See also *New Era*, issue of April 27.
———— ————, *Times.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of William R. Ellis, county official.
Feb. 18. Some history of Phelps county, written by Dr. J. S. Frost for *Eagle* of 1896. See also later issues.

Pike County. Bowling Green, *Times.*
Jan. 11. The first Missouri schoolmaster, by I. Walter Bayse.
Feb. 1. Across Missouri on foot in 1719, by I. Walter Bayse.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of John Tumilty, Civil War veteran.
Mar. 8. Some early history of Clarksville, by I. Walter Bayse.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of John Thomas Hetherlin, Union veteran. See also Louisiana *Times*, issue of March 20.
May 31. Sketch of the life of Stephen Franklin Jett, Confederate veteran.
———— Louisiana, *Journal.*
Jan. 9. Mrs. Bettie Glover Mackey, county official.
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Harry Blackmore, World War veteran. See also Louisiana *Times*, issue of February 16.
June 15. Sketch of the life of Edward Peers Johnson, state and federal official.
Jane 26 Short sketch of the life of Thomas H. Harris, Confederate veteran.
————, ————, *Twice-a-Week Times.*
Mar. 20. Sketch of the life of Richard Maxfield, Union veteran.
April 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas E. Marsh, Confederate veteran.
June 29. Sketch of the life of Joshua Haley, Union veteran.
Platte County. Platte City, *Platte County Argus.*
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of J. M. McMonigle, county and state official.
Polk County. Bolivar, *Herald.*
Jan. 11. Elbert Nugent, Union veteran. A life sketch.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of John Hope, Union veteran. See also *Free-Press*, issue of April 5.
May 10. Sketch of the life of James H. Eidson, Union veteran. See also *Free-Press*, issue of May 17.
May 31. Sketch of the life of Rev. James Madison Looney, Union veteran. See also *Free-Press*, issue of June 7.
———— ————, *Free-Press.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of Mrs. Martha J. Gravely, widow of colonel in Union Army and Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri.
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Dr. Charles C. Simmons, World War veteran.
May 17. Sketch of the life of Dr. A. P. Mitchell, county official.
———— Fairplay, *Advocate.*
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Jesse Eugene Hackett, World War veteran.
———— Humansville, *Star-Leader.*
April 12. Sketch of the life of Sheridan W. Wombles, World War veteran.
May 24. Sketch of the life of Thomas Henry Wilkerson, Union veteran.
June 7. Short historical sketch of *Star-Leader* on 47th anniversary.
Pulaski County. Dixon, *Pilot.*
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of George Frank Light, World War veteran.
———— Richland, *Mirror.*
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Major Sidney G. Brock, federal official and founder of the Macon *Republican.*
Putnam County. Unionville, *Putnam County Journal.*
Jan. 12. Sketch of the life of Abner Sullens Hackney, Confederate veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of January 17.
Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of P. Boyd Green, county official. See also *Republican*, issues of February 14, 21.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Thomas W. Huston, Union veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of February 28.
Mar. 9. Sketch of the life of W. H. Walker, Union veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of March 7.

June 22. Sketch of the life of David Minear, Union veteran.

———————. *Republican.*

Jan. 17. Sketch of the life of Sterling K. Mills, Union veteran.

May 9. Sketch of the life of Charles W. Mullenix, county official.

Ralls County. Center, *Herald.*

Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Peter Babb, Civil War veteran. See also Perry *Enterprise*, issue of February 1.

——————— New London, *Ralls County Record.*

Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of William Henry Story, Union veteran.

April 13. When the "Campbellites" came to Missouri.

Randolph County. Huntsville, *Herald.*

Jan. 12. Early days in Randolph county. Reprinted from "History of Northeast Missouri," by Walter Williams.

Brief history of Huntsville.

Brief history of Huntsville *Herald.*

June 29. Sketch of the life of Ira P. Nash, first settler in Boone county. Reprinted from Kansas City *Journal-Post*, issue of June 24.

——————— Moberly, *Weekly Monitor.*

Jan. 25. Brief sketch of the life of John Perry Grimes, Confederate veteran.

Ray County. Richmond, *Conservator.*

Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Henry J. Hamil, state official.

April 26. Sketch of the life of A. M. Child, former editor of the *Conservator.*

May 3. Sketch of the life of Major G. F. Langford, Confederate veteran.

June 7. Sketch of the life of Rector S. Bogie, former publisher of the Richmond *Democrat.* See also *Missourian*, issue of June 7.

———————. *Missourian.*

Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Joshua Smart, Union veteran.

April 26. Brief sketch of the *Democrat.*

Reynolds County. Ellington, *Press.*

Jan. 25. Sketch of the life of Thomas Andrew Johnson, county official.

June 7. Sketch of the life of Walter Stuart, World War veteran.

Ripley County. Doniphan, *Republican.*

May 31. Sketch of the life of Frank J. Page, Union veteran.

St. Charles County. St. Charles, *Cosmos-Monitor.*

Feb. 28. Sketch of the life of Henry H. Bruns, county official. See also *Banner-News*, issue of March 1.

Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of Joseph T. Wentz, World War veteran, U. S. Navy.

——————— ———————. *Banner-News.*

Feb. 15. Old document thought to have been written by William Van Burkleo tells of early day adventures in St. Charles county. Reprinted in full.

Feb. 22. R. J. Atterbury recalls many facts which corroborate old document.

Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Francis Louis Fluesmeier, Confederate veteran.

May 3. Sketch of the life of Brice Edwards, county official.

June 21. Sketch of the life of Charles Nagel, Union veteran.

——————— Wentzville, *Union.*

Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of William M. Allen, founder of Wentzville. Reprinted from St. Charles *Banner-News.*

Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Robert Harleigh Blackwell, county official.

May 25. Sketch of the life of Rudolph Wilmer, Spanish-American War veteran.

June 29. Brief notes on Thomas H. Harris, Confederate veteran.

St. Clair County. Appleton City, *Journal.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William B. Rayburn, Union veteran. See also Bates county papers.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of William Adams, Union veteran.
———— Lowry City, *Independent.*
Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of John Wiley Land, Union veteran.
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of John Alexander Robinson, Union veteran.
———— Osceola, *St. Clair County Democrat.*
Mar. 15. Sketch of the life of Gardner G. Barker, Union veteran.
April 12. Sketch of the life of Sheridan W. Wombles, World War veteran.
———— ————, *St. Clair County Republican.*
Feb. 15. Sketch of the life of Ed N. Orr, county official.
St. Francois County. Farmington, *News.*
Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of Jesse R. Pratt, Confederate veteran.
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Judge John Marshall, county official.
April 6. Sketch of the life of Dr. Walter H. Schroeder, World War veteran. See also *Times*, issue of April 6.
April 20. Age of Silver Dam, from letter by E. S. Lett.
———— ————, *Times.*
June 8. Sketch of the life of Judge Jeff D. Mitchell, county official.
———— Flat River, *Lead Belt News.*
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of J. S. Holmes, Union veteran. See also Farmington *News.*
Mar. 23. Sketch of the life of Luther K. Peers, Confederate veteran and county official.
Ste. Genevieve County. Ste. Genevieve, *Fair Play.*
Mar. 31. Sketch of the life of Anton Samson, county official. See also *Herald*, issue of March 26.
St. Louis City. *Globe-Democrat.*
Jan. 26. Bishop Daniel Tuttle to celebrate 86th anniversary today. Some description of life and experiences of early western days.
Mar. 11. What electricity has done for St. Louis. An historical sketch.
First electric street car in St. Louis. Some statistics concerning development.
Mar. 27. Sketch of the life of William H. Miller, Union veteran.
Romance of the west revealed in documents. Extracts from records relating to Lewis and Clark expedition.
Sketch of Flat River Junior College.
May 21. Sketch of the life of Patrick F. Gill, former congressman.
Jesuits celebrate centennial of their coming to St. Louis. Some data.
———— *Know St. Louis.*
April 1. The St. Louis of today, yesterday, and tomorrow, by Sylvester Soulard. See preceding and succeeding issues.
May 27. The 100th anniversary of the Jesuits' coming to St. Louis.
———— *Post-Dispatch.*
Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Philip F. Coghlan, veteran printer, past commander Missouri G. A. R.
Feb. 28. Nugent's to celebrate 50th anniversary. History of department store.
Mar. 11. St. Louis saw first electric light in 1878.
April 18. Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, head of Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Missouri. Some history of his work. See other daily papers of same date.
April 29. Famous pony express to flash along its old 2,000 mile route. With historical sketch.

May 26. Sketch of the life of William C. Steigers, business manager of the *Post-Dispatch*.

May 27. Sidney street church 60 years old. Sketch of Presbyterian church. See also *Globe-Democrat*, issue of May 28.

———— *Star*.

Jan. 7. Senator Reed is viewed pungently by author of "Mirrors of Washington."

Mar. 11. How volunteer firemen fought cholera and great St. Louis fire in 1849.

Baptist history in St. Louis, told by Rev. Dr. Ewing.

Mar. 25. Jefferson Barracks cemetery grave stones date from 1827, recalling names long famous in history.

One of Missouri's oldest toll roads will be abolished. Historical sketch of Columbia-Ashland road.

April 8. Revival of pony express. With historical sketch.

Girl's story tells of early city and state history. Adventures of Laclede and Chouteau recounted in essay.

April 15. St. Louis Municipal Opera grew from program in 1914 to only project of its kind in the country.

St. Louis County. Carondelet, *News*.

Jan. 5. The city hall of 1860. See "When Carondelet was a city" in later issues.

Feb. 9. Recounts visit of Charles Dickens to Carondelet. Reprinted from St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, 1842.

May 4. St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Some early history.

May 18. History of the property upon which Seventh Church of Christ, Scientist, is located.

May 25. History of the Blow Public School, oldest in Carondelet, established 1866.

———— Clayton, *St. Louis County Leader*.

Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of William T. Bender, Confederate veteran and county official. See also *Watchman-Advocate*, issue of February 23.

May 11. Sketch of the life of Peter Bopp, Civil War veteran. See also *Watchman-Advocate*, issue of May 8.

———— ————, *St. Louis County Sentinel*.

Jan. 5. Sketch of the life of Adam Diech, Union veteran.

———— ————, *Watchman-Advocate*.

Feb. 9. Sketch of the life of Jacob Eschenbrenner, Union veteran.

Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Isaac Randolph, Civil War veteran.

May 4. Sketch of the life of August Baumback, Sr., Union veteran.

May 8. History of St. John Evangelical Church.

May 25. Sketch of the life of E. C. Robbins, Confederate veteran.

June 5. Sketch of the life of Henry Kesselring, Union veteran.

Saline County. Marshall, *Weekly Democrat-News*.

Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of William B. Dick, Confederate veteran.

Jan. 18. Sketch of the life of Jacques Harvey, county official. (See also Slater *Rustler*, January 12.)

April 5. Sketch of the life of Col. John B. Breathetts, Civil War veteran. See Kansas City papers of March 3.

April 12. Sketch of the life of Col. William H. Woodson, Confederate veteran.

May 3. Sketch of the life of Major George Langford, Confederate veteran.

June 14. Sketch of the life of James Robert Marshall, Confederate veteran.

———— Slater, *Rustler*.

Feb. 16. Sketch of the life of Warren Carter Bronaugh, Confederate veteran.
Mar. 2. Old story of how Missouri kept the "boot."
April 27. Brief sketch of Gilliam's past.
June 1. Sketch of the life of William B. Mullins, Civil War veteran.
Spelling matches 50 years ago.
———— Sweet Springs, *Herald.*
Feb. 2. Sketch of the life of Richard Lee Haggard, World War veteran.
May 4. Sketch of the life of Father Thees Alpers, Saline county pioneer.

Schuyler County. Lancaster, *Excelsior.*
June 28. Sketch of the life of John Scovern, Civil War veteran.
Sketch of the life of Green Lewis, Civil War veteran.

Scotland County. Memphis, *Reveille.*
Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Frank M. Harr, former state legislator. See also *Democrat*, issue of January 4.
Jan. 18. Expert views Iowa-Missouri boundary line. Reprinted from Keokuk, (Iowa), *Daily Gate City.*
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Judge E. E. Schofield. See also *Democrat*, issue of February 1; Lancaster *Excelsior*, issue of February 1.
Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of J. C. McClure, Union veteran.
Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Major S. G. Brock, Civil War veteran.
Mar. 8. Sketch of the life of Jesse Stice, Civil War veteran. See also *Democrat*, issue of March 8.
Last of old pre-Civil War landmarks. Reprinted from Kahoka *Courier.*
Mar. 19. Alexandria once a rival of St. Louis and Chicago. Some interesting facts about an old river market.
May 31. Retirement of Dr. John Priest Green from 30 years presidency of William Jewell College and an account of his administration.
Brief reminiscences of B. R. Grinstead, Union veteran, who guarded Jefferson Davis as a prisoner.
June 14. Sketch of the life of B. J. Frogge, World War veteran.
Three anniversaries of Chariton valley battles in August. Sketches of the Battles of Athens, Monroe City and Kirksville, during Civil War.
June 21. Sketch of the life of J. R. Donaldson, Confederate veteran. See *Democrat*, issue of June 21.
Sketch of the life of Melvin C. Jones, World War veteran.
———— ————, *Democrat.*
Jan. 18. The location of the first postoffice in Memphis.
Feb. 22. Historical sketch of Memphis in the '50's.

Scott County. Benton, *Scott County Democrat.*
Feb. 8. Sketch of the life of W. W. Robertson, Civil War veteran.
———— Sikeston, *Herald.*
May 3. Pioneer merchandising. A historical paper concerning Sikeston. See also Dexter *Statesman*, issue of May 11.
———— ————, *Standard.*
Mar. 30. Sketch of the life of B. F. Blanton, former editor of *Monroe County Appeal.*

Shannon County. Eminence, *Current Wave.*
Jan. 11. Sketch of the life of J. B. White, pioneer lumberman of Kansas City.
May 31. Sketch of the life of H. C. McIndoe, state official. Reprinted from the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat.*

Shelby County. Clarence, *Courier.*

Jan. 10. Sketch of the life of Edward C. Shain, Civil War veteran and county official.

Mar. 7. History of the Missouri hog. A sketch of the beginnings of pork industry, meat inspection, and packing houses in Missouri. Reprinted from university bulletin by John Ashton.

———— Shelbina, *Democrat.*

Jan. 3. Sketch of the life of John C. Combs, Confederate veteran. See also *Torchlight*, issue of January 3.

Sketch of the life of Earl F. Clapper, World War veteran. See also *Torchlight*, issue of January 5.

Jan. 10. Memories of Shelby county 65 years ago, by a Civil War veteran.

April 11. Sketch of the life of Judge Charles H. Myers, county official.

May 23. Sketch of the life of Edward Carmichael, Confederate veteran.

Stoddard County. Bernie, *Newsboy.*

June 21. Dexter will be 50 years old July 4. Reprinted from Dexter *Statesman.*

———— Bloomfield, *Stoddard Tribune.*

Jan. 4. Sketch of the life of Henderson Story, Civil War veteran. See also *Vindicator*, issue of January 5.

April 26. Sketch of the life of Alexander Douglas, Civil War veteran.

———— ————, *Vindicator.*

Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Judge John G. Wear, Confederate veteran and county official. See also Bernie *Newsboy*, issue of March 8.

Sullivan County. Greencastle, *Journal.*

Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of William W. Shepard, Civil War veteran.

———— Green City, *Press.*

Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Joseph M. Struby, Civil War veteran. See also issue of March 29.

———— Milan, *Standard.*

Feb. 22. Sketch of the life of Glen Dillinger, World War veteran. See also Milan *Republican*, issues of February 15, '22.

Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of James K. Reger, Civil War veteran. See also issue of April 5; *Republican*, issue of March 29.

April 12. Sketch of the life of Simon P. Ford, Union veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of April 12.

———— ————, *Republican.*

May 3. Early recollections of L. M. Baldridge. Reprinted from issue of March 30, 1905.

Taney County. Forsyth, *Taney County Republican.*

June 14. Sketch of the life of W. Andrew Wood, World War veteran.

Texas County. Houston, *Herald.*

Mar. 1. Sketch of the life of George W. Ramsey, Civil War veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of March 1.

April 19. Sketch of the life of Judge E. H. Wheeler, Confederate veteran and county official.

April 26. Roster of Texas countyans in Spanish-American War.

May 3. Sketch of the life of Naphali Bodine, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from West Plains, *Quill.*

June 7. Sketch of the life of B. F. Wells, Confederate veteran.

June 14. Sketch of the life of J. Warner Murray, Civil War veteran. See also *Republican*, issue of June 14.

June 21. Some Texas county history. The beginnings of the Christian Church in Missouri and Texas county.

Vernon County. Nevada, *Southwest Mail and Weekly Post.*

Feb. 23. Sketch of the life of W. C. Bronaugh, Civil War veteran. Reprinted from the Kansas City *Times*.
Mar. 2. Sketch of the life of Jessie Steele. Union veteran.
Mar. 16. Sketch of the life of Col. W. K. Caffee, commander of 2nd Regiment, Missouri National Guards, during Spanish-American War.
June 1. Sketch of the life of H. C. McIndoe, state official.

Warren County. Warrenton, *Banner*.
Jan. 19. Sketch of the life of August Grotewohl, Union veteran.
Jan. 26. Sketch of the life of Nathaniel Anson, Union veteran.
April 6. Sketch of the life of Diederick R. Schroer, state official.
April 20. Sketch of the life of Col. James Franklin Edwards, Confederate veteran and veteran of Indian campaigns.

Wayne County. Greenville, *Sun*.
Mar. 22. Sketch of the life of Cebber Houseman, World War veteran.
May 17. Sketch of the life of Alfred Crites, Union veteran.

———— Piedmont, *Wayne County Journal and Piedmont Weekly Banner*.
Mar. 22. Some early history of Wayne county. See also issue of March 29.

Worth County. Grant City, *Worth County Tribune*.
Mar. 7. Sketch of the life of Omer V. Duckworth, World War veteran, U. S. Navy.
April 11. Sketch of the life of Thomas D. McQuigg, Civil War veteran.
May 2. Sketch of the life of James Riley Miller, Union veteran.
May 9. Sketch of the life of John S. Dehart, Civil War veteran.

Wright County. Hartville, *Democrat*.
Feb. 22. Sketch of James Boyer, Union veteran. See also *Wright County Republican*.

———— Mountain Grove, *Journal*.
Feb. 1. Sketch of the life of Samuel L. Russell, Union veteran.
Mar. 29. Sketch of the life of Albert T. Fengler, Union veteran.
April 26. Sketch of the life of Judge E. H. Wheeler, Confederate veteran.

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

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WILLIAM H. HATCH

HIS GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO AGRICULTURE

BY F. B. MUMFORD

Missouri men have rendered notable service in national affairs, and many have left enduring monuments through their wise foresight and vision. Among the statesmen who have contributed most to the public welfare, the name of Colonel William Henry Hatch must be placed very high in the hall of fame. The brief biographies of William Henry Hatch have in most cases entirely ignored the one great public service for which his name will be forever honored and as a result of which unnumbered generations of people will benefit from his public work. His biographies which appear in "The Bench and Bar in Missouri," in "The Encyclopedia and History of Missouri," and in the "History of Northeast Missouri," all emphasize the fact that he was a lawyer, a soldier, and a farmer, but not a single mention is made of the fact that he was primarily responsible for the passage of the Federal Hatch Act, which provided for continuing appropriations for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in each of the states in the United States. Because of his activity in securing the adoption of this legislation he is known throughout the United States as the "father of agricultural experiment stations."

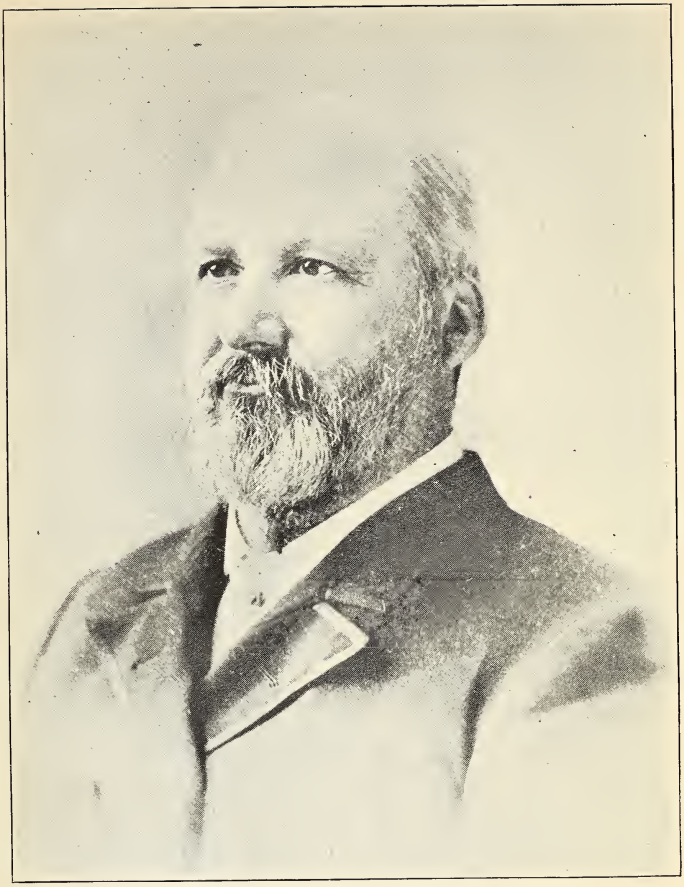
The idea of appropriating Federal funds to the colleges of agriculture for scientific research did not originate with Mr. Hatch, but no one can read the history of the efforts in behalf of this legislation without coming to the conclusion that the adoption of this measure was due, primarily, if not entirely, to the determined, persistent and skillful efforts of Colonel William H. Hatch. A bill providing appropriations for agricultural research was first introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. C. C. Carpenter of Iowa, but this bill had very few friends and was not seriously considered by Congress.

On July 8, 1885, the Commissioner of Agriculture, Norman J. Colman of Missouri, called a conference in Washington of all the administrative officers of the colleges of agriculture of the United States. This conference was for the express purpose of considering the broad national policy of Federal appropriations for agricultural experiment stations. The convention unanimously endorsed the principle and recommended the passage of what was known as the Cullen Bill, providing appropriations to agricultural colleges for scientific research. This bill was not enthusiastically received and was given little support in Congress.

In 1886 Colonel William H. Hatch introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which had for its purpose the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges of agriculture. This bill was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, of which Mr. Hatch was chairman, and after unusual efforts and long-continued activity the bill was favorably reported on March 3, 1886, and was passed by Congress and approved by President Cleveland March 2, 1887.

The principle embodied in this act, providing direct appropriations for agricultural research, was the first appropriation of its kind made by Congress. It was the beginning of a policy of Federal aid to agricultural education which has resulted in the upbuilding of the agricultural education system of the United States, including the more recent generous Federal appropriations to agricultural high schools and for agricultural extension.

The results of the far-sighted policy and heroic efforts of Colonel Hatch in connection with the passage of the first experiment station bill have had a profound influence upon the trend of education in the United States and upon the fundamental industry of agriculture. The establishment of agricultural experiment stations was undoubtedly fundamental to the continued success of agricultural colleges. In the beginning there was no great body of agricultural knowledge to be taught. Forty years of activity on the part of the experiment stations have developed a body of scientific



William H. Hatch

facts upon which the whole structure of agricultural teaching, including agricultural extension, is now based.

The experiment stations have likewise had a remarkable influence upon agricultural practice. No farmer is so remote that he is not today influenced in his farm practice by the work of the agricultural experiment stations. The management of his soil, the varieties of crops grown, and the methods of feeding live stock in common use over the whole United States, are the result of the careful, scientific investigations of the agricultural experiment stations.

Colonel William Henry Hatch was born in Scott county, Kentucky, September 11, 1833, and died December 23, 1896 at Hannibal, Missouri. He was educated at Lexington, Kentucky, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar at the early age of twenty-one in the year 1854. He was a lawyer of note and was elected circuit attorney for the Sixteenth Judicial District in 1860, and was re-elected for another term. On the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Confederacy and was commissioned captain and assistant adjutant general in the Confederate Army. During the war he was assigned as assistant commissioner in charge of exchange of prisoners under Colonel Robert Ould. His work in connection with the exchange of prisoners was notable and was highly commended by his superior officers. After the surrender of General Lee he returned to Hannibal and again practiced law.

In 1878 he was elected to Congress and represented his district until 1895. During this period he won great distinction in Congress and in 1892 was a candidate for speaker.

In addition to the agricultural experiment legislation, Colonel Hatch was responsible for other important legislation for the benefit of agriculture. One of these was aimed at the tobacco trusts and through the efforts of Mr. Hatch producers of tobacco were relieved from the burden of paying a license. Mr. Hatch also fathered the bill providing for a national sanitary law for the prevention of the spread of infectious and contagious diseases of the domestic animals. He was the father of the first oleomargarine bill in Congress,

and because of his activities in connection with this bill he was given the designation, by some of his opponents, of "Bull-Butter Hatch." It was chiefly through the efforts of Colonel Hatch that the cabinet position, Secretary of Agriculture, was authorized by Congress. Because of his determined support of all agricultural legislation and his insistent and sincere friendship for farmers, he came to be known in Congress as "farmer Bill."

Mr. Hatch returned to his home at Hannibal, Missouri, in 1894, at the age of sixty-one years. He retired to his beautiful home on a farm in the environs of Hannibal. There he actively began breeding trotting horses and Jersey cattle.

Mr. Hatch was twice married, his first union being with Miss Jennie L. Smith, a native of Scott county, Kentucky. There were two children of this marriage, Llewellyn L. Hatch of New Orleans and a daughter who died in infancy. The mother died April 15, 1858, and three years later Colonel Hatch married Miss Thetis Clay Hawkins. Of this union one child, a daughter, was born, who lived on the estate at Hannibal until her death on November 15, 1923. Upon her death she bequeathed to the State of Missouri the home farm which had been developed by her father. In the words of the will "this bequest is made in order to perpetuate the name and memory of my beloved father, William H. Hatch, who devoted the greater part of his life to the advancement of agriculture." This farm has been assigned to the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri, by the State Commission empowered to accept gifts of this nature, and it is understood that it will be developed as an agricultural experiment station.

The Honorable William H. Hatch was a man of great personal force, of vigorous personality and of recognized integrity.

THE FOUNDING OF ST. CHARLES AND BLANCHETTE, ITS FOUNDER

BY BEN L. EMMONS

On the north bank of the Missouri River and within thirty miles of its confluence with the Mississippi River is situate the oldest settlement in North Missouri and the third oldest in the State of Missouri.

Much has been written of the early history of other cities, but none so neglected and forgotten as old St. Charles. Why this has been done is difficult to state. It may be the historians were unable to obtain authentic data as to its discovery and its founder. They therefore refused to delve further into the subject matter and considered the fragments of history emanating from and about the "Village of the Little Hills" to be the varnished tales of the "camp fires" of the early settlers. Nevertheless, these "tales and traditions" have been transcribed and written into the history of other settlements, and accepted as positive facts, which are no more reliable and authentic than those connected with St. Charles.

Tradition tells us it was in the fall of 1762 when the canoe of Blanchette "Chasseur" first touched the shores of the north bank of the "Rio Missoury" and he ascended the slopes and hill tops of what was to be known in the future as the City of St. Charles. It was then he met the famous Chief of the Dakotas, Bernard Guillet, the legendary founder of St. Charles. Guillet was a Frenchman, born in Marseilles. The story of Bernard Guillet may be a myth but nevertheless, it is part and parcel of the history of St. Charles transmitted from generation to generation. After parting with Guillet, Blanchette returned to his native post to collect and organize his followers and friends, and bring them to his new discovery. At that time, 1762, a change of government had taken place in the territory west of the Mississippi River. France had

ceded this territory to Spain and it was not until May, 1770, when Spain assumed control thereof. Blanchette, in 1769, in command of a flotilla of French Canadians, returned to establish the post which he called "Les Petites Cotes."

From whom he obtained authority to establish the Post and who conferred upon him the title "Commandant of the Post" at that time, in 1769, has never been ascertained. The first hut, together with the necessary Government buildings, was erected on City Block No. 20.

The above is the story of the foundation of St. Charles which has been handed down to us by our forebears. Nearly all historians state that St. Charles was founded in 1780. All concede that Louis Blanchette was its founder. Lt. Gov'n. Perez speaks of him as the "fundatory primero habitant de Sn. Carlos del Misury" (Houck 2-80).

Nevertheless, I am unable to find any documentary proofs, such as go towards proving the location of Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis, except the testimony of our old settlers hereinafter referred to, that Blanchette was the actual founder of St. Charles. The first census of 1787 even fails to name Blanchette among the "Inhabitants of the Settlement of the Little Hills." The list is headed by Pedro Tibo, which would indicate under Spanish custom that he (Tibo) was the leading citizen in the community. The first appearance of Blanchette as a resident of St. Charles is in the census of 1791, which designates him as "Don Luis Blanchette."

Hence, if we must accept Blanchette as the founder of St. Charles, we must for proof refer to the traditions handed down to us as set forth above. There is no doubt what little evidence we have is rather contradictory and confusing. Although the census of 1787 fails to name Blanchette, yet we have positive proof that he cultivated land here thirteen or fourteen years prior to 1785, and also owned and lived on Block No. 20, in the town of St. Charles.

Jos. Lorain testifying before Theodore Hunt, Recorder, *Nov. 25, 1825*, on claim of "Louis Blanchet's legal Representatives" to an outlot adjoining the town of St. Charles, two arpens front by two arpens deep, states, "He has known the

lot claimed and that *forty years ago* Louis Blanchette had a barn on this out-lot which was fenced in and possessed and occupied by Louis Blanchette, who possessed and occupied the same *13 or 14 years.* (See Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 3, page 92). Lorain settled in St. Charles in 1784.

Again, John Coontz, assignee of Louis Blanchette, claiming a lot in the town of St. Charles, produced to the Board a conveyance from said Louis Blanchette to claimant dated May 20, 1789, approved by Don Manuel Perez, Lieut. Governor. (Hunt's Minutes, Vol. 4, page 212).

Auguste Chouteau, a witness for Andrew Landreville, in his claim for a lot in the Town of Saint Louis, testified as follows: " 'Les Petites Cotes' was established (founded) by Blanchette Chasseur, A. D. 1769, and called St. Charles in 1804." (Date of affidavit April 18, 1825, Hunt's Minutes.)

Mr. Chouteau made the first survey of the village of St. Charles in 1787, hence he ought to be a very strong authority as to date of its foundation.

Bryan's history of the Pioneer families of Missouri referring to the foundation of St. Charles, says: "The foundation of this town is shrouded in some degree of mystery, as well as romance. Widely different dates are given us as to its first settlement by equally reliable authorities and the exact date will probably never be known. Several authorities give 1780, others 1762, others again place it at 1766 and 1769. One of the two latter dates is doubtless correct and we are inclined to believe 1766 is the one." It names Blanchette Chasseur as its founder.

Rev'd. Jas. Joseph Conway, S. J., in his Centennial address at St. Charles, October 16, 1892, states, "Four years had nigh worn on since Blanchette drank and smoked with 'Bernard's braves' upon these hills and yet the pale face had not returned. But in 1769, the gleam of his paddles might be seen once again around the southern sweep of the river. He is now in command of a flotilla of French Canadians and vested with the supreme but hollow power of governor of the Territory of St. Charles, the original St. Charles County, a boundless waste, stretching east and west from the Mis-

sissippi to the Pacific and away to the north as far as the Great Lakes."

A letter of Col. Benjamin Emmons, (who was well known as an authority on the history of St. Charles and its land titles) dated in 1858, and on file with the Missouri Historical Society, states, "The first settlement in the village of St. Charles was made in 1769, by Louis Blanchette, sometimes called 'Blanchette Chasseur'."

The above quotation is taken from a letter of Col. Emmons addressed to Jno. Loughborough, Surveyor General of the United States, in a dispute between the Surveyor General and the City of St. Charles, as to title to some of the vacant City lots. Col. Emmons represented the City in this controversy.

Mr. Wm. A. Lynch of St. Louis, in August, 1869, in a paper read at a meeting of the Missouri Historical Society, states: "The first settlement in St. Charles was made in 1769, just 100 years ago."

As stated in said paper, Mr. Lynch was well acquainted with Dr. Antoine Reynal and family. Dr. Reynal for many years was a resident of St. Louis. His name appears in the census of 1787 and 1791, as a physician. Dr. Reynal came to St. Charles prior to 1799 and was one of its first physicians. Mr. Lynch states he visited the Reynals in 1824. No doubt he obtained his information as to date of settlement of St. Charles from his intercourse with Dr. Reynal, whom he describes as "a gentleman of cultivated tastes, liberal education and in affluent circumstances." Mr. Lynch resided in this county for many years.

It is impossible to attempt to transcribe or relate the early history of St. Charles without some reference to the missionaries of the Catholic Church. If it had not been for these missionaries, who on their trips through the wilderness, from post to post, entered and recorded in their church records the great eventualities of life—births, marriages and deaths—little or nothing would be known of the history of these pioneer French Canadians. The history of the Church names Father Sebastian Muerin, whose remains are buried

in the Novitiate Cemetery at Florissant, Father Gibault, Father Bernard de Limpach, also known as Fr. Bernard and lastly Father Le Dru, among those who are said to have visited St. Charles and administered to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants, prior to the legal establishment of the church and parish in 1791. I set out these names for the reason that they will appear prominently in this chain of history. Prior to 1792, St. Charles had no resident pastor and was only a missionary post and hence the records of baptisms, marriages and burials were kept elsewhere. Father Muerin is said to have visited here in 1772 and the first chapel or church was erected in 1779 or 1780. The authorization and agreement to construct a log church at "Les Petites Cotes" was given by Manuel Perez, Lt. Governor, Oct. 13, 1789, and the meeting for that purpose was held in the house of Mr. Louis Blanchette, "founder of this village." The agreement is signed by thirty-one inhabitants. (The original in Wilson Primm Scrap Book, Missouri Historical Society). The legal establishment and dedication of this church at St. Charles and of St. Charles, as a village, was in 1791, as shown by the authorization transcribed in the first church records, a copy and translation of which is as follows: "This register consisting of forty-three leaves, not including this, and all numbered and marked is intended to serve for recording the burials of the village of St. Charles, parish of St. Louis, among the Illinois Province of Louisiana in the diocese of St. James of Cuba (Santiago) and under the dominion of the King of Spain. In Testimony Whereof we the Commandant, Lieutenant Governor and Judge of the same parish and its surrounding territory have given our signature at St. Charles, the 7th day of November, 1791."

Manual Perez.

Another certificate dated Nov. 7, 1791, states that Manuel Perez ordered a church to be blessed in the "Petites Cotes of Missouri," under the invocation of St. Charles." Also: "On December 7, 1789, I had a cemetery blessed in same place" and refers to the fees to be collected. These

payments are collected by Rev. P. Bernard (de Limpach) without prejudice to the rights of the cure of St. Louis, within whose jurisdiction this place is. Signed by Don Manuel Perez, Captain and Lt. Gov'n and Judge of the Civil Court of St. Louis and all its dependencies." Then follows a notice and order dated Nov. 8, 1791, and signed by Rev. P. Ledru, stating the citizens must attend church on Sunday, under penalties, and all infractions must be reported to Mr. Blanchette, to whom he has given power and who will inflict punishment.

The above proves clearly the date of the establishment and name of the church and the first recognition of Blanchette as Commandant of the Post of the village of St. Charles and further, that Manuel Perez came in person to St. Charles in 1789 and 1791 to confer these honors.

Regarding the history of Louis Blanchette, from whence he came very little is known, except he was a French Canadian, born in St. Henry's Parish, Quebec, the son of Pierre Blanchette and Marie Gensereaux. About the year 1758, or thereabouts, he entered into a common law marriage with an Indian woman, afterwards known as Angelique. Some say she was of the Pawnee nation, others an Osage.

This would indicate that Blanchette had been in this neighborhood, as a hunter and trapper, for many years prior to the foundation of St. Charles.

A possible solution of the uncertainty of the date of his location at St. Charles, may be accounted for as follows: "Notes relating to the settlement of St. Charles by Rev'd. P. J. Verhaegen, Pastor of St. Charles Borromeo's Church" on file with archives of the St. Louis University.

"From the information, which I have been able to obtain, it would seem the settlement of St. Charles was commenced shortly after what is called by the French Creoles, "L' Annee du grand coup" viz. 1776, when Post Vincennes was attacked, and taken by a large band of Indians, who slew a number of the inhabitants and compelled the rest to fly for safety to St. Louis, * * * * * and that the Creole families of Quenelle, Bayotte and Vivaron were among the first settlers

in "La petite Cote." (The names of above appear in census of 1787)."

"It appears Blanchette was the first Commandant of the Post and that he established the Government House on lot on which Mr. Devance Chauvin lived. The Government house consisted of three humble one-story log buildings and were still occupied for governmental purposes by Blanchette's successor in office in 1798. * * * * When the first Catholic Church was constructed cannot be exactly stated, probably about the year 1780. In 1825 I found it to be an old rickety log building." Father Verhaegen was the first actual resident pastor at St. Charles. I am inclined to believe that Father Verhaegen gave the wrong title to this event when he referred to "L' Annee du grand coup." That refers to the English and Indian attack on St. Louis in 1780.

From information set forth in the above letter we have the first direct evidence that St. Charles was founded by French-Canadians from the eastern side of the Mississippi River, and not by those from St. Louis and Cahokia, known as Creole French, and I have frequently heard this distinction made by members of old French families, here and in St. Louis, viz: that St. Charles and Portage des Sioux were founded by French-Canadians and St. Louis by the Creoles, or New Orleans French.

Of this common law alliance between Blanchette and his Indian wife, Angelique, there were born three children, viz: Pierre and Louis, who were, I believe, twins, and Marie, who afterwards married Etienne Pepin. As the births, baptisms and marriages of these persons aid us in approximating dates of the settlement of St. Charles, I will now set out the proofs, as shown by the records of the old Cathedral at St. Louis. 1st entry: "In the year 1775, the 5th day of October, I the undersigned Missionary Priest, have baptized, under conditions, two children, Pierre, Louis, sons of Louis Blanchette, Chasseur, and Tuhomehenga, Osage Indian, aged 16 years. His godfather was Laurent Michou, and his godmother Catherine Mareschal, wife of Sr. Fr Moreau, of this parish."

S. J. Muerin, Priest.

From this it appears that Pierre and Louis were born in 1759, thus indicating Blanchette was in this neighborhood for years prior to 1769, and may bear out the assertion of Col. Emmons that there was a settlement here at St. Charles many years before St. Louis was founded. 2nd entry:— "The year 1788, the 28th of October, after three publications of the marriage banns, between Etienne Pepin, legitimate son of Etienne Pepin and Jeanette Maclure, his father and mother of the Parish of Quebec, of the one part and between Marie, daughter of Louis Blanchette and Angelique of "Petites Cotes," not finding any impediments affecting said marriage, I, the undersigned have received their mutual consent in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, Basil Picard, Laurent Michou, Nicolas Fail,—Chavelier."

P. Bernard (de Limpach).

I will add here, that Father Conway in his history of the church says: "Fr. Bernard de Limpach administered the little parish and neighboring stations, from 1776 to 1789. Fr. Bernard was often in Les Petites Cotes and traveled hither from St. Louis." The witnesses to said marriage were all residents of Les Petites Cotes and the certificate also names the contracting parties as residents of the same place.

The 3rd, 4th and 5th entries show a very unusual and interesting event in the life of Louis Blanchette, his marriage and the baptism of his wife and grand-child, on the same day.

3rd entry: "In the year 1790, the 13th day of October, I, the undersigned, have supplied the ceremonies of Holy Baptism to Angelique, born September 2, this year of the legitimate marriage of Etienne Pepin and Marie Blanchet, her father and mother having been baptized privately by Pierre Throge. The god-father was Pierre Blanchet, and the god-mother Marie Anne Courtois."

Ledru Mis. cure.

4th entry: "The year 1790, the 13th day of October, I, the undersigned, have baptized, Angelique, adult Indian, of

the Nation Panis Picque, about 48 years old. Her godfather was Jean Salle dit La Joie, and god-mother Marie Joseph Bayant."

Ledru Mis. cure.

5th entry: "In the year 1790, the 14th day of October were married Louis Blanchette and Angelique of the Picque Pawnee nation, they having previously lived together for a number of years. In the presence of Jean Salle dit La Joie, Gasper Roubie, Antoine Stephanellie, J. Clamorgan."

Ledru Mis. cure.

"The same day during the ceremony I have legitimated Pierre, Louis and Marie, all the children of the above."

Ledru Missionary priest.

It will be noticed, that all these events took place in the month of October. In many entries of the records, where parties were residents of St. Louis, it is stated "residents of this Parish." In none of the above do we find this designation. Therefore, I am inclined to believe the ceremonies were performed at St. Charles. I am further convinced of this because the marriage contract between Blanchette and his wife was not executed until Oct. 28, 1790, at St. Louis. This can be accounted for, as there was no notary at St. Charles, nor any one authorized under Spanish laws to approve same. It was always customary to have this done prior to the marriage ceremony. I have been unable to find the baptismal record of Marie Blanchette. I presume she was duly baptized by some missionary priest who failed to make an entry of it in St. Louis.

Angelique Blanchette died at St. Charles in 1793. The burial record of the church at St. Charles states as follows: "On Feby. 11, 1793, has been interred in the church of this parish, under the bench, the body of Angelique, Indian of the Grand Os. (Osage), wife of Sre. Louis Blanchette, Civil Commandant of the "Little Hills," by me, having died in the bosom of our Mother the Holy Church."

P. J. Didier, Mis. cure.

Blanchette survived his wife only a few months. Father Verhaegen in his notes states: "the precise date of Commandant Blanchette's death, I could not ascertain. He was highly respected and dearly beloved by the people, for having erected the first church for their use and having caused it to be renewed and enlarged three times. His grave was dug under the church floor, and his mortal remains deposited there."

It is regrettable, that the page of the burial record which contained a full account of his death and burial is missing. I fix the date of his death the latter part of August, 1793, as the inventory of his estate was made on Sept. 3, 1793.

The only archives in existence, signed by Blanchette as Commandant are, 1st: a lease drawn by Mathurin Bouvet as Notary, from Mr. Louis Blanchette, Civil Commandant of "Petite Cote," to his cousins, Francois and Jean Malbeouf, which effects sixty arpens in the Prairie Haute Fields, and forty arpens in the "Prairie Basse," owned by Blanchette, which lease is dated October 9, 1792. 2nd: An archive executed by Blanchette as Commandant, dated June 14, 1793, approving sale of live stock, made by Charles Rielle dit Clements. 3rd: An archive in which Blanchette as Commandant of the Post and seventy citizens of St. Charles, together with citizens of St. Louis, St. Ferdinand and St. Phillips, petition the King of Spain, complaining of their Chief. Dated July 7, 1793 (From files of Mo. Historical Society). This was probably his last official act before his death.

The inventory of his estate was made September 3, 1793, by authority of Mons. Charles Tayon; witnesses were Antoine Bricot and Mr. Gagnon, at the house of Mr. Blanchette. His estate consisted of one house and lot fenced in, value 1250 livres.

Barn on piece of ground, 200 livres;

1½ arpens in High Prairie, 100 livres;

1 arpen in Prairie Basse, 100 livres;

3 pair of oxen, 2 cows, 11 head of hogs, cart, plow, 5 guns, and a long list of household furniture and goods. Total value 3540 livres. This clearly shows he was an old settler

and a man of affairs in the community. From the above, and testimony of Joseph Lorain before Theodore Hunt referred to above, it is evident that for many years he was a very domesticated man. It is quite evident, with his family of three children and the large amount of personal property and chattels, that Blanchette did not lead a nomadic life.

In my investigation of land titles in St. Charles County, I discovered a peculiar state of affairs. A large number of deeds describe lots and out-lots in the old town of St. Charles, which cannot be located, and references are made to purchases which cannot be proven. What remains of the original archives of grants and concessions, show same emanate through Charles Tayon, Commandant (1793-1801) approved by Zenon Trudeau, Lt.Governor of Upper Louisiana.

I am unable to find any grants or concessions issued prior to 1792, except those referred to above, and one to Auguste Chouteau of 1787. Nevertheless, from the old deeds and archives of record I do find many recitals of possession and cultivation prior to the administration of Charles Tayon. From these investigations I have also discovered the following facts, and draw the following conclusions: The first settlement was made by French Canadians driven out of Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, during the English and Indian War, who crossed to the western bank of the Mississippi River, in order to get protection from the Spanish Government. The foundation of the town was without authority of the Governor of Louisiana, and remained unknown to the citizens of St. Louis for many years. The first location was made in the southwestern part of the town extending from Chauncey Street on the south to Jackson Street on the north, and from the Missouri River on the east to Second Street on the west. The first dwelling and government buildings were erected in Block No. 20. Here Blanchette lived and died. On Main and Jackson Streets was erected the chapel or church, opposite was the graveyard. The Main Street ran parallel with the river and was about one and one-half miles long, and with a street along the river

bank, designated a tow path, afterwards called "Water Street." There were many lots occupied along Main Street, but not all of them. On the west side of Main Street were very high hills, insurmountable, except on foot. The next settlement was at the extreme northern end of the City called the "Cul de Sac" Common Fields. Here a street (now a road) was laid out 60 feet wide, called "Rue Royal" or Royal Road of the King of Spain, later the "Kingshighway" and now known under the euphonic name of "Boschertown Road." This road leads directly to the "Royal Domains" and the "Prairie Basse" where there were evidences of early settlement. A few miles below is the "Marais Temps Clair," another settlement by the followers of Blanchette. At this place Blanchette had a claim of four hundred arpens. Strange to say, we can find no grants or concessions issued by Blanchette, only evidences of actual possession and settlement.

From 1780 and 1786, the Lt. Governor of Upper Louisiana discouraged settlement beyond the district of St. Louis and refused to issue and approve grants.

It was not until 1787 that residents of St. Louis, Cahokia and other towns and posts along the Mississippi River began to locate here. After the death of Blanchette in 1793, and with the appointment of Charles Tayon as Commandant of the Post of St. Charles, I found some order established. Surveys made, concessions and grants issued according to law and the establishment of civil government. Strange to say, that in no instance were the claims and possessions of Blanchette's followers approved, except through direct grant of Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor. No doubt, during this long period, prior to Blanchette's death, the original settlers suffered considerable hardships from disease, Indian raids and floods. One authority states that in 1781 there were only six dwellings here. The influx of new inhabitants continued from time to time until 1787, when we find a population of 80, including men, women and children. The first survey of the town is supposed to have been made by Auguste Chouteau in 1787. Yet we have evidence of settle-

ments made in the town, Prairie Haute Fields and the Prairie Basse, prior to the date of the Chouteau survey.

In Block No. 67, on a bluff 250 feet above the river, stood the mysterious stone fort. This fort was three stories high, thirty feet in diameter, with walls thirty inches thick. It had two entrances, one on the north and the other on the south side. Port holes around the entire building, and an opening 3x4 on the third floor overlooking the River. It is evident it was not built for a "Mill." From its size and the weight of the stone used, it must have taken many years to build it. The origin of this old building has always been a mystery, and the date of its construction unknown, but it was constructed by the first settlers many years before Blanchette's death. The lot on which it stood was granted to Francois Duquette by Zenon Trudeau, Lt. Governor, July 1, 1796, with the approval of Charles Tayon, and in August, 1797, Duquette leased the old stone fort to Jean Joffre for a windmill.

It is quite certain that it was not built during the administration of Charles Tayon, as Commandant, otherwise he would not have approved the petition and grant to Duquette. No doubt, at one time it must have been a military fort, but as to this we have no actual proof.

A careful examination of the administration of the civil government at St. Charles under Charles Tayon, indicate clearly that he did not recognize the claims of Blanchette and his followers, but proceeded at once to overthrow everything that heretofore existed. 1st, he had granted and conceded to himself the property on which the government buildings were located. 2nd. The lot occupied by Blanchette, and also all other real estate claimed by Blanchette and his children (except the sixty arpen tract in the Prairie Haute Fields) was given to Tayon's followers. 3rd. The lot on which the first church stood (in Block No. 15) he granted to Joseph Piche and Louis Chancellier thus compelling the Trustees of the Church to purchase same later on, and lastly, he abandoned the old fort to private interests.

In fact, it appears to me that Tayon attempted to wipe out every vestige of Blanchette's original settlement. That he was to a large extent successful, we must concede.

From the evidence of our oldest settlers, the old stone fort, the church records, and archives so set forth above, I believe I have established the fact that there was a settlement at St. Charles in 1769, if not prior to that date.

I have often heard my father say "That St. Charles was settled by French Canadian refugees from English dominion many years before St. Louis was founded, but historians will not concede this, as it would diminish the glory and honor bestowed on Laclede and Chouteau."

Note. Documents, archives and papers referred to are on file with the Missouri Historical Society. Copies, translations, etc., are in possession of the Emmons Abstract Company, at St. Charles.

THE OVERLAND MAIL ISSUE DURING THE FIFTIES

BY CURTIS NETTELS

As soon as the gold seekers of '49 arrived in California, they felt the need of quick communication with the regions from which they had come. At the same time, their relatives were extremely eager for immediate news of the turn that fortune was taking in the mines. Hence a demand for mails arose when the emigrants found in 1849 that no adequate postal facilities existed for their benefit. The Post Office Department met the unparalleled situation, but with only moderate success. By 1850, steamers were bringing twice a month a mail that was thirty days in transit from the Atlantic coast.[1] This service failed to satisfy the impetuous miners, and the agitation for quicker communication continued.

The idea of carrying mails overland by stage was of early origin. In 1849, a petition embodying a plan for a continental mail was recommended to the Senate by the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.[2] At the close of the same year, a second petitioner, William Bayard, offered to open a road to California and to carry mails over it "once a week in four-horse coaches."[3] Two years later, Henry O'Reilly proposed to establish a route through "Nebraska, the Desert, California and Oregon," and to erect stockades upon it, each twenty miles apart, for the quartering of "twenty dragoons," two of whom should ride daily between posts and carry express and mails. This plan received nation-wide attention, for its author was a successful telegraph builder, and his proposals, especially for a con-

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[1] *Executive Documents*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, No. 17, pp. 969-73.

[2] *Senate Documents*, 30th Congress, 2d Session, Report 310, p. 6.

[3] *Miscellaneous Documents*, 31st Congress, 1st Session, No. 2; also *Reports of Committees*, 31st Congress, 2d Session, No. 95.

tinental telegraph—which constituted a part of his scheme—carried considerable weight.[4]

As soon as the idea of the overland stage was suggested, the postal feature of it became subsidiary to other interests. The Senate Committee in 1849 recognized then that here was a scheme for stimulating the movement of population into the West. The overland stage would promote emigration by establishing a safe line of travel; it would lead to the development of the resources of the West; it would bind California to the Union, socially and politically, by affording quick communication between coast and coast; its stations would become the nuclei of settlements; and, above all, it would prepare the way for the much-talked-of Pacific railroad.[5]

In the summer of 1854, it became evident to Californians that the Pierce Administration was no friend of the proposed railway, and that the advantages of a safe road of travel would have to come from another source.[6] Thereupon, one of the leading papers of the West began a vigorous campaign for the establishment of a daily mail. Interested persons worked out the details for a private line,[7] and planned the organization of the Missouri and Sacramento Stage company.[8] Newspapers joined the chorus of agitators,[9] the Pacific Emigrant Society supported the cause,[10] the governor of California declared himself strongly in favor of the proposition,[11] and the legislature passed a resolution calling upon Congress to establish the desired line.[12] The agitation worked itself in the formidable wagon road movement which, in 1856, culminated in a monster petition signed by 75,000 Californians who

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[4]*Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, No. 27, pp. 2, 10-12, 26-7.

[5]*Senate Documents*, 30th Congress, 2d Session, Report 310, pp. 1-6.

[6]Sacramento *Daily Union*, September 18, 1854.

[7]The San Francisco *Alta*, October 1854, discussed two plans originated by Dr. Wozencraft, who had worked out minutely the details for operating the line.

[8]Sacramento *Daily Union*, November 28, 1854.

[9]The *Miner's Advocate*, the Placerville *Mountain Democrat*, the Shasta *Courier*, the Sacramento *Daily Union*, the San Francisco *Alta*.

[10]Sacramento *Daily Union*, January 28, 1855.

[11]*Ibid.*, January 9, 1855.

[12]*Ibid.*, February 8, 1855.

wanted a wagon road constructed over, and an overland mail placed upon, the South Pass route.[13] So general became the movement by 1857 that Senator Gwin, a politician sensitive to the trend of public opinion, said that there was no question in which the people of California were more deeply interested than in the plan for the continental mail.[14]

This interest made itself felt in Congress. In the Senate, Rusk, Douglas, Benton, Weller, and Gwin championed the cause. Rusk prepared the Senate Committee report which presented the case for the overland mail in 1849. Douglas led the fight in 1852.[15] Benton, in March, 1855, managed to have attached to the general post roads bill a clause calling for a direct mail route between St. Louis and San Francisco, "by the mouth of Huerfano and the Little Salt Lake to Stockton on the San Joaquin." He had his eye on the Pacific railroad, which he thought he was about to establish on his central route. The overland mail, he said, "will give the Central route a development, a notoriety, and a prominence which will protect its character and bear down all opposition. * * * * The post route and the branches are a skeleton of the future railroad."[16] Weller of California made three attempts in 1855 to get a bill through, and in 1856 presented the monster wagon road petition and introduced overland mail and wagon road bills.[17] Gwin supported these measures, and fathered one of his own.[18]

In Missouri and other Western border states, the agitation paralleled that of the Coast. "We have experienced for years," declared a prominent Missourian in 1858, "the difficulties of communicating with our brethren on the shores of the Pacific, and for ten years have been striving for means which would obviate those difficulties and bring us in closer contact."[19] The development of the Western states seemed

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[13]Sacramento *Daily Union*, October 16, 1858.

[14]*Globe*, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 307.

[15]*Ibid.*, 32d Congress, 1st Session, pp. 1161, 1685, 1758-64.

[16]Sacramento *Daily Union*, April 16, 1855, quoting Missouri *Democrat*.

[17]Bills introduced February 8, May 26, December 5. Wagon road petition presented in April. Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 5, 1856.

[18]*Globe*, 33d Congress, 1st Session, p. 307.

[19]John F. Darby. See New York *Herald*, October 14, 1858.

to depend largely upon the establishment of a safe line of travel across the continent, and consequently the people of those states were friendly to a project which promised to create such a route.

During the early fifties it became apparent to Congress that the country could afford but one first class overland mail. Yet both the North and the South were eager to extend the route west from their own borders. The burning question in connection with the mail was: which section should be the favored one? The inability of Congress to answer that question frustrated the schemes proposed between 1849 and 1856.

Congress attempted to answer this question finally when it passed the Post Office Appropriation bill, March 3, 1857. This act gave the Postmaster General authority to contract for carrying the letter mail from such a point on the Mississippi as the contractors might choose to San Francisco. Frequency of deliveries was to be determined by the Postmaster General. He was not to pay more than $300,000 a year for a semi-monthly service, or more than $600,000 for a semi-weekly service. Each overland trip should be performed within twenty-five days. Operations were to begin a year after the signing of the contract.[20]

This act in the main was supported in Congress by Northern and Western members, and opposed by members from the South.[21] One of its important features is the provision authorizing the contractors to choose their own route. Congressmen from the North were willing to grant this privilege to the contractor, because they believed that the best proposals would apply to the central routes, and that open competition would demonstrate their superiority, which had been obscured in Congress for political reasons. The majority of the Representatives who voted for the overland mail thought that by so doing they were taking a step preparatory to locating the Pacific railroad on a central route.

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[20] *Globe*, 34th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, p. 410.
[21] *Globe*, 34th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, pp. 309-320.

But at the same time the men who engineered the bill through Congress—Senators Rusk, Gwin, and Johnson of Arkansas—were devoted to the cause of the South. In presenting their plan to the Northern House, they covered their purpose of securing a southern route with the provision granting to the contractors the right of selecting the route—a right that might be usurped by the Postmaster General, who was delegated to choose the contractors.

With the passage of this act, the matter went to Postmaster General Aaron V. Brown. Brown was a Tennesseean sympathetic with Buchanan's policies, a leader in the councils of the Democrats, and a not unlikely aspirant for party leadership in the campaign of 1860.[22] He called Senators Rusk and Gwin into conference, consulted with the leaders of the Administration; and by April, 1857, rumors reported that he was set upon having a southern route.[23] Immediately, the friends of the central routes, including the leading express companies and western railroads, petitioned that the mail be not placed upon a route running south of St. Louis.[24] But to no avail. July 2, the Postmaster General awarded the contract to John Butterfield and his associates, and forced them to accept a route starting at both St. Louis and Memphis, converging at Little Rock, and proceeding to California via El Paso, Tucson, and Fort Yuma.[25] The contractors protested against the "side line" thus forced upon them, and in a letter to the Department urged the adoption of a more northern route through Albuquerque.[26]

Brown now undertook to justify his action, which seemed unlawful, and which had earned for him the hostility of the Northern press, of the contractors, and of the residents of upper California. He prepared a defensive article in which he attacked the South Pass route on the ground that snows precluded carrying mails over it during a fourth of the year.[27]

[22]New York *Times*, December 7, 1858, November 9, 1859.
[23]Sacramento *Daily Union*, April 16, 1857.
[24]Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 3, 1857.
[25]*Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2d Session, No. 48, pp. 5-6.
[26]Sacramento *Daily Union*, November 15, 1858.
[27]Postmaster General's *Report*, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, pp. 993-94.

The Albuquerque and the El Paso routes he compared closely in respect to climate, water supply, roads, and distance; and found the El Paso route superior in the first three respects. That the Albuquerque route was a trifle shorter he considered of no importance.[28]

It is doubtful whether an impartial review of the geographical merits of the routes alone influenced Brown's mind. Very likely he had preferences at the start. At the outset he called in for consultation the known friends of the Southern route. In the second place, he denied the contractors their plea, which outweighed his theoretical considerations and was in accordance with the law. In the third place, Brown lived in an atmosphere of Southern aggressiveness. His chief had signed the Ostend manifesto, his party leaders had declared for a southern railroad, the preceding Administration had sent an engineer into Arizona to drill for artesian wells with the hope that some means of irrigation might be found to make that barren country attractive to settlers, and his period of political life was the period of the Central American filibusterers who aimed to add new lands to the territory under control of the South.

Brown's writings indicate that he was interested in this aggressive movement on behalf of the South. Three elements entered into his policy: the question of emigration, the problem of the Pacific railroad, and "protection against Mexico." Time and again he wrote to the effect that the overland mail would "develop not one only, but several Californias on this side of the Pacific."[29] "Scarcely a communication from the other side . . . . has been received," remarked the Sacramento *Union*, December 1, 1858, "which did not allude . . . . to the encouragement the mail route would give to settlement in Western Texas and Arizona." Perhaps the most revealing testimony that Brown was attempting to populate the Southwest is contained in a report prepared by his contractor on the San Antonio to San Diego route, pub-

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 997-1003.

[29] Postmaster General's *Report*, 1858, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 2d Session, Serial 1000, p. 752.

lished in his *report*, 1858, which declared that the route "was already forming the basis of a new state . . . . half way between Western Texas and California."[30]

Like all men who worked for the overland mail, Brown hoped that it would open the way for the Pacific railroad. "The Department," he wrote in 1857, "supposed Congress to be in search of a route that could be found safe . . . . during every season of the year . . . . for the transportation of mails . . . . and for the future location of a railway to the Pacific coast."[31]

And finally, Brown saw in the Southern mail a source of protection against Mexico. "Nor should it be forgotten that the southern location of the route may serve a valuable purpose in reference to . . . . Mexico. . . . In time of war it will furnish a highway for troops and munitions . . . . which might enable us to vindicate our rights and preserve . . . . our national honor."[32]

It may not be possible to say what Brown had in mind when he made this statement. It is certain, however, that in 1858, after disturbances in Chihuahua and Sonora had threatened the safety of the mails, President Buchanan advised Congress to "assume a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora and establish military posts within the same" on the ground that "a state of violence" was arresting the settlement of Arizona at a time when it was "of particular importance that a chain of settlements should extend along the Southern border sufficient for their protection and that of the United States mail."[33] This statement may be viewed as an honest proposal for the good of all parties concerned. It may also be viewed in the light which the New York *Tribune* threw upon it. "Here," said the *Tribune*, "is an excellent reason why the mail route should never have been established along the line of the Gila,

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 752.

[31] Postmaster General's *Report*, 1857, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, p. 997.

[32] Postmaster General's *Report*, 1857, *Executive Documents*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 921, p. 1005.

[33] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 5, p. 514.

and abundant reason too for its removal to the every way shorter, safer, and more expeditious route of the thirty-fifth parallel. Instead of recommending that, the President advises Congress to seize Chihuahua and Sonora. Can anyone doubt that the President, when insisting so strenuously upon . . . . the Gila route, had this very piece of plunder in view?"[34]

This conclusion respecting the motive that determined the choice of the Southern route is unavoidable: that although the leaders of the Buchanan Administration may have had faith in the natural desirability of their route, they were vitally influenced by things that extended beyond the overland mail: settlement, a railroad, protection against Mexico. Why? Were they trying to populate the Southwest by reason of their regard for the welfare of the emigrants? Did they have any views regarding the political complexion that might characterize the "new Californias" that were to spring up along the route? And were they ignorant of the fact that the establishment of a well-protected postal and emigrant road through the Southwest would act as a deterrent to emigration into the Northwest, where no such advantages existed to aid the settler?

At the beginning of the Southern mail in October, 1858, most of the people of the West received it with interest and supported it with enthusiasm. En route the first stages met noisy demonstrations at frontier towns. "News that the Memphis and St. Louis stages had arrived [at Fort Smith] spread like wild-fire. Horns were blown, houses were lit up, and many flocked to the hotel . . . . to talk over the exciting topic and to take a peep at the mail bags."[34a] "The event of Butterfield's success has thrown the people of California in a perfect ecstacy of joy, and they augur from it the most important benefits for their state."[35] San Francisco indulged in a "monster meeting" that brought forth speeches,

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[34]Editorial, December 8, 1858.

[34a]Waterson L. Ormsby, in New York *Herald*, October 24, 1858.

[35]New York *Herald*, editorial, November 18, 1858.

resolutions, fire-works, and a great celebration in general.[36] Clearly the people of Southern California thought that the opening of the fast mail line was an event that ranked with the discovery of gold.

The people of Northern California who wanted the service established on the South Pass route greeted the first stages less cordially. The Southern mail, according to the Sacramento *Union*, was "a foul wrong," "an outrage upon the majority of the people of the state," "a Panama route by land," "an overland route to Mexico, a military road to Texas, and an immigrant route to Arizona."[37] In the East and North the same view prevailed. The New York press in derision labelled it the "horseshoe," the "side line," the "ox-bow route." "One of the greatest swindles ever perpetrated upon the country by the slave-holders,"[38] "a preposterous proposition," "a drain upon the treasury," "this monstrous business of the overland mail"[39]—such were the abusive terms which the Northern press applied to the product of Brown's policy.

Eight years before the Southern route was established, the beginnings of a mail service had been made on the South Pass route. A considerable stream of emigrants had swept westward along this route between 1840 and 1850. These settlers were interested in the overland mail and naturally urged that it be placed upon a route accessible to them. A series of contracts during the period 1850-1857 aimed to provide for their postal needs by effecting a monthly mail between Missouri and California, via Salt Lake City. Deliveries on this route were often interrupted, so that prior to 1857, this service did not in any sense constitute a real overland mail. During the period of agitation nobody in California considered this once-a-month service as anything approaching the fast stage-coach mail which the whole state desired to secure.

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[36]Ormsby, *ibid.*, November 18, 1858.
[37]November 2, 1858, October 14, 1858.
[38]Chicago *Tribune*, July 4, 1861.
[39]New York *Times*, January 15, 1858. *Cf.* St. Louis *Democrat*, June 18, 1859, Baltimore *Sun*, August 23, 1859, New York *Tribune*, December 8, 1858.

Nor did the agitation subside with the passage of the act of March 3, 1857. As soon as rumors reached California indicating that the Administration had its eye on a southern mail the supporters of the South Pass route began vigorously to assert its claims. Prior to 1857 the agitation had been general—without bitter emphasis upon particular routes. The choice of the southern road in July, 1857, split Californians into two groups: those satisfied with the decision, and those who demanded that the fast mail go by way of the South Pass. At first the movement in favor of the northern route was not strong. In April the California legislature refused to consider a resolution protesting against the impending action of Postmaster General Brown.[40] A month later, the Sacramento *Union* complained that "no imposing movements" had been made against the Southern route.[41] The *Union* itself, however, hammered away almost daily upon the point that an overland mail on a southern route could not stimulate emigration to California, and that therefore the chief benefits of the institution would be lost if the mail were sent through the deserts of the Southwest.[42] In the summer, interest in the South Pass route spread throughout Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri.[43] The press took up the issue and discussed it continually until the neglected route obtained favorable recognition.

In April, 1858, the Postmaster General entered into two new contracts applying to the South Pass route. The first, with George Chorpenning, provided for semi-monthly, twenty-day trips between Salt Lake City and Placerville; the second, awarded to John M. Hockaday, called for a weekly service between Salt Lake City and the Missouri river. The purpose of the Postmaster General in letting the Hockaday contract was not to establish a fast mail on the South Pass route, but to connect closely the troops in Utah with the War Department.[44]

[40]Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 2, 1857.
[41]May 19, 1857.
[42]March-October, 1857.
[43]Sacramento *Daily Union*, September 3, 1857.
[44]Sacramento *Daily Union*, September 23, 1858; *Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2458; New York *Times*, April 5, 1858.

Although these contracts indicated a recognition of the importance of the South Pass route, nevertheless its friends were not satisfied. Representative Craig of Missouri attempted to induce Brown to improve the service on the Chorpenning branch. Brown consented, but his order for effecting the change was vetoed by the President and a part of the Cabinet.[45] Craig then took the issue to Congress, and carried through the House a resolution directing the Postmaster General to provide a weekly service between St. Joe and Placerville and a reduction in the length of the overland trip from thirty-eight to thirty days.[46] This resolution was fought in the Senate by Southerners.[47] The West and the North, however, were too strong for the opposition, and the resolution passed, June 12, 1858.[48] Again the President blocked the way by refusing to approve the resolution after Congress had adjourned.[49]

That the people of California did not consider even the arrangement of 1858 a satisfactory overland mail is revealed by the increasing agitation between 1858 and 1861 for a daily stage on the South Pass route. "Daily mails," observed Postmaster General Holt* in 1859, "are now insisted upon by the smallest communities . . . . and it has been impossible to make the slightest curtailment without provoking remonstrance and rebuke."[50] But a daily mail on the South Pass route was not the demand of only a small community; it had behind it much of the artillery of the Northern and Western press. One of the pioneer agitators, the Sacramento *Daily Union*, kept alive its interest and poured out a stream of editorials urging a speedy recognition of the route. The cry was taken up in 1859 and 1860 by the San Francisco

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[45]*House Miscellaneous Documents*, 41st Congress, 3d Session, No. 66, p. 10.
[46]*Globe*, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2805, 2904.
[47]*Ibid.*, pp. 3002-03.
[48]*Ibid.*, p. 3005.
[49]Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 22, 1858.
*March 8, 1859, Postmaster General Brown died. His successor, Joseph Holt, was called upon to economize in the Department. Holt selected the overland mail as one subject for his economies.
[50]Postmaster General's *Report*, 1859, *Executive Documents*, 36th Congress, Serial 1025, p. 1427.

Times, the Shasta *Republican*, the St. Louis *Herald*, the St. Joseph *Gazette*, the St. Louis *Democrat*, the New York *Tribune*, the San Francisco *Telegram*, the San Francisco *Bulletin*, and the Chicago *Tribune*. Various papers advocated different plans for increasing the service, but on one point all agreed: the Butterfield mail was inadequate and the service on the central routes had to be improved. In December, 1858, the contractors on the South Pass route staged a continental race with Butterfield and Company in carrying the President's message. The South Pass riders came through in quicker time, and at once the friends of the route proclaimed its superiority.[51] The issue arose in Congress in 1858 and 1859, but the supporters of the central routes were not united on a plan, and the proposals put forward failed to materialize. In the spring of 1860, W. H. Russell established his Pony Express in order to demonstrate once for all the superiority of the South Pass route.[52] His almost phenomenal success seemed to prove finally that the West was being imposed upon by the twenty-two-day mail on the Southern route. The interest in the question became so general that by March, 1860, one correspondent described it as the leading topic of the day.[53]

Such an issue could not keep out of politics. It had provided one of the chief sources of controversy in the California pre-election campaign of 1859. The party that urged the claims of the South Pass route was the newly forming party of the North and West. Realizing the vast importance of the issue to California, the Republicans undertook to secure the support of the doubtful state by giving it what it wanted most—the daily mail. March 8, 1860, Representative Colfax of Indiana brought forth a daily South Pass overland mail bill which passed the House five days after it was introduced.[54] As soon as the bill arrived in the Senate, it placed the two Democratic senators from California in a serious dilemma.

[51] Sacramento *Daily Union*, January 3, 1859.

[52] Alexander Majors, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, Chicago, 1893, p. 167. Sacramento *Daily Union*, May 23, 1860.

[53] *Ibid.*, April 11, 1860.

[54] *Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1159, p. 1131.

If they opposed the bill, they would incur endless hostility at home; if they supported it, they would help pass a measure for which the Republicans would receive the credit. Gwin, in hopes of extricating himself, struck a bargain with the Administration. It was agreed that he was to obstruct the Colfax bill and to allow the session to expire without action; afterwards he was to be rewarded by an order from the Postmaster General improving the service on the South Pass route. Gwin fancied himself returning to California to boast that his personal influence had secured what the combined force of the Republicans in Congress had failed to effect.[55] Accordingly, as chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, he reported a substitute for the Colfax measure.[56] The Republicans, however, rose to the occasion and by amendments of their own threatened to defeat Gwin's plan.[57] Senator Latham, the other Democratic senator from California, wanted some credit out of the business, so he too produced a series of proposals.[58] The overland mail bill became so burdened with substitutes, amendments, and modified amendments that the session closed in June as Gwin had planned before decisive action had been secured.[59]

Gwin now hastened to procure the fulfillment of the promise made to him. To his dismay, Postmaster General Holt, a determined enemy of overland mails, refused to spend another dollar on the route. Gwin then called upon the President. In the interview that followed, Buchanan found himself in an embarrassing position. Gwin was one of his chief supports in the Senate. Holt, who was indispensable to the Cabinet, threatened to resign if his policy in his Department were reversed at the bid of an outsider. Buchanan attempted to persuade Gwin to drop the matter. But the fate of the overland mail meant more to Gwin than the soothing words of the President. Bitterly disappointed in the

[55] New York *Times*, July 12, 1860. See letter, Gwin to Buchanan, Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 28, 1860.

[56] *Globe*, 36th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2338-39.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 2338-39.

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 2457-61.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 3195.

miscarriage of his plans, he broke relations with the President and denounced him as false and treacherous.[60] Thus the overland mail issue, after threatening to disrupt the Cabinet, cost the President one of his most influential supporters.

Gwin had to return to California to face the election of 1860 without the political capital he desired. The Republicans too were checked, but not checkmated. In their platform of May, 1860, they had incorporated a plank declaring for a daily overland mail. They made the most of the issue in the campaign that followed. "On every stump and every hustings it was proclaimed by their orators that in the event of the Republican party getting control of the government, a daily overland mail would be given to California."[61] As soon as Congress assembled in 1860 the Republicans proceeded to live up to their promise. After the secession of the Gulf states had removed the opposition to the South Pass route, Congress provided, February 29, 1861, for the establishment of a daily overland mail. A provision authorizing the continuation of part of the Southern service was included as a means of keeping the country in touch with Texas.[62] The day after the passage of this act, word came that secessionist attacks had destroyed the Southern mail. Accordingly, a series of amendments were attached to the pending Post Office Appropriation bill providing for the abandonment of the Southern line and the establishment of a daily stage on the South Pass route. There were other provisions of minor importance. The price of the new service, which was to begin July 1, 1861, was fixed at $1,000,000 a year.[63]

Thus secession finally decided the contest between sections over the continental mail in favor of the North.

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[60]Sacramento *Daily Union*, July 23, 1860, quoting Washington correspondent of San Francisco *Bulletin*.

[61]Representative Scott, January 29, 1861, *Globe*, 36th Congress, 3d Session, p. 619.

[62]*Globe*, 36th Congress, 3d Session, Appendix, p. 326.

[63]*Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 336.

DIARY OF A JOURNEY FROM KENTUCKY TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

BY CAPTAIN J. A. PRITCHARD*

On the night of the 10th of April 1849 I left my residence in the town of Petersburgh—Ky—on the Steamer Cambria with my traveling companions and mules and wagons Samuel Hardesty William Wilkie T. P. Youell, M. Stephens, Perry McNeely, John Wilkie, & N. P. Norris—for an over land route across the Rocky Mountains to California, and arrived in St. Louis on the night of the 13th without any accident occuring or any thing of moment transpiring. On board the Cambria we found several Companies from different parts of the States, and among the rest was the Ethica company of New York—A joint stock association composed of 50 members with a capital invested of $25,000, etc. The forenoon of the 14th was spent in getting our Mules ashore & finishing our outfit for the journey—This all done, at 4 P. M. I with Hardesty, J. Wilkie & M. Stephens started from St. Louis to Indipendance through the country with the Mules while W. Wilkie McNeely Norris & Youell continued on board the steamer with our Baggage to Indipendance—landing—There were two young men with their Mules & Horses traveled across the country with us—Mitchell, of New York—& Burr Runnells, of Ohio. After a very amusing romp through the Streets with our Mules jurking the riders off occasionally we pushed out of the City at a pretty rapid rate—& sunset found us 16 miles on our road—at an Inn kept by a widow Lady by the name of Martin formerly of Madison Co—Ky—We had good accommodations for our selves & Mules—

*The diary is the property of Hon. John I. Williamson, Kansas City, Missouri, to whom The State Historical Society of Missouri is indebted for this contribution. Only that portion of the diary is here reproduced which relates to Missouri. The author, Captain Pritchard, was the brother-in-law of Mr. Williamson's father.

The land through here is handsome & furtile. Distance 16 miles

Sunday April 15th. After an early breakfast we found our selves on the road—merrily pushing along towards the place of our destination—as our Mules were fresh it was impossible to keep them back—We Struck the Missouri River in 4 miles from were we started this morning—opposite the Town of St. Charles—The bottom on the south side of the river at this point is rather wide, low, & furtile then otherwise & looks as if it was Subject to overflow in time of high freshits—There is a good steem-ferry Boat kept at this place—Here, after a laps of 27 years my Eyes rested once more on the turbid waters of this most Singular River, my mind was irresistable carried back to the seens of my Childhood—and associations which were not of the most agreeable character found them selves upon it—tho it is generally pleasant to reflect upon our youthful seens—St. Charles is rather a neat looking little Town built between the river & the hill that rises to som considerable hight in its rear, & stratches a long up and down the river for a miles or more. St. Charles is situated on the North or upper side of the Missouri River and 20 miles a bove its confluence with the Mississippi—At a distance of 14 miles we haulted to take some refreshments for our selves & animals at an Inn kept by an elderly Gentlemen by the name of Campbell (New Stone House) a Virginian—Here we saw quite a number of Emegrants encamped & resting over Lord's day—good accommodations & low prices—At 2 P. M. we resumed our journey and reached the farm house of a Gent by the name of Coleman to the right of the road who entertained travellers when called upon, Coleman was from Gallatine Co—Ky—distance this after noone 15 ms—Whole distance to day 33 ms—

Monday 16th This morning when we a woke, for the first time, we were Salluted by a multitude of Prairie Chickens with their dolorous sounds—The land through here is high

rolling Prairie the land is furtile & the farmes finely improved. The weather has been clear with a strong N East wind—which renders it extreamly disagreeable travelling over this Prairie country—At 7 A. M. we left Coleman's & Passed through several large Prairies this forenoon interspearsed with low shruby timber to underbrush—On one of those Prairies at 9 this morning we had a heavy fall of Snow for about 15 or 20 minutes which rendered it exceedingly unpleasent travelling on *Muleback* we got to Jones's tavern by noon a distance of 20 ms & here we overtook 8 or 10 ox teams bound for California. At 1½ past we continued our journey & found the road fine runing across a fine leavel—(or undulated) Prairie country rich furtile & enviting good farmes & well improved—About 5 P M we passed through a little Town called Danville—and 5 ms farther on we crossed a large creek high hills rough roads—1½ ms farther at the top of the hill we reached Cranes tavern Stand—where we put up for the night Distance 42 ms.

Tuesday 17th We resumed our journey at 7 this morning passed through some woodland & in 7 ms we came to Williamsburgh & took the middle road which led through Columbia to Rocheport where we desine crossing the River again—And at noon we were at A Allens tavern stand—19 ms from Crane's—At 2 P M—we left Allens & immediately struck a large Prairie 15 miles a cross—we then had timbered land for 6 or 8 ms. The wind blew a cold chilling blast from the N West—all day—at about 6 P M we reached the residence of Mr. Thos Grant formily of Scott co. Ky & related to the Grants of that State—We applyed to stay all night & he told us he never turned off travellers—And we found him to possess all the hospitality Characteristic of the well bread Kentuckyan—He has a fine farm—& Brick house—with every thing in abundance around him—23 ms this afternoon. Distance to day 42 ms.

Wednesday 18th This was a cold frosty morning—we were now in the destrict of country that suffered so much

from the hale & sleet during the last winter—The timber in many places was literally crushed to the earth—the branches were all or nearly so broken off and nothing but the snags & stubs left standing as the liveing monument of the great distress that had once been there. The timber is plenty through this part of the State—& the soil decidedly the best that we have seen since we left St. Louis—Six miles from Grant's we reached Columbia—one of the neatest and handsomes little Towns that I have seen in my life—In this place there is a fine College or institution of learning—it is 14 miles from Columbia to River at Rocheport—at which place we arrived by noon—We passed between these two points the large train from St. Louis—When we got to the river there were so many ahead of us, the ferryman told us that we could not cross for 3 days—So I took dinner at the tavern and hurryed off to Booneville a handsome Town situated 12 miles above Rocheport & on the South west side of the Missouri River. At this place we found a first rate Steam ferry Boat that could cross all the teams at the lower ferry in one day—At this point we met the Steam Boat Cambria that had on board our Baggage & the ballance of our Company—I rode down to the landing & went on Board & changed my Cloths etc—Here Stephens and Youell changed places—we travelled 3 ms out to Thomas's Stand and put up for the night Distance 35 ms.

Thursday 19th At 7 this morning we were on the road, and in 5 ms we Struck, and crossed the Lamoine River passing on through fine country & well improved farmes & clever People, by noon we reached the fine and extensive residence of the renowned Dr. Sapington the Daddy of all the Pills —and with him we took dinner—I found him to be a very adroit & singularly eccentric Character—jocular & lively & rather quisical possessing a high degree of hospitality and Gentlemanly demeanor—He is a large fine looking man about 6 feet high and looks to be a bout 70 years of age with heavy suit of hair & it as white as Snow—his Beard was as white as his head and hung to his breast—His wife was a pleasant

agreeable Lady and appeared to be much his junior—Just through this region of country, its mostly Prairie, but the land is very furtile—the Farmers raise hemp extensively through here—This after noon we saw 2 deer & a great number of Prairie Chickens—At sunset we reached Capt Kise's—but he was so crowded with Emergrants the he could not accomodate us—we turned and road back about one mile and stayed at a farme house owned by a Mr. Webb—who was a Virginian—Distance 37 miles.

Friday 20th The farmes along here are mostly in Prairies & the farmers many of them have to haul their railes to fence their farmes from 10 to 15 ms. Notwithstanding this to us a great disadvantage they say that they can fence their farmes sooner than they could clear of the timbered land—The soil is admirably addapted to the culture of hemp which formes one of their principal articles of agriculture & trade—And corn grass and everything in proportion. We reached Crissman's to dinner a distance of 16 ms—Soone after dinner we resumed our journey and during the after noon we crossed the river Torban 8 miles this side of Lexington—we reached Catrens this evening and put up for the night. Distance 37 ms.

Saturday 21st In four miles we reached Lexington a handsome Town, part of it is situated immediately on the Mo. River & part on the hill a bout 1 mile back—The lands around this place cannot be surpassed either in beauty or fertility—The timber is very heavy and of a fine quality—we travelled 18 ms—and haulted for dinner at the farm house of Mr. Arnold—He was a very clever Gentleman & read to us a letter that had just been recd in the Neighborhood from a gentleman in California who had emergrated the year before from that neighbourhood Who gave flattering accounts of the gold discoverys—While we were eating dinner a Mr. Stwart & 2 other Gentlemen came & called for dinner—Stwart recognized Hardesty & made him-self known to him. Stewert had once lived in Petersburgh—During our after noons travell we crossed a fine large creek (late in the even-

ing) upon which was a fine looking Mill owned by Rice—We stoped on the hill 1½ ms from the creek and put up for the night withe the widow Adams—plain old fassion sort of folks—Distance 40

Sunday 22nd We reached Indipendance this morning at 8 oclk—A M & continued to the river where we found the ballance of our company & Baggage it was 6 ms from where we stayed last night to Indipendance & 3 from there to the landing—We commenced hearnessed up our mules & loaded in our goods & chattles and moved out one mile to a good camping place on the road towards Town—where we encamped for several days—Distance to Indipendance 6 miles—

The whole distance from St. Louis Mo—to Indipendance according to the stament of distances as given to me by the inhabitance a long the road—from place to place & from time to time which I presume to be correct as I got it from the most relyable sources—is two hundred & Eighty Eight miles—We were all ready to start on our trip across the plains by the 24 of April but we were perswaded by the old settlers that that was too early as we would find no grass upon the plains for our Stock—In fiew of these statements we postponed starting till the 3 of May—And remained durlng the time encamped in and around Indipendance—But this advice we found to be extreamly detrimental to us—it served only to place us in the reare of a great number of large traines which we were compelled eventually to pass. We were prepaired to take with us grane enough to feed our mules twice pr day for a distance of 400 miles—Therefore we Should have started at least 10 or 12 days sooner—which would have given us great advantages in the way of selecting good camping places.

Indipendance is a handsome flourishing town with a high healthy situation—three miles from the Missouri River on the south side And Surrounded by one of the most beautiful & fertile countries of any Town in the Nation—The land is well timbered with the most luxuriant groth of black Walnut Blue & Black Ash, Hackbury large Bur, white & black Oak

Buckey Boxelder Coffee nut etc—Soil with that groth of timeber cannot help being abundantly productive besides it has a lime Stone foundation—Its geographical position is such that the climate is unsurpassed in the Union. The Emegrants were encamped in every direction for miles around the place awaiting the time to come for their departure—Such were the crowded condition of the streets of Ind—by long traines of Ox teams mule, teams men there with stock for sale and men there to purchase stock that it was all most impossible to pass a long—And the California fever rageing to such a fearful extent that it was carrying off its thousands pr day—Being all ready now to bid adieu to home, friends, and happy country, as it were—for we were about separating our selves from the abodes of civilization, its peace, comeforts, and its safty, for a period we knew not how long, and to some for ever, to launch a way upon the broad and extensive plaines—which Straches away and away, untill it fades from the sight in the dim distance, and bounded only by the blue wall of the Sky. While thus laying round in suspence the reflections of home were forcibly crouding upon our minds the happy influences that we had torne our selves from to enter up on a wild and in all probability a chimerical enter prize. In this state of Suspence we had wandered a long in search of grass for our Mules, and for the purpose of accustoming them to the use of the Larriet & the Stake—untill on the 2nd of May we found our selves some 13 ms from Indipendance

Thursday May 3rd 1849 W. W. Abbott of Burbone co—Ky haveing attached him self to our company on the evening previous—We were all ready this morning to take up the line of march—which did at an early hour—We crossed the state line at about 9 A M—where we found a great number of Emegrants—among the rest was the large train commanded by Mr. Headspeath the great Mountaineerer—We were now on the large Prairie—and in the Indian Territory—These lands through here are very Rich indeed the road was fine all day—It showered a little on us during

the day—at 3 P. M. we reached the noted lone Elm, where we encamped for the night—This lone tree stands on the bank of a Small stream—with no other tree or shrub in sight, all the branches have been cut from it by traders & Emergans for the purpes of fuel, at this place we found some 40 or 50 Emegrants Wagons—haulted for the night—Distance from Indipendance 34 miles—

Friday May 4 It was raining this morning and we did not start to 9 and in 8 miles came to where the Sante Fe road leaves the old Orregon trail—It still continued to rain and the roads became some what heavy—still passing over high rolling Prairie we continued till 3 P. M. which brought us to a large creek, called Bool Creek—There is an abundance of timber a long its banks and bottoms—just before we reached the creek we found one unfortunate fellow with the tongue broken square off at thonds of his wagon—We crossed the creek and encamped for the night—It had been raining all day & were wet & chilled by the exposure—We discovered a dead Oak close by and in a few minutes it was converted into a splendid log fire, by which we cooked our supper & got comefortably warm before bed time, We pased some 70 wagons to day—Distance 18—

Saturday 5th We left our camp this morning and travelled over rolling Prairie land crossing severall creeks withe steep banks and made a heard days march passing during the day some 80 teams, and late in the evening soped to camp at what is called coons point, on a small ravine with some timber a long its banks Distance 28 ms—

Sunday 6th We left camp this morning early & travelled over country pretty much such as we did yesterday, in fact the general face of the country through here is pretty much a like—At 2 P. M. we reached a fine large creek called Shunganung—we found a large number of wagons crossing they had to take it by turnes and let their wagons dow the steep banks. Theay all crossed and encamped for the night we

did the same—There was something near 100 wagons, some Ox & some Mule teams the grass was good a long the creek bottoms, we are now in the Potiwatimy destrict and in sight of one of their villages. a number of them came in to our camp this afternoon, One of them spoke good English—The boys spent some time in Shooting at marks with them They had plenty of horses & asked a good price for them—Distance 16 ms—

Monday 7th We had to travel 16 miles to upper ferry or 3 to the lower ferry—what we lost on this side by travelling to the upper ferry we gained on the other and as nearly all the Emegrants were going to the lower ferry—we took the upper one—And one mile before strikeing the Kansas river is a mission and trading post called Potiwatin. There are several white familys liveing there & some 4 or 5 stores black smith Shop etc—A number of the Indians are liveing in the village —we called a hault of an hour or such a matter in the town and let the boys trade a little—We reached the River a bout 12 M—and crossed at 3 P. M. There was 2 ferry boats one kept by a half breed Indian (Michegan) & the other by a white man—This river is a bout 120 yards wide, with a strong bold current—the water is rather turbed—after crossing we came out to creek about 2 miles & encamped for the night grass good Distance 18 ms—

Tuesday 8th About one mile above our camp we crossed the creek—here we were compelled to double teams in order to get through the bank very steep & muddy—Our rout to day was a long the Kansas bottom principally, the bottom being soft made it very heard pulling we crossed a number of creeks & mud hole, with steep banks—we passed an Indian village about 9 A. M. where their was a saw mill, and a temporary bridge thrown across a bad muddy creek by an Old Indian who charged us 25 cts a piece for our wagons —In a bout 10 ms from where we started this morning we came to a Catholic mission—surrounded with a number of Indians Wigwams—At three P M we reached the big Ver-

million about one mile before reaching the river, the bottom Road and hill road as it is called came together—The hill road is said to be the best early or of a wet time. The Vermillion is the largest that we have crossed since we left the Kansas—its waters are clear bold & beautiful with stonny bead its bank are steep—The bottoms are about one mile in width & finely timbered in places for some distance out—we crossed and encamped for the night, good grass—The weather being warm we took a baith in its clear blue water—Distance 23 ms—

Wednesday 9th We are now out in the Indian country and there are various rumers afloat, with regard to their commiting depradations on Emegrant parties, we deemed it necessary to keep a strict guard over our Mules during the night—Last evening after we encamped there came to our camp a gentleman who had been left at the Kansas crossing by his party—we took him in and kept with us till this evening when we overtook his train—His name was Jacob Hoover —from Eagle Village Ind—Five miles after leaving camp this morning M Stephens drove his wagon into deep mudhole & broke the Tongue—We however were not detained long with that—we laid it smoothly togeather and roped it with Twine and drove on till noon—where we stoped on a fine stream of water rested & greazed our Animals one hour & a half—After which we resumed our march and at dark over took the Indiana train Commanded by Capt Fash, compossed of 17 wagons and 60 men we temporarily attached our selves to his train untill we could make farther arrangements Distance 27 ms—

Thursday 10th We made an earlys tart this morning in order to pass a large Ox train which had encamped just a head of us—The road was rather hilly to-day—We nooned 2 hours after crossing a small stream, and continued our march till 4 P. M. when we came to the big Blue—This is a fine large stream with a bold rapid current & gravelly bottom —We had here to lower our wagons down with ropes—

which consumed the balance of the evening in crossing all the train—The soil is very fine on this river, and the bottoms are well timbered—This will doubtless become a fine farming country—and that before many years—here we encamped for the night Distance 22 ms—

Friday 11 By noone to-day we came to where the St. Joseph road & Indipendance road come togeather—It was allarming to see the long strings of wagons that were on the road—I counted just passing before us as we came into the St. Jo road 90 Ox teams in one string—And as far as the Eye could reach forward and back the road was just lined with them—It would appear from the sight befor us—that the nation was disgorgeing its self and sending off its whole inhabitance—We were not able to pass this train till they stoped for the night—came by them 3 ms & stoped where there was neither wood water nor but little grass—we—however found a hole of water after so long a time and a little brush some mile or so down the branch. Seven of our 8 were put on guard to night—I told the boys that, that way of doing business was rather too exciting to be pleasant—And that did not suit me—So we determined to leave the train at the earlyest opportunity—Distance 22 ms—

Saturday 12—May Nothing of any moment occurred to-day, we made an early start this morning—Our rout to-day lay across rather a broken country—or high table lands—The face of the country all day has appeared like climbing an encline plain—the top of which we never could gane. We crossed several branches to day one of which we had to bridge with willow brush—Occasionally we see a tree or a clump of bushes at a distance which indicates a spring of Pool of water—We nooned of a Small branch that had the appearance of being dry except in wet weather—this after noon we crossed several dry branches with gravelly beds—and encamped on one of the tributarys of the little Blue—Distance 20 ms—

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

THIRD ARTICLE

JAMES S. ROLLINS

James S. Rollins of Boone county was one of the great men of Missouri. He had the opportunity, which he faithfully improved, of doing much for the state, and in Central Missouri (which he represented in Congress) but chiefly in Columbia, where his name is so intimately associated with the State University, he is remembered with a gratitude and affection to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing can be taken. In the early part of his public career, he was called "Jim" Rollins by the personal friends who recognized in him the capacities for usefulness which he afterwards developed, and who were fortunate in possessing the friendship of a young man of such noble qualities and such high promise; later on, he was known as "Rollins of Boone," because he had come to be so constantly and honorably associated with measures for the interest of the good old county, that it seemed he and it had been born for one another; and later still, when the promise of his youth had ripened into the full usefulness which his friends looked for, he came to be known as Major Rollins.

He was tall and erect in person and full of form, without being even inclined to portliness; and few men could be more at ease, or present a better appearance on a platform, addressing a popular audience. In early life he was a Whig and continued so, as long as there was any Whiggey left to stand by; but when the dominant party in Missouri became divided into Benton Democrats and Anti-Benton Democrats, without becoming a Benton Democrat, his views on slavery and the Kansas-Nebraska question brought him into friendly

relations with Benton and his co-partisans, and he was charged with being "unsound," on slavery—the gravest reproach that could be made against a public man in Central Missouri in those days.

The first time I saw him was in the office of the *Evening News* in St. Louis, in 1854, and I have a vivid recollection of his somewhat grave and quiet but pleasant demeanor, as he sat with perfect composure in his chair conversing with the company around him. He was in the prime of life; he had the flowing beard which he always wore, and which so well became him; and his face was so browned as if by exposure, that he might have been mistaken for a well-to-do farmer, had there not been something in the calm look of his eye and the dignity and grace of his bearing that suggested familiarity and dealing with other human affairs.

There was a lawyer in Columbia, Col. Sam Young, from Bourbon county, Kentucky, whose brilliant talents and popular manners gave him an influence in Boone county not inferior to that enjoyed by Rollins; and as Young was as "sound" on slavery as even the South Carolina or Mississippi standard could exact, and was withal, a first rate speaker, the two men inevitably came in antagonism for supremacy in the University county, and for supremacy in Central Missouri—and, for a time it seemed even chances whether the survivor was to be Rollins or Young. That Rollins maintained himself against his brilliant antagonist, and in a constituency whose views on the question of slavery were more nearly represented by Young than by himself is accounted for by the admirable self-control and adroitness which were conspicuous features of his character, and which served him well in many a trying position.

He began life as a lawyer after two years study with that distinguished jurist, one of the very greatest of Missouri lawyers, Judge Abiel Leonard, and at one time gave promise of rising to eminence in the profession; but he soon became interested in public affairs,—politics, popular education and internal improvements—and these left him little time for a severely jealous profession which awards success and dis-

tinction to its votaries only on condition that they follow it with an undivided homage. He was recognized as a foremost champion of popular education, an advocate and supporter of all measures that fostered development in modern civilization, and, pre-eminently a friend of railroads. He attended a railroad convention in St. Louis as early as 1836—fifteen years before there was a mile of road laid in the State. He was made president of it, and wrote the memorial to Congress asking for a grant of public lands to aid a general system of internal improvements in the West.

In 1860 he was engaged in the most important and difficult canvass of his life, his first race for Congress; and the fact that his competitor was John B. Henderson, one of the ablest men, as well as one of the best speakers and one of the most adroit polititians in the state, gave to the contest an interest that extended to the state boundaries. The long and angry strife over slavery which had been going on with a deepening intensity since the Mexican war, was coming to a head, and little else was talked about in the public discussions. To be "sound" on the slavery question was the supreme qualification for public position, and if a candidate could make out his antagonist to be unsound on that vital point, the contest was as good as settled. Rollins and Henderson were the two ablest men in the district, the one a Bell-Everett American, the other a Democrat, and in the business of give and take before a popular audience, either was a match for the other. Rollins was charged with being a Free Soiler, and the task of defending himself from the accusation was complicated by the desire to secure the support of a considerable German element in Warren and St. Charles counties, at the head of which stood Frederick Muench (Münch), an avowed Freesoiler, who afterwards, became a prominent member of the legislature. In a speech made at Marthasville, Warren county, to these Germans, Rollins said so many things to conciliate them that Muench, who was present, wrote an account of the meeting to a German paper at Hannibal, in which he expressed his satisfaction with Rollins' views, and declaring that the Germans might safely

support him. Henderson got hold of this letter, and had it translated and republished in the *Missouri Republican* which arrived at Sturgeon on the morning of the day when the antagonists were to meet for a joint debate. Rollins knew nothing of the republication and when Henderson charged him with bargaining for the Freesoil German vote, he jumped to his feet and indignantly denied it. Henderson then read the letter and concluded by charging that his opponent was on terms of friendly correspondence with *Munch*, the German Freesoiler. Up to this point Rollins was evidently uneasy, but Henderson's mispronunciation of Muench's name disclosed a way out of the predicament, and he promptly took advantage of it. With his accustomed composure and blandness, he said: "I do not know the man Mr. Henderson is talking about. I do not know, and never had any intercourse with a man in Warren county named Munch. The only person in Warren county I am on terms of correspondence with is my friend Mr. Frederick *Minch*, a most estimable and honorable citizen of Missouri."

The crowd accepted the statement, and applauded without ever suspecting that the "estimable and honorable Frederick Minch," and "Munch, the Freesoiler," were one and the same person.

When it is stated that at the election which followed a few weeks after, Rollins was chosen by a majority of only 254, given him by the Germans of Warren county, his dexterity in turning a point of orthoepy against his competitor, and that competitor, John B. Henderson, will be recognized. If Mr. Muench's name had been pronounced with u instead of i, Rollins probably would not have gone to Congress that time.

In 1836, when he was a young man twenty-four years of age, he had the hap to meet the famous John Smith T., noted in three states as the most successful duelist and one of the most successful killers of the day. Reports credited him with having slain fifteen men in Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri, and it was agreed among those who knew him that he would have no compunction in

slaying as many more, on the most trifling provocation. The young lawyer while visiting Jefferson City was accosted by Smith in the bar-room of the tavern where he had just registered and politely invited to take a drink. Without knowing the man and the danger of refusing, Rollins declined the invitation as politely as it was offered on the plea that he did not drink. The duelist and killer gently and pleasantly commanded the whisky of the tavern, and again invited the young stranger to join him in testing it; again the young lawyer declined; and as he turned away, the landlord who had watched the course the matter was taking, managed to tell him in a low voice who the suave stranger was, and to suggest that he accept the proffered courtesy. Before extending the third invitation Smith drew his pistols and laid them on the counter and slowly and quietly said: "Mr. Jeems Rollins, it is drink or fight, just as you please—quick—and you may have choice of weapons." "If that is the case," Rollins pleasantly replied, "let it be drink"—and they walked up to the bar and cemented the acquaintance so strangely begun, in the tavern whisky.

On the 27th of September, 1864, when Bill Anderson and his bushwhackers captured a train of sick Union soldiers at Centralia and massacred them in cold blood, Rollins had a narrow escape with his life. The stage from Columbia, in which he was a passenger, arrived at Centralia shortly after the butchery, and he would certainly have shared the fate of the invalid soldiers had not a personal friend who was a Southern sympathizer taken him instantly to an upper room and concealed him till the bushwhackers left the town. On his return home Rollins met one of the bushwhackers on the road, who called him by name and told him he was going to kill him. Rollins replied that he would kill the wrong man; he was not Rollins; his name was Johnson and he was a Methodist preacher. The man reluctantly let him off; and not long afterwards Rollins saw him again when he was a prisoner, and in a conversation about the adventure, he said: "I knew you were Major Rollins, but I could not make up my mind to shoot you."

It is said that public life in the United States is always unsatisfying, and nearly always disappointing; even when it appears successful and crowned with honors, there is a drop of bitterness at the center. Rollins found it so. Although his public career seemed full-orbed and replete with usefulness to the State and honor to himself, there was one thing lacking, which he frankly confessed to his friends: he had desired and hoped to be governor of Missouri—to crown his career in the state he loved and served so well by being chosen to its chief executive office. His personal and political friends shared the ambition with him and lamented the political conditions which, notwithstanding his acknowledged abilities and his popularity, never presented an opening for the fulfillment of their hope. His public life began in 1838, when he was chosen to represent Boone county in the legislature, and continued with interruptions almost fifty years, and in this period he had occupied various positions of honor and responsibility—member of the Missouri house of representatives, member of the State senate, member of the State Convention; but all this did not fill up the measure of his ambition as long as the governor's office was denied him. He sought it in 1848, when he was the Whig candidate and was defeated by Austin A. King. He sought it again in 1857, when he was defeated by R. M. Stewart by only 344 votes. And he sought it again in 1872 when he was an aspirant for the Democratic nomination and was defeated by Silas Woodson. He recognized that this last defeat was the end of the struggle for an unattainable honor, and while submitting to it with the easy grace of manner and utter absence of resentment which constituted one of the charms of his character, there was, yet, a deep sadness in his words, when he said to a young friend and supporter, after Woodson was nominated: "This is the last. I am not ashamed to confess that I desired to be governor of Missouri. It has been a cherished ambition with me, for years. But it is all over now; the honor is denied me, and I must bid adieu to the hope forever."

In his old age, he was baptized and received into the Presbyterian church, the pastor, Dr. Campbell, performing

the ceremony while the white-haired invalid statesman lay on his couch, and he died peacefully, not long after.

Major Rollins served the people, faithfully and well, in whatever position he was chosen to, but his greatest work is that which he did for the State University of Columbia. He seemed never to have reached the end of bringing forward measures for building up the institution which, all his life occupied the first place in his heart, and which he could never do enough for. Even after his retirement from Congress, when his public career seemed to have been honorably closed, he sought and secured election to the state legislature for the purpose of presenting an important measure for the benefit of the university.

An old proverb runs: "It is better that it be said of thee, after thou art gone, 'Why has not this man a statue?' than, 'Why has this man a statue'?"—and the first part of it may well be asked as the questioner stands in the University campus at Columbia and sees before him and round him the products of Rollins' devotion and affection for the institution which owes its greatness in so large a measure to him.

THE NEW JOURNALISM IN MISSOURI

BY WALTER B. STEVENS

SIXTH ARTICLE

THE CATECHISM

The catechism was one of the innovations of the new journalism in Missouri. It made an impression on the reading public. An interviewing corps of from twenty to thirty reporters was organized. Decorated with imposing white silk badges and carrying handsomely printed cards with questions and blank spaces for the answers, the reporters descended upon the body to be catechised. Scant time was given for reflection. No opportunity was offered for consultation of authorities. In this manner the corps visited the New York Stock Exchange, the members of which were called upon to tell who was President of the United States in 1840, and in several other years. Each man's answer was published, with his name. The interviewing corps marched upon the floor of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and queried and, in most cases, queered the local bulls and bears on the Ten Commandments.

Perhaps the most notable of the catechisms was that to which Congress was subjected in 1891. The time selected was the opening day of a Democratic House, when for the first time in a number of years a Democratic Speaker was to be elected. The interviewing corps did its work in the sensational contest between Charles F. Crisp and Roger Q. Mills. Several days before the opening of Congress Mr. McCullagh broached the plan in a letter to the Washington correspondent of the *Globe-Democrat*:

"Could you organize a corps of reporters—say twenty—to run a catechism class on the floor of the House the first day of Congress? I will prepare the questions,—all to relate to political history. The thing to be conducted like the New

York Exchange matter. I think you know the modus operandi. Answer by telegraph, and I will write further instructions."

Subsequent letters and telegrams show the care with which the inventor of the catechism planned these campaigns:

"I am extremely anxious to make a success of the catechism, and think the material is there. Some of the questions are quite 'catchy' and will fool the boys. For instance, 'How many ex-Presidents died on the Fourth of July?' Well, they will remember John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, but most of them will forget James Monroe. Our success, of course, will be proportioned to the number who can't answer. You might send four or five men among the Departments to tackle the Secretaries. If you can find a man with nerve to tackle the White House it would be well. I am having nice badges made, each reporter to wear one. I will send the cards to you by express. Be careful and do not let them get out. If they should work out a 'key' and circulate it in advance the joke would be on us."

"Enclosed is a proof of the badge for the interview. It will be printed on fine white silk. The motto is a thing which Mr. Sumner would have said had he lived long enough, I think. Will send by express, probably Saturday night, 600 copies of catechism and 75 badges. Do not open the bundle until the morning of the raid. I am terribly afraid of the list of questions getting out and spoiling our fun. Take the bundle unopened to your room and lock it up."

"I will have the answers set up and printed on proofslips and forwarded to you to be given to the reporters. I think you had better not distribute them until after the raid, as it is just as well that reporters should not know the answers when presenting the questions. You will get them in a large envelope Saturday morning."

By wire: "Catechism cards and badges by express tonight. Do not open package until December 7," (the date of the opening of Congress).

All of Mr. McCullagh's letters of instruction were in his handwriting. He did not resort to dictation. The catechism

program was carried out in strict accordance with instructions. All of official Washington was covered by the interviewing corps. Upon the white silk badges was an artistic picture of the capitol. The report of the experiences of the interviewers filled fifteen columns of the *Globe-Democrat* the next day. The caption and the introduction tell the story in brief:

CONGRESS CATECHISED.

The Globe-Democrat's Class in Political History Descends on the Capital.

An Attempt to Ascertain What Our Statesmen Know About American History.

Fourteen Simple Questions Prove Too Much for the Great Politicians.

Not a Dozen Public Officers Knew How Old Washington Was When He Died.

The President Smiled and Smiled—Four Southern Congressmen Who Remember Their Lessons—Some Very Bad Breaks by Very Good Statesmen—None of the Senators Could Answer Them.

Special Dispatch to the Globe-Democrat.

Washington, D. C., December 7.—Men were fuming and steaming and sweating blood almost. It was a great party crisis. To the 232 men who were in it the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, when suddenly there confronted them this:

"Who was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives?"

The tension relaxed with a snap; lines of anxiety melted into broad grins; the storm center changed in a twinkling. The issue of the hour was not the speakership of the Fifty-second Congress; it was the St. Louis GLOBE-DEMOCRAT'S class in political history.

Washington will never meet the fate of the worm. It rises leisurely. Today, however, it was astir earlier than usual. The speakership contest, after seventeen fruitless ballots on Saturday, was to be resumed at 10 o'clock this morning. By 9 o'clock the Congressmen were up and beginning to move toward the big Capitol on the hill, a mile away. At the same hour down Newspaper Row marched a column forty strong. White silk badges fluttered on their breasts. They bore this strange device:

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

INTERVIEWING CORPS.

Mission for the Promulgation of Political History in the Halls of Congress.

"No American Education is complete which does not include an accurate knowledge of the political history of this country."

—Charles Sumner.

The column wheeled to the left, and started up Pennsylvania avenue, the scene of many a pageant, but never one that could be called a precedent to this. A little detachment of skirmishers fell off at the junction of Fourteenth street and turned to the right. Its destination was the White House, the great Treasury building, the War, Navy and State Departments and the Department of Justice. The corps moved on. At Thirteenth street a second detail turned to the right, and headed for the Department of Agriculture and Uncle Jerry, half a mile away. At Sixth street a third detachment wheeled to the left, and moved on the great public hives in which Secretary Noble and Postmaster General Wanamaker are king bees. But the main corps, full thirty strong, kept right along toward the big white Capitol. Once under the big dome the corps deployed. Up-stairs, down-stairs, everywhere, the interviewers scattered. They stood guard with the Doorkeeper at the House entrance and captured the Democratic Representatives hastening to the caucus. They invaded the committee rooms, where Republican Representatives were talking of the dead-lock and having no end of fun at the expense of the unwieldy majority. They wormed their way through the crowded corridors in search of truant scholars. They sat down to late breakfasts in the restaurants with members who had rushed from their bed rooms to the Capitol, and while this intellectual raid was going on at the south end of the great building the Senate wing of the corps were searching the committee rooms and having interesting experiences with grave and dignified Senators.

It was the first experience of Congress with a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT catechism, but everybody took kindly to the innovation. Statesmen who threw up their hands in despair when they fully appreciated the ordeal said it wasn't a bad idea to show Americans how little definite knowledge they really have about big events in their country's history. Representatives like Henry Cabot Lodge, on the Republican side of the House, and like Amos J. Cummings, on the Democratic side, went through the catechism as rapidly as they could write the answers. Others, like Charles H. Mansur, of Missouri, and Constantine Buckley Kilgore, took time for reflection and jotted down the answers slowly. Some flew the track at the first suggestion of a test of their historical accuracy. They pleaded lack

of time, asked that the cards be left with them or got out of the way as quickly as possible.

There was no place where the visit of the interviewer was better appreciated than at the Civil Service Commission. The Commissioners confessed judgment, and the chief examiner begged a copy of the catechism. Whether he proposes to incorporate it in his next civil service examination papers is a matter of conjecture. One member of the corps had a novel experience. When the Democratic caucus adjourned the corps passed the doorkeepers on the strength of the white badges and gained access to the floor of the House. A very busy half hour was spent. Then the floor was ordered cleared of all but members for the brief session of the House. At this juncture a group of members agreed that any man who could go around with so much political history, even if it was printed on a big card, was entitled to the privilege of the floor. The GLOBE-DEMOCRAT representative remained and silently participated in the proceedings.

Perhaps the reader would like to see the catechism which was the sensation of the opening day of the Fifty-second Congress. Here it is; but the newspaper print will fail to do justice to the heavy cardboard and handsome typographical appearance:

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

CLASS IN POLITICAL HISTORY

This card contains a number of questions relating to the Political History of this country. The person to whom it is handed is requested to write out the answers without consultation with any other person.

Return to the Reporter.

1. How old was George Washington at the time of his retirement, after having served eight years as President?

2. How many offices were included in the Cabinet of George Washington, and what were they?

3. How long did Thomas Jefferson live after the close of his second Presidential term?

4. When was the Navy Department created, and who was the first Secretary of the Navy?

5. When was the Postmaster General made a Cabinet office, and who was the first Postmaster General who was also a Cabinet officer?

6. When was the Interior Department created, and who was the first Secretary of the Interior?

7. Who was the first Chief Justice of the United States?

8. What Chief Justice of the United States served the longest period, and how long did he serve?

9. What Speaker of the House of Representatives served the longest in that capacity, and how long did he serve?

10. How many ex-Presidents of the United States died on the Fourth of July, and who were they?

11. Had any President of the United States, previous to his election to that office, been Speaker of the House of Representatives? Give name or names.

12. Who was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives?

13. When were the first ten amendments to the Constitution adopted?

14. What article of the Constitution of the United States prescribes the method of choosing a President by Electors?

Some of the Congressmen called these questions conundrums. They said it was unfair to arouse the curiosity without satisfying it. There was a key to the catechism, but it was not revealed until after the interviewing corps was called off. Here is the key:

1. Sixty-five years and eleven days.

2. Four—Secretary of State, Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of War and Navy. (Secretary of War and Navy one office.)

3. 1809 to 1826—17 years and 4 months.

4. In 1798. George Cabot.

5. In 1829. William T. Barry.

6. In 1849. Thomas Ewing.

7. John Jay.

8. John Marshall—34 years, 5 months, 7 days.

9. Henry Clay—10 years.

10. Three—Jefferson, Adams and Monroe.

11. James K. Polk.

12. Fred A. Muhlenberg.

13. 1791.

14. Amendments, Article 12.

When the 25,000 words had been received in the Globe-Democrat office before midnight, Mr. McCullagh wired:

"Catechism a great success from the end. Hope it worked up the people in Washington."

Two or three days later, when he had judged the effect, and had read newspaper comments on it, Mr. McCullagh wrote:

"I need hardly say how well everybody at this end is pleased with the catechism work. It was splendidly done and amply repaid all effort,—not to speak of my own nervous excitement concerning its fate in advance."

ENTER "THE RAILROAD EDITOR"

Before Missourians in general had realized the radical changes in transportation impending, from river to rail, the chief came into the city room of the *Globe-Democrat* one noon and said:

"We are going to have a railroad department to be run every week day. Make all you can of it."

For half a century preceding this innovation decreed under the new journalism, "River News" had ranked high in the editorial management of St. Louis newspapers. The "river editor" was of consequence. He had his department. His copy went direct to the foreman of the composition room without curtailment. The river editor went on 'change daily and mingled with the commodores and captains. He was an authority on steamboat history. His personal relations with the river interests brought much profitable advertising to his paper.

"The Railroads" became a department in the *Globe-Democrat* about 1882. One reporter, gifted with much energy and active legs, was assigned to the daily round of railroad offices, with help from the local staff whenever there was a railroad meeting, or convention, or some special interviewing to be done on a railroad topic. Correspondents were instructed to specialize on railroad news other than accidents. Newspapers throughout the country were scrutinized for all items relating to railroad business. To this search of the exchanges Mr. McCullagh gave personal attention, bringing a bunch of clippings every afternoon to the desk of the city editor. "The Railroads" department was given from two to five columns six times a week in the *Globe-Democrat* during several years. "The railroad editor" outranked the river editor. One of the first newspapers to borrow this feature from St. Louis was the *Chicago Tribune*. Others followed until in the decade of the eighties many newspapers were running railroad departments.

This feature of the *Globe-Democrat* came as a shock to railroad officials. It was something new to meet this daily call of the reporter. Access to inner offices where sat the

president, or the general superintendent, was difficult at first. When Mr. Pulitzer sent Henry W. Moore to meet Jay Gould on an incoming train, instructed to interview the magnate respecting matters connected with the Missouri Pacific management, the city editor of the *Post-Dispatch* returned with his pompadour bristling stiffer than normally. He told a hard luck story of repeated strenuous but futile efforts to get past the porter and into the private car.

Edward B. Pryor, then a private secretary in the Wabash general offices, was one of the first railroad officials to sense the possibilities of this new relationship between press and railroads. A. A. Talmage, somewhat austere of mien, general manager of the Wabash, hung out the latchstring promptly and became one of the most approachable to the railroad editor. And the day came when Jay Gould, on one of his periodical trips to St. Louis, sent an invitation to the reporters to come into his office. Billy Hobbs, the *Globe-Democrat* railroad man, seldom lacking in assurance, was so dazed when he found himself in the presence of Mr. Gould that he was unable for a few moments to frame the questions he wanted to ask.

One of the earliest and most notable concessions by the railroads to the advantages of newspaper publicity occurred when Jay Gould met Mr. McCullagh in the great lobby of the Southern hotel and thanked him for the course of the *Globe-Democrat* in the controversy between the Missouri Pacific and the Knights of Labor. Mr. Gould did more than express appreciation in words. He asked Mr. McCullagh if there was something practicable the railroad could do to show that appreciation. At the time the *Globe-Democrat* was warmly advocating fast mail service for the Southwest. Mr. McCullagh replied to Mr. Gould that the paper had treated the labor trouble from the standpoint of law and order with the purpose of doing justice to all. He told Mr. Gould that the *Globe-Democrat* had found the Post Office Department at Washington willing to co-operate in furthering the project of a fast mail train leaving St. Louis at 2 a. m. and running across the State to Kansas City. Mr. Gould turned

to one of the general officers of the Missouri Pacific, who was with him at the time, and in Mr. McCullagh's presence asked that the proposition be given immediate consideration; he said it was his desire the fast mail train be put on unless there were strong reasons why it could not be done. In a few weeks the train was started, giving the cities and towns along the Missouri Pacific their newspapers and other mail from eight to ten hours earlier than they had been receiving them, and shortening time to the Southwest a whole day.

In this period while the press and the railroads were finding each other a Chicago paper sent a reporter out to meet Mr. Vanderbilt in his private car with an inquiry about something in which the general reader was interested. The reporter came back with the answer of the New York Central's president:

"The public be damned!"

In vain Mr. Vanderbilt explained that he had spoken in a jocular sense. The four forceful words went echoing down the years to plague transportation interests for a full generation.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

SIXTEENTH ARTICLE

Four years after Muench and his fellow immigrants came to Missouri he published an article, the title of which reads in translation: "Concerning the Lack of the Romantic in American Life." This article is now found in his "Works" pages 349 to 356. The observations here made are interesting and merit perpetuation in Muench's life story. There is no doubt but that the document was written at a time when Muench was near exhaustion in the fierce struggle with primitive conditions. Still it is worth while to record the point of view of a man such as Muench, and see through the eyes of one accustomed to an older civilization, the people and things of the new world. Therefore we read:

"Undoubtedly America, at least the United States, is farther advanced than any other country in matters pertaining to the practical side of life, such as industries, great institutions that further industries, inventions that supply conveniences, not to speak of its political conditions, in which she is superior to all other lands. Moreover, in intellectual matters this nation, now in such easy and intimate communication with the European mother countries, will not lag behind long, when once its physical affairs have become somewhat settled. But for that which we call the *romantic* in life the outlook is not so bright. Indeed there are few if any signs discernible at present which would indicate that a genuine feeling for it will be awakened in the course of time. Such a feeling cannot be accepted and adopted like a new fashion, nor can it be transplanted across the sea like an invention or a scientific discovery. Its roots lie deeper. A people that does not possess it like a dowery from the hands of the universal mother, a people which does not manifest it during the

first epochs of its existence, will scarcely ever attain it. If we ask, What is the art of these people? the answer, barring single exceptions, must be, fashionable adornments and imitations,—nothing original nothing great. Its literature? its best endeavor is a not entirely unsuccessful imitation of the novels and lyric poems of England. Its music? Fashionable trifles without deeper content. Its songs? The men sing or whistle the monotonous Yankee Doodle. The women sing cradle songs in a minor key which make one think that he is hearing an Indian funeral dirge. There are no inspiring battle songs, no hunting songs, no soul-uplifting chorals. Of other forms of art I will not speak at all. Even religion, however important it is to the life of the American, lacks the force of pure inspiration. All too frequently it assumes the form of gloomy fanaticism, or it appears like a business which one must settle with heaven. As a rule, only the Catholic churches are supplied with bells and organs. Not even the exterior of most of the church buildings is different from that of ordinary dwellings.

"If we cast a glance into the domestic life of the Americans, especially those living in the country, we find it happily characterized by an appropriate independence of the individual members, by mutual respect for all, amicability in co-operative action and proper deportment of all. Rarely indeed does one become a witness to such repugnant scenes of infelicity and infidelity as occur all too often in European families. However, the American is not unjustly reproached for his coldness. The adult members usually address each other with 'Sir' or 'Madam.' The confiding and intimate 'Du' form is lacking and has indeed no equivalent in the English language. After months of separation the members of the family merely shake hands and say, 'How do you do?' It is scarcely different from the way one greets a total stranger. Such a life is not productive of intimate relations. The American does not have intimate friends, tho all have good acquaintances.

"The composition of a given social group differs vastly from a similar group in Europe. The children assume a

much more prominent role here. A boy of twelve or fourteen years of age already represents a young man. His bearing is much more decisive than is the case with young men of greater maturity in other countries. One talks with such a youth and he answers all questions without the least childish embarrassment. And why should he not? He already attends to a definite part of the necessary work, displays independent judgment and manifests great efficiency. Unfortunately, however, he has never known the poesy of youth, indeed he can never know it. Life is all too practical and matter of course to allow for a time of roses.

"In the relation of the sexes to one another this is felt again. Nature demands its rights. Therefore love and yearning is found here as everywhere else. The strongest of all passions appears here neither distorted by excesses, nor stifled by sentimentality as it is in the old world, but neither as exalted, inspired, all consuming that one could justly apply to it the name *romantic*. (Goethe's 'Werther' would interest only a simpleton here.) It is perhaps safe to say that in the entire period of a young man's wooing not a single sentimental scene occurs. Wish and fulfillment, seeking and finding follow so quickly upon one another that poesy seems to be entirely excluded.

"If we turn to the public, national life of the Americans, every unprejudiced person must admit that the principles expressed in the federal constitution, as also in the constitutions of the several states represent the most rational and the best that has ever been decided upon in public questions. Not only theoretically, as in other countries, but also in fact, the nation enjoys a measure of freedom such as no people on earth has ever possessed. Nor has this complete and unrestrained freedom produced anarchy and decay, as was formerly prophesied, but it has laid the foundation for a relatively greater general wellbeing than has been attained anywhere else. But this same excellent constitution is the victory of reason and manly seriousness. Reason, therefore, in turn, knows how to value it as the source and condition of wellbeing. Serious reflection knows how to defend it in order

that so beneficial an institution might not perish. The emotional side of the American, if he is possessed of such a feeling, has not the slightest share in the whole thing. He lacks altogether that which we associate with the word fatherland and home-land. The beautiful word 'fatherland' is lacking in his language. He has only the word 'country.' As far as I know Byron was the first to borrow the word 'fatherland' from the German. Here no one even understands the expression. The American, following exclusively the principle of ubi bene ibi patria, exchanges with the greatest indifference the Hudson for the Missouri, Texas for Virginia. He would declare him ready for the mad house who, in the manner of a German, Polish or French patriot, would maintain, that the soil of the homeland is to be preferred to that of Thibet or Terra del Fuego merely to be permitted to breathe upon it or to be buried in it.

"The youths of Europe in my day, who through the study of the classics became acquainted with the glories of Greece and Rome, felt emotions bordering on ecstasy at the very word of *Republic*. When these same youths, after bitter disappointment, had become convinced that this sort of thing could not be attained in the Europe of to-day, still yearned to grasp and embrace this ideal of citizenship and popular rule, had hastened across the ocean to free America, how quickly even the greatest enthusiast became disillusioned. The sought-for freedom is here, but no romantic breath issues forth from it. They have attended no gathering on the Ruetli*. They soon recognize themselves as absolute nonentities in the political life of America, without the possibility of contributing the least thing on their part.

"The American, as a rule, possesses a resolute manliness. He allows no infringement upon his rights of person or property. When it is a question of defending his country and his freedom he does it resolutely, even at the cost of his life.

*The reference is to the secret gathering of Swiss patriots at the above named place, as depicted in Schiller's "William Tell" II, 2. The scene is the one where the revolution is formed to throw off the Austrian yoke and make Switzerland free.

He does this, because he is clever enough to recognize that otherwise he would jeopardize the conditions of his well-being. No knightly spirit, however, hovers over his banners, no battle songs such as Koerner's* resound to inspire his army. With a roaring hurrah he rushes into the ranks of his enemies, and disdaining death, strikes down everything before him. Or he accomplishes the same end with his long-range, accurate rifle while lying secure in ambush. What use has he for lyre and sword?

"The hunt in Europe still retains something of the old knightly touch. Here are heard no hunting horns, no hunting songs resound as the hunters march out to field and wood. The whole thing is merely business. It is merely a question of providing a supply of meat, or to procure a useful fur, or just to destroy a harmful animal. The sharp report of the rifle is heard in the woods, now here now there, by day or night. No joyful 'hurrah' announces the successful shot. The American is sure of his aim. He hunts in the manner of the Indian, cold-bloodedly, persevering, certain of success.

"The main sport of the autumn is horse racing. But all is done in a prosaic manner. The best horses of the finest breeds are brought together. The people try to make money by betting. They trade horses, they drink and throw dice. Not for one moment do they get out of the everyday mood. Their dancing parties, their social gathering and other festivities, though sometimes wild enough, and though sometimes enlivened by rare bits of wit, how different from similar affairs in Europe. No sound of clinking glasses, no wreath of flowers, nothing that could give food to the imagination.—On the other hand it must be remarked that infractions against the ordinary rules of proper decorum are rare, though these rules are not entirely those of the old world.

"In this universal monotony and seriousness of American life even nature seems to share†, and therein lies one explana-

*Theodore Koerner, 1791-1813, soldier-poet during the German War of Liberation. He is beloved by his people both on account of his heroic death and his fiery war-songs.

†It is noteworthy that the American birds, tho endowed with extraordinary splendor of color, edify the ear but little with song. Duden misses only the

tion of the lack of poesy in the life of the inhabitants. The East has in this respect advantages over the West. Here everything, that could give a higher charm to existence, seems to succumb gradually to the element of utility. The upper lakes, the Falls of the Niagara, the Glenn Falls of the Hudson, the Falls of Montmorenci, not far from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, several sections of mountains on the upper Hudson, the Natural Bridge in Virginia, the splendid green islands in the Ohio and so forth represent objects of natural beauty which are unsurpassed by other similar countries. Still these are only sporadic interruptions in the general monotony, which prevails throughout this extensive country, so that one could almost say, he who has seen ten miles has seen everything.

"What the West presents in natural beauty is scarcely more than the setting sun during those seasons of the year when thin bluish mist hovers along the horizon; the splendid clearness of the star-bedecked sky; the giant growth of certain trees with wonderfully beautiful foliage; the short period when in the spring the red and white blossoms of the red-bud and the dogwood burst forth from among the green foliage; the varicolored flowers of the prairie in early summer; the rich green of the corn fields and the tobacco plantations; here and there the rocky banks of the rivers towering like giant walls, etc. Usually, however the traveler wanders from state to state, from town to town without observing anything that would attract his attention especially. No weather-beaten ruin, no ancient building remind him of times and generations that exist no more. Everything he sees is of recent origin, serving the uses of the moment, and created only with consideration of such use. Of ruins he sees only forsaken home-

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nightingale. I say even the German blackbird, thrush, lark, and warbler, the robin, as also the various kinds of finches are not equalled by their American cousins. Of course, the red bird, the blue bird, as also a rust-colored thrush and the different varieties of warblers do enliven the woods during the spring with their song. Also the native flowers of America, tho in part splendidly colored and of beautiful form and shape, are almost entirely odorless. Only the blossoms of the wild grape and of the wild apple tree are fragrant. The former fills the woods with almost southern fragrance in June. The American violet lacks all fragrance. (Muensch.)

steads, delapidated log-cabins, decaying fences, which arouse in him every sort of feeling other than the aesthetic.

"Thus I come to the unpleasant conclusion that life in America, however free, however comfortable, however advantageous it may be, lacks one chief element to give it a genuinely human and worthy character, namely that it lacks the romantic element almost entirely, and that it will hardly ever attain it. In their restless striving the American people seek only those things which are of temporary benefit.

"It is not the feeling of disappointment, discouragement and discomfort, for in this respect the author has no cause for complaint,—it is rather the desire to depict faithfully the shady sides beside the many bright sides which life presents in this new hemisphere, which induced him to make the above remarks. They are the result of several years of study and observation in an environment not too limited and an acquaintance not too circumscribed.

"Where Germans settle in larger numbers, they supply this lacking element to a certain extent. I doubt, however, whether this will have a lasting or incisive influence upon the whole. Our children, lacking our memories of other conditions and places, growing up in an environment in which everything tends toward the practical, intermarrying with the representatives of other races, will feel this lack less keenly than we, moreover, they will be without the means to render any material aid in altering this condition. Everything, so it seems to me, will be carried away by the current, utility."

In the now very rare old journal, Das Westland*, published in 1837, a journal which was intended to correct many misapprehensions regarding America among the readers in Germany, and which was to offset books notoriously in-

*The full title of this interesting old journal, for the loan of which I am indebted to Miss Bella Steuernagel of the Public Library of Belleville, Ill., is "Das Westland, nordamerikanische Zeitschrift fuer Deutschland," (The Westland, a North American Journal for Germany), published by Dr. George Engelmann and Captain C. Neyfeld in St. Louis, printed in Heidelberg by Joseph Engelmann, 1837. Only three numbers of this fascinating periodical appeared. There were not enough subscribers to make the undertaking profitable.

accurate and misleading, there appeared on pages 348 to 369 of the only volume of this periodical an article by Frederick Muench. It deals with "The various kinds of soil that are found in Missouri, their natural products and the uses to which they are put."

The article is written in the clear, interesting style of Mr. Muench. Parts of it throw light on some of the practices of the early Missourians and deserve incorporation here. Mr. Muench does not attempt the impossible task of giving an exhaustive treatise of the theme. He was in no position to do so. He had neither the time nor the training for such a survey. He simply gives a description of the land seen by him in Missouri. The whole is conceived as a guide to prospective land buyers who are ignorant of land values. The trees, grasses and other vegetation constituted for the early settlers the index regarding the fertility of the soil.

Mr. Muench takes his reader on an imaginary journey. Starting from the vicinity of Washington, Missouri, he takes him north over the old Troy road to Troy, which he calls "a rapidly growing town on the prairie," and from there to the Mississippi. He tells us that by going over this distance of thirty-six to forty miles, and having crossed the watershed between the Missouri and the Mississippi one would have seen most of the important kinds of soil that occur in Missouri. Then he enters into a description of the land in the big river bottoms, the creek bottoms, the hilly land and finally prairie land. Most of these divisions he subdivides into several subsections, according to the quality of the soil. In each instance he enumerates all the advantages and disadvantages of each division and describes the trees, shrubs and grasses that each produces. The enumeration of the use the pioneers made of some of these products will interest us here. We shall not rehearse Muench's statement concerning the nature of the various kinds of soil, nor shall we make a catalog of all the plants he gives. We shall attempt to give only what seems to have historical interest.

Regarding the bottom north of Washington, on the left bank of the Missouri, he makes the following interesting

historical statement: "It (the bottom) is called Hancock's bottom, after one of the earliest settlers. On account of the old Spanish land claims, this land, tho among the richest in the state, has not been as well settled as the adjacent neighborhood."

Incidentally Muench takes exception to some statements found in Duden's "Report." Though on the whole favorable to Duden, he is conscious that at times that gentleman wrote with too florid a pen. We read in a footnote: "I shall be obliged to differ from Duden at times in my communications. However much I value his well known book, and share the writer's views and intentions in the main, I can not defend him entirely against the accusation and reproach, that his book has led to unwarranted expectations regarding the western part of America, and thus has given rise to the saddest disappointments and disillusionments. Although a landowner, Duden was in reality only a spectator. He did not exert himself in the performance of any of the duties of an American profession or trade. He did not realize that many tasks performed with such apparent ease by the sturdy backwoodsmen are in reality extremely difficult unless one has been trained for such duties from early youth.—Duden seems to have been of an excitable temperament.—It is a pity that he did not subject his later editions of the "Report" to rigid correction and careful revision. He could have gotten the facts through correspondence with acquaintances here. Many of the statements in his recent edition, for example regarding the price of land, livestock, building materials, wages, extent of settlements and political conditions, must be regarded as antiquated even now (1837). His own tract of land is about the only land that still lies waste in this neighborhood. All around it busy hands are bringing about transformations. In letter 15 he speaks of eight settlements in the Lake creek region. He could now count four times eight. The writer of these lines feels himself so much the more justified to make these remarks, since he as a resident nearest to Duden's land is acquainted in the same circles of society in which Duden moved, and since he for several years has applied all his

energy and time to wresting a Missouri farm from the wilderness."*

Regarding the native products of the bottom lands and the uses the settlers made of them, we hear among other things, that the cottonwood trees frequently attained a diameter of six feet, that the soft, light wood was used for fence-rails, that the gigantic trunks were sometimes hollowed out for canoes and troughs, that in the absence of cork the bark of the cottonwood was used for bottle stoppers, that young trees were sometimes felled in winter, so that horses and cattle might feed upon the succulent twigs and the bark.—The sycamore is described as the largest tree that grows in the river bottoms. Its wood is described as tough and hard to split, for which reason discs were sometimes cut from large trunks and used as wheels of crude carts which were called 'trucks.' Hollow sycamore trunks were sometimes sawed off in four or five foot lengths, supplied with tops and bottoms, and used to store grain and other things.—The hollow trunks of the white elm were especially sought for bee hives.—From the tough bark of the papaw they made ropes.—The wood of the soft maple was used to make chairs, bedsteads and yokes. The honey locust supplied material not only for posts and fence rails but also for ship building.—The black walnut, which grew to gigantic size was used for fence rails and for furniture.—The white oak is called America's most useful tree. Its wood furnished material not only for fencing and building, but also for wagon making, barrel making and basket making.

Speaking of the clearing of the bottom lands the author states that it is easier to clear bottom land than upland, for the reason that the former does not have so much underbrush. The clearing was accomplished by felling of the smaller trees and by girdling of the larger ones. To quote from Muench: "A field thus cleared still requires much work

*Frederick Schake writes in "Deutscher Pionier," p. 446, Vol. VI, that upon his return from America Duden lived alternately in Bonn and in Remscheid where he died on October 29, 1855. When the heirs of Duden offered his estate for sale, Fr. Muench urged the establishment of a Duden Institute on his old farms. This suggestion found no favor, however.

each season for more than a dozen years. The dead trees in time fall down, whereby the crop occasionally suffers considerably. The cutting up of the dead trees and the rolling together of the huge trunks, and even the burning of them is by no means as easy as Duden would have it appear. Perfectly dry trunks, especially those of the oak can be burned through by piling on of brands. This is called 'niggering,' because it is the favorite method used by the negroes. This method can not be used successfully, however, if the trunks are wet or rotten. In case of the linden and the sycamore this method does not work at all. Dry hickory trees and some other varieties, once lighted, burn up entirely, leaving only a strip of ashes where they have lain.

Passing from the river bottom the author takes the imaginary traveler to the creek bottoms. Here he enters the domain where Duden once lived on Lake creek. We read: "The place where Duden's cabin is, is well chosen, though it is not on a highway. His land consists in part of good bottom land, which is, however, badly cut up by Lake creek and its tributaries, as also by some swampy places. The remaining part of his possession is good high land, but too much cut up by ravines to make good continuous fields. The insignificant buildings are very much dilapidated. The one-time small field hardly shows a trace of earlier cultivation. The numerous visitors who have come to view the place have been greatly disappointed. Among the Americans living here Duden is still held in high esteem, and they often ask whether he would not come back soon."

Among the trees of the creek bottoms Muench mentions among others the sugar maple. Its wood was used for all conceivable purposes including the making of charcoal. Of most value, however, was the sugar contained in the sap. In favorable seasons the settlers produced from three to ten pounds of sugar from one tree. This is remarkable when one considers that eight gallons of sap were necessary to produce one pound of sugar. The evaporating was done in large kettles, and the boiling was kept up day and night. The collecting and the evaporating of the sap is described as hard

work, especially when it was interrupted by inclement weather. It is the habit of the sugar maple to grow in clumps. Such clumps were usually selected in which 100 to 300 trees stood relatively close together. With diligence and sufficient help it was possible to produce considerable quantities of sugar. One family, not far from Muench's place, during five weeks of labor, produced 1,200 pounds of sugar, valued at $150.00. However, 200 to 300 pounds were considered a good harvest. Most of the sugar thus produced was consumed in the household. The sap boiled down to a thick syrup was considered a delicacy, and is described as similar to the taste of honey. The quality of the solid sugar is said to have surpassed by far the common unrefined cane sugar as it ordinarily came upon the market in those times. Maple sugar took the place of confection among the Americans. They used it very extravagantly. They said: "It is good to sit down and eat it."

Muench states that the presence of the white walnut tree is a sure sign that the land on which it grows is well suited for a homestead. "It grows only on soil which is just the kind one is looking for, rich, neither too dry nor too wet, growing upon deep humus without gravel."—The sap is also sugar containing, but sugar made from it acts as a purgative, just as the walnut bark does.—The linden tree, used for all sorts of things, was a sign of good soil.

Of the sumach we are told that the Indians mixed the dry leaves with their smoking tobacco. They called it kinickinic.* Small wild onions, having the taste of garlic, abounded.—Of the ladies-tongue, plantain and the orache (commonly called mountain spinach) the early settlers made greens.—The author speaks of the value and the lasting character of the wood of the mulberry tree. He says that the fruit was highly prized by the pioneers, but because it was

*Dr. O. G. Libby, U. of No. Dak., an authority on Indian lore, doubts whether the southern Indians had this word in their own language. He is inclined to think they borrowed it from the northern tribes. The word is a Chippewa word. They designate the dried bark of the red dogwood by this term. The bark was smoked. It produces dizziness. A very elaborate legend is connected with kinickinic and its use.

rather difficult to pick, the fruit-laden trees were cut down to make the gathering of the fruit easier.

Muench found several varieties of grapes. One producing small, tolerably sweet fruit grew especially on soil rich in lime. In the river bottoms were grapes the vines of which attained a thickness of more than six inches. Their fruit is dark blue. These vines were a source of great annoyance to the pioneers, because they hindered the felling of trees. Sometimes the tops of many trees and bushes were tightly interlocked by the vines, preventing the falling of the trees and in the end entwining the whole in a mass that defied disentangling. He speaks of single vines more than thirty paces long, having the thickness of a cane and being used as permanent clothes lines.

He mentions the spice root whose twigs were used to make a wholesome tea, and whose roots to make bitters. The spice root growing on the uplands are described as being more spicy than those of the lowlands. Of the branches of the button-wood bush the settlers made pipe stems. The leatherwood furnished long roots from which were made ropes which are said to have surpassed hempen ropes in strength.

The interesting story is left uncompleted. The magazine in which it was printed was discontinued because of lack of support. Muench's remarks regarding the prairie are lost to us.

It is extremely difficult to record Muench's fascinating story entirely chronologically. We must therefore ask our readers to forget the last two paragraphs for the moment and go back with us to the beginning of Muench's residence in Missouri in order that we may become acquainted with the people with whom he associated. This we find in Muench's article entitled 'The Duden Settlement in Missouri,' recorded in 'Der Deutsche Pionier,' Vol. II, p. 197 ff, September and October, 1870.

We read: "Duden had come to St. Louis, and since he and his companion (Eversmann) wished to become landowners they were directed to the surveyor, Major Boone,

the son of Daniel Boone, who lived in the valley of the Femme Osage, about sixty miles west of St. Louis. The trip to Boone's place was found easily enough. On the return trip, however, the inexperienced horsemen lost their way. They had gone too far west. Darkness overtook them in the woods and they were glad when at length they saw, from the top of a hill, a welcoming light in the valley below. Their fate had brought them to the door of Jacob Hahn's cabin. This man was of Pennsylvania German stock, who lived on that farm which Paul Follenius later bought, and on which he (Follenius) lies buried. Hahn received the strangers hospitably. This shrewd Missourian recognized that he might 'make' something off these men. He persuaded them to buy some land in his immediate neighborhood, and agreed to shelter and feed them on his place till they should have established themselves on their own land. The wretched log cabin which was erected on Duden's farm stood until a few years ago. The more commodious house which Duden started to build and of which he tells us in his "Report" was never finished.—It is therefore clear that mere chance decreed where the Duden settlement should be.

"Several hundred emigrants, trusting the words of Duden, had started on the ocean journey west, when Paul Follenius and myself decided to organize the Gieszen Emigration Society. As was already shown this organization scattered before it reached St. Louis. Its members wandered hither and thither, singly or in groups. Bunsen from Frankfurt and several families from Saxony went to Belleville, Illinois, Doctor Engelbach to Beardstown in Illinois, Kroell (later for a long time clergyman in Cincinnati), as also Bruehl and Flach went to Cape Girardeau, the family Krug to St. Charles county, Missouri, Professor David Goebel to Franklin county. Several stayed in and about St. Louis. The leaders of the ill-fated Gieszen Society and several families from Hessia and Saxony went directly to that place where Duden had lived and dreamed, and bought land in the immediate neighborhood of his farm. Upon arriving here we found a considerable number of peasants from Westphalia, also the so-

called 'Berlin Society,' a few settlers from Oldenburg, among them Count Bentink, and other 'Latin farmers,' and some honest-to-goodness farmers, most of whom had arrived the previous year. It was a strange mixture of poverty and energy, of various degrees of education and culture, more or less adventurous, with a firm resolve to succeed. During the next few years several more families came to our settlement: George Muench, Martin Muench, Ludwig Muench, Gustav Muench, moreover, Barez and Grabs from Berlin, Fuhr from Homberg on the Ohm and others. With this the settlement, for the time being was closed, partly because German immigration had generally slackened, for Duden's dream had vanished, partly due to the fact that immigrants sought out the cities more and more, especially St. Louis which now began to grow rapidly, partly, too, on account of the growing institution of slavery, which induced the main current of German immigration to pass Missouri and pour itself into the free states of Illinois and Indiana, or to turn to the newly admitted states of Iowa and Wisconsin.

"In the course of a generation Duden's dream has, after all, become reality, and also the ideals of the founders of the Gieszen Emigration Society, to establish a new German environment in this western part of the Union has been fulfilled, though in a manner such as we had not anticipated or dreamed. By internal increase and by additions from the outside Duden's settlement has grown, so that it now (1870) constitutes the geographic center of a German population extending over four or five counties. The central point of this settlement is the little town of Dutzow, situated in the southeast corner of Warren county, three miles north of the Missouri river, and fifty-six miles west of St. Louis. The population of Warren county is nine-tenths German. Adjoining it on the east is St. Charles county, which is two-thirds German. Within its borders are the all-German towns: Femme Osage, New Melle, Augusta, Cottleville, and Wenzville, while the city of St. Charles is three-fourths German. Opposite these two counties, on the south side of the Missouri is Franklin county, more than half German. A little

further west is Gasconade county, three-fourths German. Into Montgomery, Osage and Lincoln counties the German pioneers also penetrate irresistibly.

"It is now my purpose to name the families who participated prominently in the founding of the Duden Settlement. I wish that their names should not fall into oblivion. In doing so I shall confine myself roughly to a circuit with a radius of six miles about Dutzow.

"Louis Eversmann, Duden's traveling companion, was already quite anglicized when we came here. Subsequently he became somewhat germanized again, but continued to be a slaveholder to his end. He died a short while before the Civil War, on the same farm which he himself had cleared. After his death his family moved to Saline county.

"William Bock was formerly a wealthy estate owner in Mecklenburg. He was a well educated and cultured gentleman, who, however, did not fit into the conditions that obtained in Missouri in those days. He it was who named the little town of Dutzow after his estate in Europe. He died at a ripe old age a few years ago. His wife who was a lady of fine culture and breeding died before him. She never could feel at home in the primitive environment into which she was thrust. Three of their children are yet alive, and there are many grandchildren and great grandchildren.

"Mr. von Martels came here with three or four sons from Hanover. The old gentleman died a long time ago. One son was scalped by the Indians in Texas. What became of the others is not known here.*

"The so-called 'Berlin Society,' which for a while conducted a sort of communistic organization here, consisted of Bock's two sons-in-law,—one Radje, who died a long time ago, and Frederick Morsey, who later settled in Warrenton and practiced law there, the two brothers Bluemner, of whom the elder died in California, the younger in Santa Fe,

*In an earlier chapter of "The Followers of Duden" the letter of Heinrich von Martels was printed. Something of his life and his literary and journalistic work there was given. H. von Martels was the son of the man Muench speaks of here.

the two brothers Huttawa, who came from Poland, of these the elder died long ago, while the younger is a lithographer in St. Louis, the Swede named Walke, a splendid man esteemed by all, who passed away thirty years ago, leaving behind two daughters, finally a man named Plate, who with his splendid son came from Hamburg. They, too, died long since.

"Dr. Edward Simon from Hamburg was a man of rare gifts, splendid scientific attainment and most humane feelings. He conceived that his life here was a failure, participated in one of the trade expeditions under Sutter to Santa Fe, went to Mazatlan on the Gulf of California where he died, presumably under pitiable circumstances. His wife and only son still live in this region.

"Count Bentink from Oldenburg at first farmed and then operated a mill driven by water power, both without success. He died two years ago in the neighborhood of St. Louis. Mrs. Bentink, a lady of fine culture returned with her daughters to Germany. Her son of late manages an apothecary business in St. Louis.

"Two brothers Krueger from Hamburg. The younger married Ratje widow. He was accidentally killed in Louisville, leaving several daughters. The elder Krueger still lives in Washington, Missouri, as apothecary and notary public.

"August Mueller from Hanau, a former lieutenant in the German army, as a widower married a daughter of William Bock, farmed with indifferent success, and died of an accidental injury in Santa Fe, leaving a widow and several daughters and one son, all of whom are married.

"Fr. Rasmus from Brake in Oldenburg, a student of law, bought a very good farm near Marthasville which he tilled diligently and well. He was chosen justice of the peace but died all too early of typhoid fever during the year of the great Missouri flood, 1844. His widow married an American. The eldest son of Rasmus shot and killed his stepfather in the court room for an offense, and was subsequently judged 'not guilty'.

"Paul Follenius* has been discussed in another part of this article.

"Three brothers Hospes from Hessia. One had been a preacher and another a forester in the old country. The three cultivated a farm with little success, but they were the greatest deer hunters in the whole community. The youngest of them became a superintendent of a sawmill in northern Minnesota. The elder one had a business in St. Louis where he was killed in an accident. The second one also died long ago.

"Three brothers Mallinkrodt† together with three of their cousins came from Dortmund. Of the latter one still lives in St. Louis well known and wealthy. Of the former two still are engaged in farming on their valuable farm near Augusta. The proposed town of Dortmund, the site of which was staked out on the banks of the Missouri by Julius Mallinkrodt was never built. Of late the site has become a corn field again.

"Dahmer from Hirschfeld in Hessia has for years operated a brewery in St. Louis.

"Christian Koch and his brother Doctor Koch came from Hessia. The former still lives on his farm near Augusta as farmer, brewer, and producer of fine grapes. Doctor Koch has lived in Franklin county for a long time.

"Two other brothers Koch from Hessia. One of these still lives in Augusta.

"Three brothers Muhm from Hanau. None of them are living now. Their children and grandchildren are still here.

"Schiefer from Gieszen died long ago. He is survived by his widow, two sons and one daughter.

"Henry Schaaf, a miller from Osnabrueck, established at first a small horse-driven mill and then a larger treadmill and later a splendidly arranged steam-driven mill in a little valley three miles north of Dutzow. A few years ago he

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*Paul Follenius will be considered more at length in a subsequent article.

†The founder of the famous Mallinckrodt Chemical Works of St. Louis descended from one of these Followers of Duden. See Edward Mallinkrodt in "Who's Who," Vol. 12.

built a yet larger mill in Augusta, where he, and his wife still live, surrounded by children and children's children. (Twelve of his grandchildren are at the same time my grandchildren.) Few immigrants had a harder beginning in this country and few have known how to work themselves up with equal energy.

"Krekel from the lower Rhine died on his farm as a very old man. One of his sons is the United States District Judge Arnold Krekel of Jefferson City. He began his career by splitting fence rails for a neighbor at fifty cents a hundred.

"Deus from the lower Rhine, a highly respected man, successfully managed his farm and operated a brewery. He met his death in an attempt to extinguish a fire that was threatening the fence around his vineyard. His widow still lives with one of her sons-in-law. His two sons have settled in New Mexico.

"Wiemer from Westphalia farmed for a while. In St. Louis, where he had moved, he was killed by lightning.

"Reck came here with Follenius and still lives as a very old bachelor on his little farm.

"Doctor Frederick Krug from Bavaria came here with the Gieszen Society. Managed a small farm for many years and was the main physician in this community. Twelve years ago he died accidentally when his conveyance upset near Augusta. His only son also died soon thereafter. His three daughters with a large progeny still live. The younger two have recently gone back to Germany.

"Two brothers Kunze from Goettingen came with abundant means. They laid out a splendid farm which they cultivated with great energy. The elder one, a most capable man, contracted tuberculosis, perhaps due to overexertion, and died. The younger brother returned to Germany.

"Gustav Eulenstein, a brother-in-law of Dr. Krug was killed accidentally.

"H. Becker from Niedergemuenden was brought up on a farm. He became the most successful farmer of our community, though he came with small means. He had become a wealthy man, when fifteen years ago he died of typhoid

fever. Four of his children are still living, as also many grandchildren and great grandchildren.

"Two brothers Meyer from Westphalia became farmers here. The younger, Karl, died of a stroke of paralysis. The older, Louis, is still living. Both have many descendants.

"Four brothers Schulz from Kassel. Two of them died much too early. The other two are highly respected farmers and fathers of families.

"Goltermann from near Magdeburg carried on farming with slave labor. He died many years ago. His widow is still living with one of his sons on the original farm.

"Jonathan Kunze, a cabinet maker from Altenburg, came as a member of the Gieszen Society managed his farm and at the same time his trade with great diligence. A few months ago he died of a stroke of paralysis with the plow-handles in his hand. He left a large family in comfortable circumstances. There are few people more capable and more faithful than he was.

"Hermann Garlichs, philologian from Bremen, went back to Germany to be ordained, and upon his return founded the orthodox Evangelical congregation in the little village of Femme Osage, three miles east of Dutzow in St. Charles county. He served his people for a long time as pastor, then moved to Brooklyn where he died.

"Two cousins named Kuenzel, wealthy farmers from Saxony, bought a large tract of land in the rich Missouri bottom, which they cultivated in the American manner with slave labor. Both died years ago leaving families behind.

"Two brothers Spannhaus from Berlin, mechanics, cleared a small farm near Augusta, on which one of them still lives and which he cultivates and in addition raises fruit and grapes.

"Wencker from Dortmund started a fine tannery which he operated. Then he moved to Quincy, Illinois, where he and his wife died of the cholera. His children are doing well.

"Spankern, from the lower Rhine, descended from a noble family. Here he operated a tannery and had a loan office. He died ten years ago, leaving his estate to his widow.

"Karl Winkelmeier from Heilbronn is a successful farmer and also raises grapes near Marthasville.

"Two brothers Eberius from Saxony built the first house in the town of Washington (Mo.), and carried on a mercantile business. The older one died long ago. The younger one died two years ago, after he had erected a sawmill which is driven by steam.

"Fricke from Kassel was the second person who built a house in Washington. At first he kept a harness shop. Later he opened a hotel and is still engaged in the hotel business.

"Professor David Goebel from Coburg, a member of the Gieszen Society, bought a piece of land six miles west of Washington, which he and his son farmed. Being little fitted for such hard work, he went to St. Louis where he taught and lectured. As an old man of eighty, having become tired of America, he returned to Germany where he still lives.

"It is difficult to decide where to stop. I have not mentioned half of the settlers who gathered about Duden's former place in and prior to 1834. I will mention only a few of the more prominent families who came during the following years, but must pass over the names of many who came later as also those of recent times.

"George Muench, my younger brother, was a preacher, a teacher, and besides was endowed with a rare talent for mechanics. He established himself not only as farmer but also as gunsmith. For ten years he has now lived in Augusta where he pursues his regular work and with the aid of his sons takes care of a vineyard.

"With my brother George came his brother-in-law Karl Strack who for years has been preaching and farming near Warrenton.

"Henry Mueller, a peasant boy from Hessia, whom my brother instructed in mechanical things, and who then wandered westward till he came to Chihuahua, where he assumed the management of the Mexican mint, and in time

became one of the wealthiest and most respected men of that state.

"William Barez, of Huguenot extraction, who had been a banker in Berlin was carried by fate to the banks of Lake Creek. He bought a valuable piece of land. He followed Duden's suggestion and bought slaves and with them tilled his land in an exemplary manner. He treated his slaves almost as if they were his children, and after he had lost both his sons, he set his slaves free, even before the outbreak of the rebellion. Thereupon, being in good pecuniary circumstances, he retired to Dutzow and later to Holstein, where he, an eighty year old man, still pursues intellectual work.

"August Grabs from Silesia had formerly been employed in the business house of Barez. He first tried farming with indifferent success. Then he undertook a mercantile business in Marthasville. He was repeatedly chosen as justice of the peace. He died during the rebellion, toward which he assumed an attitude which the majority of us did not sanction.

"Paul Schmidt from Hessia bought a farm during the early days near Holstein, but he lived most of the time in Lexington, Kentucky, where he was a teacher in a girls' school. Later he lived for several years on his farm here. During the four years of the rebellion he was sheriff of our county. After that he moved to Lexington where he still resides with three adult children.

"Heinrich Fuhr from Homberg on the Oder farmed in our neighborhood, and also had a shoemaker's shop. He died some fifteen years ago leaving five sons and many grandchildren.

"Three brothers Linsz from Darmstadt. They are still living, but live in widely scattered localities now. The second, Karl, lives in this neighborhood, the older one, George, in Kansas, the youngest, Frederick, is a horticulturist in Ohio.

"George Busch had a successful shoe business in Bielefeld. He left the fatherland to escape the oppressive political conditions. Suffered great losses and arrived here with scant means. Four miles west of Washington he bought a piece

of land. Few of our immigrants of that time can boast of better success than he has had. He is still active, though seventy-five years old, and is happy in the midst of his children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

"Doctor Ruge was born in Holstein, Germany. When he and his family came up the Mississippi they narrowly escaped with their lives, when the boiler of the boat on which they were, exploded. He first bought land near Washington. Then he practiced medicine in Dutzow and had an extensive practice. Later he moved to Holstein, (Mo.), where he, an old man of seventy, is still following his calling.

"All those whom I have named and many more I have known from the beginning, and lived then and live now with many of them in the friendliest relations. Of the so-called 'Latin Farmers' who for a time lived here a partly adventurous and easy going life, only a small remnant remains, very much sobered and ready to leave the field to the younger generation. I myself, surrounded by the children and children's children of the old pioneers, appear to myself like an old oak, battered and scarred by many a storm, with a few green branches towering up, recognizable from afar, while the old trunk is surrounded by a rich and flourishing undergrowth."

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Is life too full these days to leave time for reading? Some apologists say that it is, although they admit no lessening of interest in bridge, mah jong, and the radio, or lack of enthusiasm in the recreational habits of motoring, traveling, and golfing. Even in reading, popular fiction is absorbed in every increasing quantity. "There is plenty of time for anything that interests us."

The truth may lie in this,—the uneducated have never become interested in good reading, the cultured have lost much of their interest. In the monthly Almanac of the Princeton University Press (December, 1923) appears this remark "—in our opinion it is true that college graduates, recent ones anyway, do not read books, —. It is a well known fact that people read more between the ages of ten and fourteen than at any other time. Or to put it another way they read voraciously as soon as they become proficient, and they begin to lose their love for reading about the time they begin their college preparation.—We remember a remark credited to Mark Twain while engaged in an attempt to read George Eliot. He said she 'analyzed the guts out of people,' and it has seemed to us that teachers sometimes did the same thing for the books their classes are required to read."

This explanation may have merit. I have been impressed with the greater interest in history, literature, and government, shown by college graduates of two or more decades past than by those of the last ten or fifteen years. A change in grade and high school teaching methods may account for the difference in interest. May not this difference be also partly explained on the basis of age? May it not be due in part to the recent rapid increase in the forms of amusement? May not the widespread prosperity of our people, who now are able to possess, and frequently afford, the new pleasures, have contributed to this change? I have observed

that despite the assertions of many interpreters of our civilization, our problems are *not easily* explained or solved. We are sometimes forced "to analyze the guts out" of things to be accurate. Fundamental values are still fundamental but other values of worth have also to be considered these days.

It is so easy to generalize and so difficult to be accurate. Some maintain that history is interesting, others that it is dull; I have found it both. The same work, even article, is frequently uneven in being readable. Many of the most interesting chapters in some historical compilations are without value to a general reader, other chapters, dull and detailed, are invaluable in subject matter. If works supposedly unified are so uneven, then it is reasonable to find different works differing greatly in interest and value. To label an article "history" may classify it, but little more than this has been accomplished. It might be of some interest to record the letters received from readers of the *Review*. Some laud Edwards' writings, some find nothing in them. As in all other matters of interest to people, history varies in interest and value and the followers of it vary in taste.

At Harvard, English literature stands at the head of the eight most popular subjects for special concentration. Next in order come economics, Romance languages, chemistry, history, government, mathematics and a combination of history and literature.

Most important, of course, is history. If you don't know the past you can't understand what happens in the present, or make any sound plans for the future. Plato would have written above the door of Knowledge, in his day:

"Let only those that know geometry enter here."

In our day for "geometry" put "history." Arthur Brisbane.

The dangers in using history as a guide lie in lack of full knowledge of the past, in failure to reason accurately, and in ignorance of unknown, even new, developments. The first two can be remedied, for the third allowance must be made even if it can be represented only with an X. Despite these dangers, one is certainly foolish who ignores the lessons of history in his calculations. Running through Missouri history is conservatism. You expect and you will find such results as these: slow but solid development; strong party

alignment, and failure of third party efforts; faith in the old until proven false or unworkable; sound money and banking; relatively poor response to booms and depressions. Immigration has and is modifying this conservatism, so is education, travel, and the development of transportation, communication, and cities, but these factors are also part of history and are considered by the careful reader of history. How many in speaking today of land values in Missouri in the boom of 1919 and 1920, remember or try to remember data on this subject prior to 1913 or 1914? Such data is valuable and may prove to be significant. For example, the Rural Life Department, Professor O. R. Johnson, chairman, under the direction of the Missouri State Agriculture Experiment Station has been conducting a research investigation of land values in Missouri in the same representative townships in six Missouri counties during the last century. In 1820 and 1821 the per acre sale price in one county was $3.08; 1830-31, $3.88; 1840-41, $6.23; 1850-51, $6.44; 1860-61, $12.26; 1868-69, $15.79; 1870-71, $15.08; 1872-73, $16.10; 1880-81, $11.92; 1890-91, $15.77; 1900-01, $24.95; 1910-11, $52.70; 1912-13, $45.80; 1914-15, $49.90; 1918-19, $85.78; 1920-21, $96.38; 1920, $112.77. Should one in 1924 go no farther back than 1913 or 1914? Obviously the figures from 1890 to 1910 are also of value.

It is at times amusing to hear history spoken of as an affinity of the old and musty. How few who so regard it know anything about it? In fact how few of all of us know much about history? There is more unknown in the history of an American state than has yet been brought to light. It would be no exaggeration to declare that no living man has really digested the history contained in the fifty-year file of any important Missouri newspaper. And Missouri has had hundreds of newspapers, some founded over a century past! The new that lies in Missouri history is more than what even the best historian knows today. For those who systematically follow Missouri history as an avocation, at least 90% of what is reproduced in the *Review* is new. History deals with the past records of the race but the story it tells is not

an old one to our generation. The human element, the comedy and tragedy of life, the logical conclusion, the climax, and the surprise, are all present. History should interest people today. I wonder if either the people or the historians are blameless when history is in disfavor.

APPRECIATION

As I perused the valuable contents of the January, 1924, issue of *The Missouri Historical Review* the idea was impressed upon my mind that those who originated the movement for The State Historical Society, builded better than they dreamed. I think the Society has surpassed their fondest visions. It is piling up a store of facts, a mass of information and literature which will be invaluable in the future. Then the *Review* is a rare treat—yes, a delight to those interested in the grand old state, its people and institutions. And to think that all this is open to one, spread out for his education and satisfaction, simply by becoming a member of the Society and paying $1.00 per year. If people only knew they would crowd in rapidly. The Historical Notes and Comments is a storehouse of information not to be found elsewhere. It is worth many times the cost of membership. I do not know how many members the Society has, but they ought to be numbered by the hundreds of thousand. Is there not some way to let all Missourians know what the *Review* contains? If there is anything I can do to help the State Historical Society let me know.—W. O. L. Jewett, Shelbina, Missouri, March 14, 1924.

I shall be grateful for any trouble that you take in making sure that *The Missouri Historical Review* reaches me, as I read it with intense interest.—Rupert Hughes, Los Angeles, California, April 16, 1924.

I have enjoyed every article in *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is truly a great work, and I am looking forward with much pleasure to the fund of valuable information in the coming numbers.—Mrs. Jack Freeman, Rolla, Missouri, March 24, 1924.

The Review arrived this morning, and I, according to old custom, started to read it at once. I was delighted by the two first articles. That is as far as I came today. But I hasten to tell you how much I appreciated the scholarship evinced in both. In the article on the "Test Oath" I have but one fault to find. The name of the Bishop of St. Louis is Peter Richard Kenrick, not Kendrick, the latter form of the name belongs to a distinguished Protestant bishop who was not concerned in the matter of the oath. The whole question is one of deep interest, and Barclay's handling of it is excellent.

M. M. Brashear's article on Missouri Verse and Verse-Makers, comes home to me with a strong appeal. Being a native Missourian and verse-writer in both English and German, I feel the kinship with the men and women praised in the article. Of course, you have my three volumes of

English verse in the Historical Library. I would, however, send Miss Brashear extra copies of "Heliotrope," "Songs and Sonnets" and "The Garland of Praise." I would be much pleased if you would hand the books to Miss Brashear, and offer her my best compliments on the work she is doing. I myself will shortly publish an essay of some length on the Catholic Press in St. Louis during the last 70 years.—John Rothensteiner, St. Louis, Missouri, May 5, 1924.

I hand you herewith my check for one dollar, to set forward the date of my subscription to *The Missouri Historical Review*. I am finding it very necessary to retrench along many lines, but can not do without the *Review*. The January, 1924, issue is well worth the price of a year's subscription. If I were back in Missouri it would be a pleasure for me to secure a number of new subscribers. I shall eagerly await the coming of each copy during the coming year.—P. T. Harman, Lynchburg, Virginia, March 4, 1924.

I have read with some interest, in the April number of the *Review*, the article by M. M. Brashear, on "Missouri Verse and Verse Makers," particularly that part referring to Mrs. Doneghy, of Kirksville.

For the information of the writer, I thought I would write you that Mrs. Doneghy was my aunt, my mother's sister. Her name was not Mary, but Mattie (Martha Williams Prewitt) and she signed her name M. W. P. Doneghy.

Mary Prewitt (Mary Trimble Prewitt) was a sister, and she also taught (mathematics) in the Kirksville Normal, for quite a number of years, later going to Warrensburg and then to California. She is now living in Boston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Doneghy died about three years ago, at Kirksville. This is a very interesting number, carrying as it does the article on Judge Leonard, and also the one on Dr. Pritchett, a former Howard countian.—Lionel Davis, Fayette, Missouri, May 5, 1924.

We have been reading the April issue of *The Missouri Historical Review*. It is one of our best friends.—Earl T. Sechler, Republic, Missouri, May 10, 1924.

I find *The Missouri Historical Review* of so much interest that I do not wish to do without it. My copies are read each month, by from two to ten persons.—Miss Letitia I. Neeper, Kahoka, Missouri, March 21, 1924.

I am pleased with *The Missouri Historical Review*. Keep it coming. Every Missourian should read it.—C. W. Bowen, Brunswick, Missouri, March 20, 1924.

THE FULTON (MO.) TELEGRAPH

The State Historial Society has acquired another link in its chain of old Missouri newspapers. Messrs. J. W. and George P. Johnston, editors of the *Fulton (Mo.) Telegraph*

have donated to the Society two volumes of the *Telegraph* covering the years from 1848 to 1868. These volumes are not complete but the Society expects to be able to fill in the gaps either by obtaining separate copies or by photostating. The files will be repaired within the next year to insure their preservation. The twenty years covered by these files of the *Telegraph* are important ones in the history of Missouri. This fact makes these papers of special value to the research worker in history and biography. The donating of these papers by Messrs. Johnston of Fulton shows a true spirit of co-operation and is deeply appreciated by The State Historical Society of Missouri, its friends and patrons.

INTERESTING COLLECTION OF PICTURES

H. H. Banks, N. T. Gentry, W. O. Ellis, P. H. Henderson and Dennis Spelman, Trustees of the Boone county hospital, have secured pictures of the former physicians of Boone county, had them framed alike and the same will be placed in the physician's room in the county hospital. The name and residence of each physician is printed under his picture; and the same is not only intensely interesting but a worthy tribute to the memory of the older generation—the men who made possible the schools and hospitals of today.

HENRY CLAY DEAN

In "Historical Notes and Comments" in the *Review* for April, I read a communication from Charles C. Dean of Coatesville, Missouri, giving an extract from a speech by his father, Hon. Henry Clay Dean, at Petty's Mill, in 1882.

I had the pleasure of hearing that speech, the subject being "The Louisiana Purchase." It was a most remarkable oration, Henry Clay Dean being, by odds, the greatest speaker and historian in that whole territory.

After the speech, Mr. Dean asked me to visit him at his home the following afternoon, which I gladly did. On arriving at his house I found him copying the speech for the *Globe-Democrat*. I had hardly taken a seat till Mr. Dean

asked, "Do you read Byron?" I said, "Yes." "Well quote his tribute to Daniel Boone or tell me where to find it, as I am wanting to use it."

After cudgeling my brain soundly, I had to give it up much to my chagrin, and the great man's annoyance.

This occurred nearly 42 years ago, but when I read the communication I took down a copy of Byron and re-read the tribute in question. It begins at the 61st stanza of the eighth canto of "Don Juan." I quote the 61st stanza:

> Of all men, saving Sylla the man slayer,
> Who passes for in life and death most lucky,
> Of the great names which in our faces stare,
> The General Boone, back-woodsman of Kentucky,
> Was happiest amongst mortals anywhere;
> For killing nothing but a bear or buck, he
> Enjoyed the lonely, vigorous, harmless days
> Of his old age in wilds of deepest maze, etc.

Some years ago, while standing by Byron's grave at Hucknall Torquard up in the Derbyshire Hills, I recalled the great and lovable Henry Clay Dean and my humiliating lapse of memory.—C. H. Magee, Burlington, Iowa, May 12, 1924.

THE WASHINGTON IRVING WALLACE MEMORIAL BUILDING

From *The Lebanon (Mo.) Rustic*, March 13, 1924.

Mrs. W. I. Wallace this week has given the sum of $50,000 to erect a Senior High School building as a memorial to her husband, the late Judge Washington Irving Wallace. The Lebanon Board of Education is made the building commission, with Superintendent R. V. Cramer as advisor, and the building will be arranged to serve the needs of the whole community.

To a reporter for the *Rustic*, Mrs. Wallace said: "In giving the money for this building, I feel that I am carrying out the wishes of Mr. Wallace. We had talked of doing something in that way but had never decided just on a time to do

it. I believe if he were here he would say, 'Go ahead and give it.' In thinking of giving a memorial to him, I decided that it must fill three requirements. First, it be visible; second, it must be useful, and third, it must be durable."

MISSOURI, THE IRON STATE

CHARLES M. SCHWAB *Said:*

"The St. Louis territory should not be purchasing rails, locomotives, cars, or anything else in the way of steel or iron from eastern plants. Every ton of these products should be made right here at the base of consumption."

JAMES J. HILL *Said:*

"Some day northern Iron Ore and Illinois Coke will meet in St. Louis."

—that day has arrived!

The Mercantile Trust Company, St. Louis, has recently published a folio booklet titled "St Louis The Coming Steel Iron and Metal Center—*and why*." It contains excellent articles on its subject by authoritative business men in St. Louis. The work is suggestive of the rapid evolution now taking place in the iron and steel industry centering around St. Louis. There seems strong probability of the coming primacy of St. Louis as one of, if not the leading, iron and steel centers in America. If this takes place it will be another illustration of how history repeats itself.

Missouri was the first state west of Ohio to produce and smelt iron ore. For thirty years, 1850-1880, she was an important factor in the iron world. Her Iron Mountain was nationally, even internationally, known. And there were Pilot Knob, Shepherd Mountain, Cedar Hill, Cherry Valley. Missouri production rapidly declined, with the opening of the Northern Ranges, in the '80s and Iron Mountain closed down in the early '90s. Thirty years followed with only a few having faith in the future of this Missouri industry.

In 1921 Illinois soft coal was successfully carbonized into metallurgical coke at Granite City by the St. Louis Coke & Iron Company. By combining Northern ore with 50% Missouri ore from Iron Mountain, it has been estimated that the freight cost at St. Louis of assembling five tons of material

necessary to make a ton of iron is $5.82. The cost at Pittsburgh is $8.59, at Gary $8.89. This difference in assembling costs is $2.77 a ton in favor of St. Louis over Pittsburgh and $3.07 over Gary. In 1922 work began in reopening Iron Mountain. The rebirth of the iron industry in Missouri may result in important changes in various sections of the Ozark Plateau.

PERSONALS.

Oscar Andreen: Born at Norkoping, Sweden, August 13, 1851; died at Lexington, Missouri, April 14, 1924. When he came to America he made Lexington his home, and for fifteen years served as vice-consul for Scandanavian countries to the city of St. Louis.

M. E. Benton: Born in Obion county, Tennessee, January 29, 1847; died at Springfield, Missouri, April 28, 1924. He spent his young manhood in Tennessee, coming to Missouri a short time after his graduation from Cumberland University. He began the practice of law in Neosho, and eight years later joined the Confederate Army. Col. Benton served Newton county as prosecuting attorney for three terms, and as a member of the state legislature for one term. President Cleveland appointed him to the office of United States district attorney, which he held for one term. He then served the Fifteenth Congressional District of Missouri in Congress for eight years. His last public service was at the Constitutional Convention of 1923, to which he was a delegate.

Gerit H. Ten Broek: Born in St. Louis; died there April 18, 1924, at the age of 65. He was educated in the public schools of St. Louis and in the old St. Louis Law School, of which he was a graduate. He was the founder and editor of the *Mercantile Adjuster;* founder and former secretary of the Associated Law Offices, a national organization of commercial lawyers; former secretary of the St. Louis Protestant Hospital Association; and former director of the Western Society for the Suppression of Vice. He was also vice-

consul, and later consul, for the Netherlands to the states of the Southwest, including Missouri; and commissioner-general of the Netherlands to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, for which the Queen knighted him into the Order of Orange-Nassau. He led an active life until a short time before his death.

Herman Brumback: Born in Newark, Ohio, May 1, 1862; died in Kansas City, Missouri, April 25, 1924. He came to Kansas City in 1869, and was graduated from a Kansas City high school. He attended Hobart College, at Geneva, Wisconsin, and in 1887 entered the practice of law. For a time he served as a police judge in Kansas City, and later was made a judge of the circuit court, in which capacity he served for six years. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Enos Clarke: Born in Clairsville, Ohio, in 1835; died at Kirkwood, St. Louis county, Missouri, March 22, 1924. He was educated in the public schools of Ohio, and later at Madison University (now Colgate's) at Hamilton, New York, where he was graduated. After studying law at Utica, New York, he was admitted to the bar. Coming to St. Louis in 1861 he became a prominent attorney there during the Civil War, and was one of the "70 radical union men" who personally endorsed Lincoln in his emancipation move. He was a member of the Board of Curators of the University of Missouri; and of the famous 1865-67 session of the state legislature. In 1868 he was appointed to the office of registrar of bankruptcy in the United States District Court. He was a member of the Academy of Science, The State Historical Society of Missouri, and the American Bar Association.

Dr. James G. Clark: Born in Millwood, Clark county, Virginia, in 1837; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 18, 1924. Dr. Clark had been a member of the faculty of William Jewell College since 1873. At the age of 17 he entered the University of Virginia, and in 1857 became an instructor there. He was later professor of mathematics at Columbian College

(now George Washington University) at Washington, D. C. During the Civil War he resigned this position to join the Confederate Army, from which he was discharged as a captain of the artillery. In 1873, he came to William Jewell College as professor of mathematics and French. Since 1909, when he was made a professor emeritus he has been active secretary of the faculty, and registrar of the college.

Matt J. Conran: Born in New Madrid, Missouri, May 24, 1869; died in Baltimore, Maryland, November 22, 1923. He was educated in the public schools of his native county. Later, he was made alderman, and mayor, successively, of New Madrid. For two terms he served New Madrid county in the state legislature.

David Patterson Dyer: Born in Henry county, Virginia, February 12, 1838; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 29, 1924. When he was a child his parents came to Missouri and settled in Lincoln county. After receiving a common school education he taught school in Pike county, and took up the study of law. Seven years later he was admitted to the bar, and in 1860 he was elected prosecuting attorney of a district comprising five counties. During the Civil War he was a colonel in the Union Army. He served as a member of the state legislature from 1862-66, and in 1868 was elected to Congress, where he served for one term. President Grant appointed him United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, and he held this office for a year. In 1880 he retired from politics after being defeated in the race for governor. President Roosevelt returned him to the office of District Attorney, 1902-06, and in 1907 he was made Federal Judge for the Eastern District. He held this office until his retirement in 1918. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Alexander A. Lesueur: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, died in Burbank, California, January 16, 1924. He was graduated from St. Louis University in 1858, and engaged in business until the Civil War. He enlisted in the Con-

federate Army and attained the rank of captain before the end of the war. He went to Lafayette county where he edited the Lexington *Intelligencer* for a time. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1882, and later served as the representative of his county in the state legislature. For three terms prior to 1896 he was secretary of the state of Missouri.

Mrs. Emma Lard Longan: Born in Liberty, Missouri, May 10, 1854; died in Kansas City, Missouri, April 30, 1924. She was a graduate of Hamilton College, in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1870 she came to Kansas City, where she became prominent in woman's suffrage work. Her book, "Parliamentary Law Made Easy," has enjoyed extensive popularity. Mrs. Longan was one of the first members of the Kansas City chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. For several terms she served as president of the Council of Women's Clubs; and was president of the Christian Women's Board of Missions, of the Christian Church, and of many other religious organizations. In 1922 she was elected to the upper house of the city council, being the first woman to sit in that body.

John I. Martin: Died in St. Louis, Missouri, August 3, 1923, at the age of 75. Mr. Martin had practiced law ever since his admission to the bar in 1876 and was still actively engaged at the time of his death. He served several terms in the state legislature, representing St. Louis. For twenty-five consecutive years he was sergeant-at-arms in the Democratic National Conventions.

James H. Parker: Born in Virginia, November 9, 1836; died in Warrensburg, Missouri, October 24, 1923. He came as a young man to Lafayette county with his parents, and there grew to manhood. During the Civil War he fought in the Confederate Army. He served as a member of the state legislature in 1895-96, and of the Board of the State School for the Deaf at Fulton later. He received his education in the public schools and in the Masonic College at Lexington.

John T. Perry: Born in Anderson county, Kentucky; died in Shelbyville, Missouri, August 29, 1923, at the age of 74. He grew to manhood in Kentucky and taught school there from 1867-72. He then came to Missouri and taught in the schools of Shelby county for several years. In 1880 he was elected judge of the county court, serving six years; and in 1886 was elected county clerk, in which office he remained for three terms, during which time he studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1898 and later served Shelby county in the state legislature two terms.

Thomas N. Rigney: Born in Albany, Missouri, March 29, 1860; died there April 12, 1924. He was educated in the public schools and Albany High School. For two terms he served as judge from the Second district, also as presiding judge of the county court for two terms. In the Fifty-second General Assembly he was chairman of the Committee of Justices of Peace, and was a member of the following committees: Official Salaries and Fees; Swamp Lands, Drainage and Levees; Ways and Means.

John C. Roberts: Born in Readyville, Tennessee; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 27, 1924, at the age of 70. He came to St. Louis as a young man, and engaged in business there, later organizing the International Shoe Company, of which he was vice-president at the time of his death. For twenty-five years he was active in Democratic politics. He was owner of the St. Louis *Star*.

W. B. Rogers: Died March 22, 1924, in Trenton, Missouri, at the age of 89 years. He came to Missouri in 1856, taught school, and was a member of the faculty of the old Grand River College at Edinburg. He served as a captain in the Union Army during the Civil War. After the war he returned to Missouri and purchased the Grand River *Republican* in 1869. His paper went through several consolidations and is now the Trenton *Republican and Tribune*. He served as state senator from the Fourth District for four years.

Roderick E. Rombauer: Born in Hungary; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 26, 1924, at the age of 91. He came with his parents to America and to Iowa in 1850, his father being an exile from Hungary following the unsuccessful revolution of Louis Kossuth in 1848-49. He began the study of law in an office in Quincy, Illinois, and later took a law course at Harvard University. He located at St. Louis, and during the Civil War served in the first volunteer regiment from that city, later being captain of a home guard unit in south Missouri. In 1863 he was elected judge of the Law Commissioner's Court of St. Louis county, and in 1867 was made judge of the circuit court. In 1884 he was elected judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals, serving twelve years in this capacity. He then kept up a private practice of law until he was more than 80 years old, when he retired.

George H. Shields: Born in Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1842; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 27, 1924. He came to Missouri at an early age, and received his education from the private schools of Hannibal and from Westminster College. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875; and a leader in the Republican party of the state. Under President Harrison he was assistant attorney-general. He also served as circuit judge in St. Louis. At various times he was a captain in the Fifty-third regiment of enrolled Missouri militia. He was city attorney of Hannibal, representative in the state legislature from Marion county; a member and, for four years president, of the Missouri Society, Sons of the American Revolution; and a member of the Frank P. Blair Post, G. A. R.

Krat Cecil Spence: Born in Norris City, Illinois, February 12, 1871; died in Stoddard county, Missouri, September 4, 1923. He came to Stoddard county in 1895, studied law there, and was admitted to the bar. He was first elected prosecuting attorney in 1900 and re-elected in 1902. In 1904 he was elected representative in the state legislature from his county, and he served in this office for three terms. At the time of his death he was prosecuting attorney, having been returned to that office again in 1922.

John A. Talty: Born in Moline, Illinois; died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 24, 1924, at the age of 63. He came to Missouri in 1880 and rose to prominence in Republican politics. In 1896 he was made circuit judge. After serving in that capacity he ran for the mayoralty of St. Louis in 1905, but was defeated. Since that time he had practiced law in St. Louis.

John Van Brunt: Died March 5, 1924, in Kansas City' City, Missouri, at the age of 70. His home was at Westerfeldt Orchards, Belton, Missouri. Mr. Van Brunt came to Kansas City from Englewood, New Jersey, more than forty years ago, and since that time has been instrumental in the architectural development of the city. In 1918 he was called upon by the United States Shipping Board to serve as technical adviser for the Sixth District. He was also head of the Architectural Advisory Board for the Missouri State Capitol. He was emeritus member of the Architectural League of Kansas City and a member of The State Historical Society of Missouri.

Thomas J. Whitehead: Born near Marysville, Kansas, January 1, 1865; died in St. Joseph, Missouri, January 7, 1924. He received his education in the Marysville schools. He was made deputy comptroller of St. Joseph in 1922, and also served as a representative to the Fifty-first General Assembly.

Samuel L. Woodward: Died in St. Louis, Missouri, April 17, 1924, at the age of 83. Brigadier-General Woodward had served in the United States Army for forty years previous to his retirement in 1904. He first enlisted in the Sixth Illinois Cavalry as a private and was mustered out as a major. He then entered the regular army as a second lieutenant in the Tenth Cavalry in 1867 and served in the Indian campaigns. Since then he has held the positions of: major in the First Cavalry in 1900; lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Cavalry in 1903; and brigadier-general in 1904. He was a member of the Ransom Post, G. A. R.; the Loyal Legion; and was commander of the Legion in 1909.

Alexander Young: Born in Bath county, Kentucky, in 1845; died in St. Louis, Missouri, May 17, 1924. He came to Missouri and attended the University of Missouri with the view of entering the legal profession. He taught school in St. Joseph and read law in the office of former Judge Silas Woodson. In 1867 he was admitted to the bar and remained in Woodson's office until the latter's election as governor of the state. He was later the law partner of both B. Gratz Brown and Charles P. Johnson. He continued his practice in St. Louis until six years ago, when he retired.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT BOOKS

LEGEND OF FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI IN 1700 PROVED TRUE BY RECORDS.

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 24, 1924.

On the north bank of the mouth of the River Des Peres once stood the village of Tamaroa, the first white settlement in Missouri. Established in 1700, its population consisting mainly of Indians who had adopted the Christian faith, it remained but three years, when its people moved to a point 60 miles south on the Illinois side.

Today the site is a part of the City of St. Louis and there is no physical evidence to indicate the spot where the village once stood, but the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of St. Louis University, last night submitted to the Missouri Historical Society evidence to indicate Tamaroa as the earliest white settlement in Missouri. His findings have been accepted by the society as authoritative.

The people of Tamaroa were principally Indians of the Kaskaskia tribe, converted by the Jesuit Father Marquette on the Illinois River. They came to the River Des Peres site in 1700, where they were joined by French from Cahokia across the river, and the Tamaroa Indians of that district, from which tribe the village took its name.

In Quebec last year, Father Garraghan saw the record of the death of Father Frances Pinet, Jesuit missionary, at Tamaroa on August 1, 1702, the first death recorded in Missouri. He also saw letters from Father Bergier, priest at Cahokia, written to the Bishop at Quebec, in which he spoke of trips to Tamaroa and told of officiating at the funeral of Father Pinet.

The letters of Father Bergier are the only conclusive evidence of the existence of Tamaroa, Father Garraghan says, with the exceptions of De Lisles map, made in about the year 1705, which marks a village at this point.

No reason for the exodus of the people of Tamaroa has ever been found, and the evidence available indicates the population was about 1200. The Des Peres, it is believed, was named before their arrival, by Jesuit missionaries. It means "The River of the Fathers."

Heretofore Ste. Genevieve has been considered the oldest settlement in Missouri, but tradition has always spoken of a village on the Des Peres. Ste. Genevieve, which was founded about 1745 (1732-1745), still remains the oldest permanent settlement.

CHARLES GRASTY AND THE MEXICO INTELLIGENCER.

From the *Kansas City Star*, February 15, 1924.

The Sturgeon Leader claims that the *Mexico Intelligencer* really gave Charles Grasty, internationally known journalist who died recently, his real start in his profession, and that Missouri can, therefore, claim him as her own. *The Leader* recalls the day in 1880 when Grasty, then a young man, was crossing the courthouse square in Mexico and passed Col. John E. Hutton, owner of the *Intelligencer*. Hutton turned back and called young Grasty, offering him a job, which Grasty accepted, and which started him, that day, on his career.

MAJOR WILLIAM GILPIN AND HIS THEORY OF POPULATION CENTERS.

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, April 13, 1924.

To be the father of two towns, although neither of them exists today, certainly is distinction enough to keep the name of any man alive in history.

Major William Gilpin has this distinction in addition to many other bids for fame. One of the towns he sponsored died in its infancy to be revived later as a suburb of the city which sprang up and flourished in its stead. That town was Centropolis, which now forms a part of Kansas City.

The other town which Gilpin believed would be a metropolis of this nation was called Gilpin Town and its site was on the Missouri river directly north of Independence, Missouri.

When the pioneers of Kansas City were laying out the metes and bounds of the city which they named the "City of Kansas," at that time a little, insignificant village with very little prospect of being anything else, Major William Gilpin, who participated in the simple ceremonies of the occasion, protested against the restricted limits that took in a few small farms, small clearings and some virgin woodland.

He wanted to include Westport, far out to the south, and Independence still farther off to the east. He said:

"Gentlemen, you are going to have a great city here. Lay your foundations for a metropolis, take in Westport and Independence and all that intervenes. Your city will occupy it all." And he made a map of the city as he saw it in the future and named it Centropolis. * * * * * Major Gilpin's prediction was based on scientific deduction. With him it was a mathematical demonstration. So sure was he of the accuracy of his calculations he declared emphatically that the great continental city would arise here. * * * * * * *

Gilpin was a brilliant and versatile man, and soon after he returned to Independence after his Indian campaign he entered upon yet another career, that of author. And it was during this time that he developed his new system of geography, whereby he located scientifically the centers of population, both in ancient and modern times. It was this theory that enabled him to designate the future great central city. * * * *

Of the local application of his theory he says:

"As the site for a great cental metropolitan city, the "Basin of the Mississippi" to arise prospectively upon the development now maturing, Kansas City, at the mouth of the Kansas river, has the start, having the geographical position and the existing elements with which the rival will contend in vain.

"There must be a great city here such as antiquity built at the head of the Mediterranean and named Jerusalem, Tyre, Alexandria, and Constantinople; such as our own people name New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, and St. Louis."

It was a sensational chapter in the history of Kansas City. Major Gilpin found imflammable material for his purpose at Independence. He was an enthusiast in any cause that he espoused. He believed that he had made as great a discovery in the economic world as Isaac Newton made in the physical world when he saw the apple fall.

Gilpin announced his discovery of the Isothermal zone with such conviction that he impressed others with the truth of his theory. He explained to the people of Independence that their town occupied the site of the future great city, and he enforced his argument with such warmth and confidence as to secure the adherence of the entire populace. The city council was very much taken with Gilpin's theory, and at his instigation an ordinance was passed to extend the limits of the village to the Missouri river, a distance of four or five miles. That was the foundation of Gilpin Town. So carried away were the people with the idea, that they enthusiastically planned to begin to build the great central city without delay. * * * * * * * * *

When everything was fully prepared and ready to begin building the city, the discovery was made that nobody had any money with which to start. * * * * * * Nobody seemed to question his (Gilpin's) ability and he was sent to Washington and to New York to obtain the necessary capital.

But Gilpin was delayed. * * * * * * *

After waiting for what seemed an unusually long time, patience finally died, and confidence in the theorist utterly perished. Some even went to court and demanded a settlement of the affairs of the company.

* * * * * * * But Gilpin came back in time and took care of his obligations. He was an honest man, but he had failed to interest eastern capital in his rather gigantic, and in many ways quixotic, undertaking, and thus it was necessary to bring the project to a close.

But even after his failure Gilpin still had confidence in his theory. After his efforts to construct a city at Independence had proved unsuccessful, he asserted that he had missed the real site of the city by ten miles, and in his next map he included both Independence and Kansas City as parts of his metropolis.

MISSOURI'S CONFEDERATE CAPITAL.

Reprinted from the *Neosho Times* in the *Boonville Weekly Advertiser*, February 16, 1900.

During the Civil War, Neosho, Missouri, was the scene of many stirring events. Situated on the line between the North and the South, it would one day be in the hands of the Federal force and next in the hands of the Confederate. It was here that the seceders met, and on October 21, 1861, in the old Masonic building, which is still standing, signed the articles of secession. The body was composed of the deposed Governor Jackson and thirty-nine members of the Confederate wing of the house, and ten members of the senate, and the following is the title of the bill passed:

"An act declaring the ties heretofore existing between the United States and the State of Missouri dissolved."

During the consideration of this measure the town was defended by Price's army, which was stationed on the hilltops surrounding the place. The only dissenting votes to the passage of the bill were those of Charles H. Hardin in the senate and Isaac N. Shambaugh in the house. The passage of the act was greeted with applause and the roaring of cannon of Price's command.

The old building has been removed from its original site to give place to the city's growth, but it still stands in a fair state of preservation, and is an object of much interst to strangers who visit the town.

WHEN ABE LINCOLN VISITED MISSOURI.

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, February 10, 1924.

Abraham Lincoln visited Missouri in the winter of 1859. He came across the state from Quincy, Illinois, to St. Joseph, on the old Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, which had just been completed across the state—the only railroad west of the Mississippi river.

The object of his coming was to visit "Bleeding Kansas," where John Brown and his followers had kindled a flame of patriotism that was destined to revolutionize the world. Lincoln spent an hour in St. Joseph while waiting for a carriage which was to take him over to Elwood, where he was to make a speech and be entertained at the old hotel, which was the headquarters of the Kansas politicians and the terminus of western civilization.

From there he was accompanied by the leading politicians—men who were destined to have a big part in the forming of the new Republican party—men who were to help build a new empire in the West. They went to Atchison where the future president made one of his characteristic speeches of that day and time. The elder D. R. Anthony made the remark at that time that "this nation would hear from Lincoln."

Lincoln had a local reputation at his home at Springfield, Illinois, where he had gained fame as a local attorney. On his return trip from

Kansas he again stopped a short time in St. Joseph. He dropped into the barbershop of the old Edgar house, corner Main and Francis streets, where he was shaved. Old timers recall seeing him—tall, gaunt, raw-boned, standing more than six feet, wearing boots, a badly wrinkled Prince Albert coat, and the big shawl and stove-pipe hat. This old hotel was the first three-story brick building erected in St. Joseph and is still standing.

As a news-item, the *Gazette* said:

"Abe Lincoln, a lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, was in St. Joseph a short time yesterday afternoon."

This goes to show what a comparatively unknown quantity Lincoln was at that time.

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